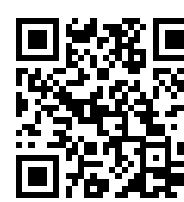
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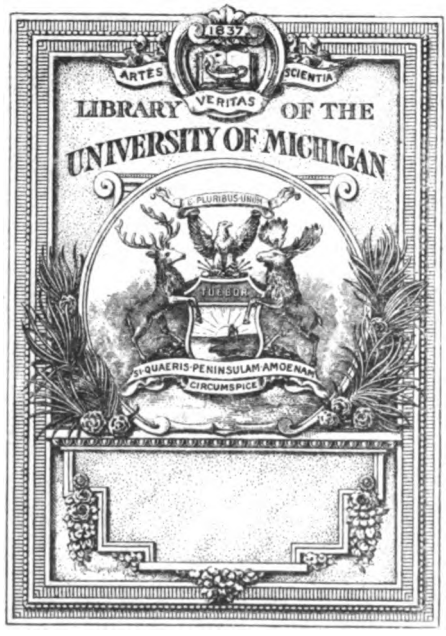
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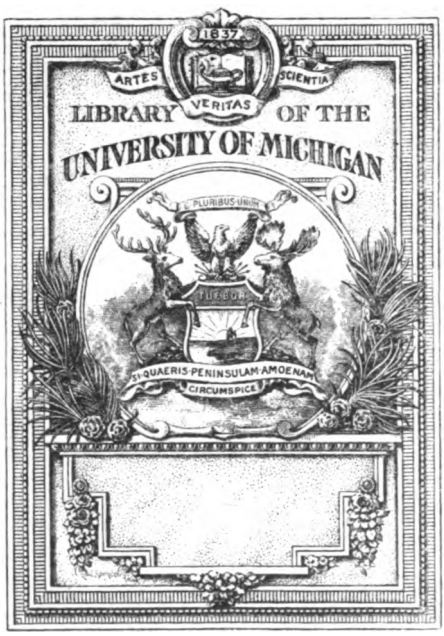
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EDITED BY

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE

Professor of Greek in the Johns Hopkins University

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In accordance with these statements of antiquity we find in most MSS of Vergil which contain the opuscula, as well as in other MSS in which the opuscula have been transcribed apart, a poem thus headed: *Dirae Maronis* or *P. Vergilii Maronis Dirae.*

Näke, by whom this poem has been elaborately edited (Bonn, 1847), states that up to the time of Scaliger no hint of the real authorship of this work had been put forward by any philologist. Scaliger, in his edition of 1573, was the first to suggest that the real writer was the grammarian, Valerius Cato.

Suetonius in his *Lives of the Grammarians*, c. xi, states that he wrote, besides some grammatical works, poems, of which the *Lydia* and the *Diana* were considered the best. The *Diana* was thought by the poet Cinna worthy of living for centuries: Ticida styled the *Lydia* 'the chief puzzle of the learned,'

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licence of the Sullan period; and that he had himself stated this in a libellus intituled *Indignatio*.

These facts of the life of Valerius Cato agree with what the poem *Dirae* records. In it frequent mention is made of a woman called *Lydia*, of whom the poet was enamored; and the former and larger section of it, 103 lines out of 183, is occupied with an elaborate curse pronounced upon a farm, from which he had been ousted by a soldier, much as Vergil complains in the first Eclogue he had himself been.

About 200 years after Scaliger (so slow is the course of criticism), Friedrich Jacobs observing that the *Dirae*, as it has come down to us, is not one consecutive poem, but made up of two distinct poems, the first of which extends to the end of v. 103, and alone can justly be called a curse, concluded that this part alone belonged to the *Dirae*, the remaining 80 lines to the *Lydia*. Näke, accepting this view, goes on to show that they are only *part* of the *Lydia*, for the words of Ticida, *doctorum maxima cura*, whether interpreted as above, 'greatest puzzle,' or as Markland thought, 'supreme passion,' seem to point to something more than a composition of 80 lines; and he infers from the fact, mentioned in *Lyd.* 6–8, that Lydia used to sing verses of his, that these verses formed the other part of the complete *liber* known by her name. On this hypothesis the *Lydia*, as known to the poet's contemporaries, would have comprised a number of short poems, probably all amatory. To me the 80 verses seem not so much a separate Eclogue in a series as a fragment extracted from a larger poem. Both the first verse *Inuideo uobis agri, formosaque prata*, and the last, *Vt maneam quod uix oculis cognoscere possis*, have an abruptness little suited to the beginning or end of a poem.

A question will here be raised. Why should not these 80 verses be, as the MSS give them, the last part of an execratory poem? Is there anything impossible in a poet beginning by pronouncing a series of curses on the lands where he had been happy with his love, and which are now to be alienated to a strange soldier; then, as the force of his invective spends itself, turning to the thought of his love, and so to reflections on the happiness of the fields where she will remain, when he is himself forced to leave them; finally to bitter, but still softened, expostulations against the cruelty of fate which will not suffer him to consort any longer with the object of his passion, and forces him to languish and pine?

The answer to this must be drawn from general grounds of lite-

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rary propriety. A poet with a grievance which cannot content itself without venting at the least computation 85 lines of formal cursing, would seriously damage the unity of effect, and therefore the total effectiveness of his poem, if he allowed his invective to subside into a querimonious love-complaint; if beginning with blood and fire he ended with sighing and tears.

The praises of Cinna and Ticida, both of them eminent in poetry, are sufficient vouchers of Cato's literary skill; and we may feel assured that his poetic curse was self-consistent and, like the *Ibis* of a later writer, left a sustained impression of bitterness and indignation on the minds of those who read it. Besides, the poet of the *Dirae* himself tells us in express terms where his curse ended. In 97 he says, *Extremum carmen reuocemus, Battare, auena:* it is very unlikely that after this the poem should have gone on for eighty verses on a *new* theme.

We may assume then that the last eighty verses of the poem, which are wholly occupied with the poet's passion for Lydia, are absolutely distinct from the *Dirae*. They are, however, though distinct, connected with it by the occurrence of Lydia in both. What was the connexion? which of the two was written first? A brief abstract of these eighty verses will help us to decide.

1–21. I envy the fields where my beautiful Lydia will now live severed from me. They will see the maiden on whom my eyes used to look; and will hear her recite my verses in her praise, as she sings them reclining on the grass. Then will woods, fields, springs rejoice: the birds will be silent to listen; the brooks will run more slowly. Yes, I envy the fields for possessing a pleasure which once was mine only.

Observe the noticeable recurrence at an interval of 21 verses of the *Inuideo uobis agri, formosaque prata, Inuideo uobis agri, mea gaudia habetis.* This is like the recurring refrain of the *Dirae*—

> Battare, cygneas repetamus carmine uoces,
> Rursus et hoc iterum repetamus Battare carmen
> Nec mihi saepe meum resonabit Battare carmen
> Tristius hoc memini reuocasti Battare carmen
> Dulcius hoc memini reuocasti Battare carmen
> Extremum carmen reuocemus Battare auena.

22. I meanwhile pine away with grief to think that Lydia is not with me. No maiden could be more beautiful or more cultured: Jove might have wooed her as bull or gold shower (*tauro Ioue*

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digna uel auro). Happy the race of animals! The bull that leads the herd, the goat that heads the flock, are not separated from their mates: each male has his female.

37. Why was not Nature as kind to me? At evening when the stars return to the green sky the Moon is with her Endymion. Apollo loved a bay: all the Gods have had their favorites, whose emblems are still carried in their processions, or shine as constellations in the sky. In the Golden Age mortals were happier: witness the legends of Ariadne and Theseus, Medea and Jason.

50. What has our era done that the Gods should be so cruel now? Am I the first lover who ventured to consummate his passion? Would indeed that I were! My fame would be immortal, as the man who stole the sweets of passion first and was the originator of love's pleasure.

61. But Jupiter lay with Juno before he became her wedded husband amid the purple flowers of Ida. Mars was too busy with war, Vulcan with his forge, to notice. Aurora too wept a lover after Tithonus. Unhappy I, born in a time when such love was forbidden. My sad destiny has robbed me of happiness and reduced my body to a shadow.

From this abstract it appears that Lydia was a young girl of great beauty and highly cultivated, that she lived in the country, and there fell in the way of Valerius Cato, whom she inspired not only with an ardent passion, but (if we may trust the natural meaning of vv. 53–55 sqq.) a passion which came to more than words. In the poem before us he expresses his misery at being obliged to part from her; she would now roam through the fields unattended and alone: he meanwhile is reduced to a mere shadow of his former self by grief at his separation.

In the *Dirae* Lydia is also spoken of as living in the country, and a wood which is specially called hers is doomed by the poet's curse to extinction by lightning: for Jupiter wills himself to destroy the trees which were under his own special protection. She is again mentioned at the end of the *Dirae*. There the poet takes at the same moment farewell of his farm and of Lydia, declaring that alive or dead she should ever be with him, and that her memory would remain in his breast after she had been resolved into elemental fire and water.

Näke thought that the *Lydia* fragment was written before the *Dirae*, on some occasion when Cato had been forced to leave his home in the country, possibly on tiresome business in Rome,

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leaving his Lydia to her seclusion. If indeed the fields which in the *Lydia* fragment he describes himself as envying for the uninterrupted possession of such a treasure could be shown to be identical with the fields which in the *Dirae* are laid under a solemn curse; if the woods which in the *Lydia* fragment will rejoice at the presence of Lydia, when the poet has left her, are part of the forest-ground to which the *optima siluarum* known as Lydia's wood in the *Dirae* belong, it follows almost necessarily that the *Lydia* fragment was prior to the *Dirae*. For in the latter poem, the whole landed domain of the poet, now assigned to a new proprietor, is laid under a curse; part is to be blasted by lightning, part consumed by fire, part submerged by the sea. The poet has taken his leave of it: henceforth he will not associate it with his happiness, will only think of it with the bitter resentment of an alien dispossest, and dispossest by a soldier. How improbable that after this he should speak of the same woods, fields and springs with a pensive regret, envying their good fortune in still possessing the maiden of his love, and picturing their pleasure when she chants his verses, presses her limbs on the grass, or picks the still green grape, unripened as yet by the suns of autumn. Such a mood, with the rest of the soliloquy following, would be impossible as *a sequel* to the other, if the fields where Lydia wanders alone in the fragment are the fields where she lived with Cato, as described in the curse. Näke seems right in concluding that, if the scene of the *Dirae* is, as it appears *prima facie*, the scene of the *Lydia*, the latter was written first. There is, however, nothing to prove this, and it must remain a conjecture. Yet it may be thought to have this in its favor, that so read and in this order, the two poems are harmonious.

Assume, however, that the locale of the two is *not* the same; Näke's view will still stand unshaken. The Lydia of the fragment is a mere girl, still immature; the Lydia of the *Dirae* is a woman, with whom the poet has long cohabited, and the memory of whom will survive her death.

It would seem to follow from this that the *Lydia* was written when the poet was quite young. For, in spite of the counter-arguments of Näke, Suetonius' words *ipse libello, cui est titulus Indignatio, ingenuum se natum ait et pupillum relictum, eoque facilius licentia sullani temporis exutum patrimonio*, connect the loss of his estate with the fact that he was left a minor; and if he was under fourteen or fifteen when he was ousted from his patri-

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mony, he must have been younger when he first formed an attachment to Lydia. Without pressing Suetonius' words to this extent, we may perhaps suppose that extreme youth prevented him from asserting his rightful claims in the first instance, and that when the matter came to be decided legally, and a verdict was pronounced against him (*O male deuoti praetorum crimina agelli*), he was not powerful enough to get it set aside: though the *Indignatio* (a prose work, I think, rather than a poem as Näke believed), which he published some time after his spoliation, proves that he did not submit to be dispossest without some show of resistance.

I must pause here to consider the sceptical views of Merkel and K. F. Hermann, each of whom denies the justice of Scaliger's ascription of the two poems to Valerius Cato.

1. *External arguments.* Suetonius says Cato lost his patrimony by the licence of the times of Sulla. This means *not* that he was turned out of his lands by a soldier, but lost his property by some forensic chicanery, or the artifices of a Chrysogonus.

To which we may reply, that lands might be included in patrimony, and that in the countless acts of spoliation which attended Sulla's proscriptions, the *mode* of robbery was not always the same. Possibly Cato's father was proscribed; then his property would be put up to auction, and bought at a nominal sum by some centurion or officer in Sulla's interest.

2. There is no evidence that Cato wrote a *Dirae* at all. This of course proves nothing. Suetonius *implies* that Cato wrote other poems besides his *Lydia* and *Diana*. Conceivably our *Dirae* formed part of the *Indignatio*.

3. If the poetry of Cato belonged to the earlier Ciceronian epoch, why should Ovid mention it with the later generation, Cinna, Anser, Cornificius, i. e. the contemporaries of Catullus?

Obviously because poetically he was associated with the *new* school, not with the old. We know this from the eulogies passed on his poems by Ticida and Cinna.

2. *Internal objections.* As a *pupillus* Cato could neither have been in love with Lydia, nor be called *uetus dominus* of the farm, nor have written several poems already.

But Prof. J. E. B. Mayor's note on Juv. XI 156 is enough to show that *pupillaris* nearly = *nequam*, and the scholion there shows why: the loss of a father necessarily weakens the control which the maturing passions of an Italian boy demand. And how many boys have written love-poems! who can say when Catullus

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first broke into song? or when Byron scribbled his first rhymes? As to *ueteris domini* the poet may mean not himself but his father. Or again the *Dirae* may have received its final shape long after the events which caused it were recent.

To these objections of Merkel and K. F. Hermann, Haupt and Lachmann added two others drawn from the language. Näke in his most erudite review of the particularities of style in the *Dirae* and *Lydia* fragment dwells much on the transference of *et, quom* in such cases as *arboribus coniungat et ardor aristas Sidera per uiridem redeunt quom pallida mundum Militis impia quom succaedet dextera ferro*, doubting whether to regard this phenomenon as part of an ancient simplicity of style or a metrical convenience. Haupt in his *Observationes Criticae*, p. 47, published in 1841, six years before Näke's posthumous edition, calls attention to the same point, the transference of *et* and *atque Dir.* 43, 110; *Lyd.* 56 *Istius atque utinam facti mea culpa magistra Prima foret*, and having shown that such transference is not found in Cicero's *Aratea*, only five times in Lucretius, and in Catullus not at all, takes occasion to object to Scaliger's ascription of the two poems to Cato, and agrees with Merkel in believing them to be by another poet, and written in 713–41 when Octavius was distributing lands to his veterans. Lachmann, on Lucr. IV 604, draws a similar conclusion from the trajection of *namque* in *Lyd.* 12, *Dulci namque tumet nondum uitecula Baccho.*

Such reasonings, in the loss of so much poetical literature as we know to have existed, are necessarily unconvincing. We have not all even that Catullus wrote; most of Cicero's later poems have perished; of Bibaculus and Varro of Atax the merest fragments survive: the utmost we can fairly infer from what we have is that in the poetry we possess up to the deaths of Catullus and Lucretius (roughly we may say up to 50 B. C.) such transference of particles is rare. But then the style of the *Dirae* and *Lydia* is, as Näke shows at length, peculiar and exceptional; the very form and matter of the *Dirae* is unique. Surely Näke's view, to regard such transferences of particles as marks of idiosyncrasy, of a specific genius which must have its own forms of expression, to note and classify them, without pronouncing that they belong to a time twenty or thirty years earlier or later, is the sane, indeed the only logical procedure.

I have tried to show that the poem or series of poems to which the *Lydia* fragment belongs was prompted by a real passion and

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written before it subsided. Coeval with the *Lydia* were other poems written at the same early period: these he taught Lydia to sing, at first to himself: in the fragment she is described as conning them alone and then singing them aloud to the fields and wood which he could no longer share with her.

> Et mea summissa meditatur carmina uoce
> Cantat et interea mihi quae cantabat in aurem.

Näke thought these other poems were also amatory; but this is more than can be proved, though in itself very likely. They may have been included in the collective *Lydia*, which as we saw above possessed qualities that drew upon it the sustained study of learned critics. Whether the original form was what we now have it is difficult to say. It is not impossible that the first draught of the *Lydia*, which must have been a very early work, was re-written when Cato had matured his powers by reading and lecturing on poetry as a *litterator* at Rome. Neither the *Dirae* nor the *Lydia* fragment are specially fine. Ovid goes the length even of calling Cato's poetry *leue opus*, classing it as such with the verses of Cornificius (*Trist.* II 436). It must have been friendship or perhaps Cato's wide celebrity which made Furius Bibaculus call him not only *unicum magistrum* and *summum grammaticum*, but also *optimum poetam*. Or (and this is a more solid hypothesis), the mythological learning which even in its abridged form the *Lydia* exhibits, was at that time fashionable as part of the reaction against the older Roman poetry, and as ranking their author with the rising school, which looked to Catullus as its greatest exponent, to Calvus, Cinna and Cornificius as inferior representatives. With Catullus Cato was intimately associated, if we adopt the prevailing view that it was to him that the well-known hendecasyllables were addressed, *O rem ridiculam Cato et iocosam, Dignamque auribus et tuo cachinno.* I have argued at some length against this in my Commentary: though it can count in the list of its adherents Achilles Statius, Scaliger and Ribbeck: and it is undeniable that the *auribus et cachinno* would agree with the description of Valerius Cato which Suetonius has quoted from his contemporary and friend Furius Bibaculus *En cor Zenodoti, en iecur Cratetis* and the distich perhaps also by Bibaculus

> Cato grammaticus Latina Siren
> Qui solus legit ac facit poetas.

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In the *Dirae* mythology plays no great *rôle*; it was in the *Lydia*, as our fragment is enough amply to show, probably even more in the *Diana* or *Dictynna* (Näke thought the poem may have had both names, and conjectured that part of the matter it treated was a disquisition on the meaning and connexion of the two) that the poet-grammarian displayed his stores of erudition: just as the author of the Ciris dwells lovingly on the legend of Britomartis, and informs us how some called her Aphaea, while others gave one of her names, Dictynna, to the Moon. In the *Lydia* the words *tauro Ioue digna uel auro* allude to Jove's wooing Europa and Danae in the disguise of a bull and a gold-shower; in 40 the passion of Luna for Endymion, in 43 of Apollo for Daphne, in 44–47 the numerous loves of the gods for mortals are briefly summed up in the vv.

> Omnia uos estis: secum sua gaudia gestat
> Aut insparsa videt mundo, quae dicere longum est.

In 48 the Golden Age and the happiness of heroic love is contrasted with the wretched conditions of passion in the poet's own time: Ariadne and Medea are felicitated. Lastly, the union of Jupiter with Juno on Mount Ida, and Aurora's passion for Cephalus are described.

Let us now look at Cato's management of the hexameter. If my arguments at the outset were just, Cato's *Lydia* was composed (or at least the first draught of it) before the Sullan proscriptions of 82 B. C. Ten years later, in 72, Catullus was fifteen, but if we follow the opinion of most critics, his hexameter epyllion on the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis was not written before 60. Vergil's earliest Eclogues are not earlier than 43 B. C. These, with Cicero's *Aratea* and *de Consul. Suo* and Lucretius' didactic poem *De Rerum Natura* are the only remains of sufficient length (putting aside as uncertain the *Culex Ciris Moretum*) to allow of comparison. I will speak of special points and (omitting Lucretius as standing apart) first elision. In 80 vv. of Cicero's *Aratea* (237–317) I counted twenty-eight elisions of all kinds; in the first eighty of the *Peleus and Thetis* twenty-three; in the eighty-three vv. of Vergil's first Eclogue there are seventeen, in the seventy-three of Ecl. II twenty-five, in the sixty-three of Ecl. IV only thirteen. In the *Lydia* fragm. I counted in eighty verses seventeen elisions. But it is a most noticeable point in these that instead of being multiform, i. e. of long and short vowels or *-ŭm* indifferently, no

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less than ten of them are elided before *est*, in four the last syllable of *atque* is elided, and the remaining three are all short syllables, *quĕ laederĕ gaudiă*. Judging therefore by the *Lydia* fragm. alone, we may say that the laws of elision are more strict than in any of the other poets. Turning to the *Dirae* we find even greater strictness. In the first eighty verses there are only nine; though four of them are elisions of long syllables: in the whole 103 verses there are twenty. One entire segment of the poem (a phenomenon which I have noticed also in the *Cynegetica* of Nemesianus) is without any, 8–44; though there are reasons for believing that some verses are lost between thirty-four and thirty-five, and the calculation is therefore a little uncertain. One specialty of elision, common to both the poems, has been noticed by Näke, I mean the elision of the last syllable of a dactylic word before a bacchius at the end of the verse. Näke enumerates eight instances, *libera auena*, *impia agellos*, *flumina amica*, *aduena arator*, *crimina agelli*, *Battare auena*, *gaudia habetis*, *ludere in herba*. A similar dactylic elision occurs at the outset of one verse of the *Dirae*, *Dulcia amara prius fient*. Näke says this peculiarity of rhythm could not have happened so often in so short a poem had the writer belonged to the new school. I think, myself, whatever school of poetry Cato may have been thought to have belonged to, that this special ending betrays early composition. It may therefore be taken as a metrical argument of some cogency in favor of Scaliger's hypothesis.

2. *Caesura*. Both the poems in this respect show a still undeveloped skill. The beginning of the *Lydia* fragment may be taken as a fair specimen of the rhythm throughout. The predominance of the penthemimeral caesura is marked and produces a monotonous effect. Verses like

69 Nam certe Volcanus opus faciebat et illi
75 Ergo quod deus atque heros, cur non minor aetas
76 Infelix ego, non illo qui tempore natus
79 Quo facilis natura fuit. Sors o mea laeua.

are rare. The Bucolic caesura, in which the fourth foot is a dactyl and ends a word, occurs in its strictest form four times,

32 At male tabescunt morientia membra dolore
33 Siue tibi siluis noua pabula fastidire
47 Aurea quin etiam quom saecula uoluebantur
67 Purpureos flores quos insuper accumbebat

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in all of which the fourth dactyl is either one word or the last part of one; in its broken form, i. e. in which the dactyl is made up of two words, it is pretty frequent: there are thirteen cases in eighty lines.

Siue libet campis, tecum tua laeta capella est
Omnia uos estis, secum sua gaudia gestat

may be taken as types. In this respect the *Dirae* marks an advance on the *Lydia* fragment,

Rura quibus diras indiximus, impia uota
Haec Veneris uario florentia serta decore
Dulcia non oculis, non auribus ulla ferantur
Monstra repentinis terrentia saepe figuris
Piscetur nostris in finibus aduena arator
Dulcia rura ualete et Lydia dulcior illis
Tardius a miserae descendite monte capellae
Rura ualete iterum tuque optima Lydia salue

alternate with the broken form sufficiently often to prove that Cato had made a considerable study of Theocritus. It is, however, very noticeable that the spondeiazon which is found three times in the *Lydia*, always with a pleasing effect, is entirely absent from the *Dirae*. The reason may probably be found in the denunciatory tone of the greater part of it; it is only in the concluding verses that the poet strikes into a softer note.

Compare this with the first 180 lines of the *Peleus and Thetis*. In these the bucolic caesura occurs twenty times, preferably in the strict form, and that usually followed by a spondee in the fifth foot *Nereides admirantes*, *flagrantia declinauit*, *carmine compellabo*, once by a dactyl and spondee in one word, *flexibus egredientem*, a freedom which Cato has nowhere permitted himself. For a moment, indeed, the excessive recurrence in Catullus of the rhythm *prognatae uertice pinus*, might almost seem to give to Cato the advantage of variety in rhythm. But on attentive examination it will, I think, be felt that Catullus has the advantage even here, as of course in all the essential qualities which distinguish the great poet from the versifier.

Peleus and Thetis, 71–79:

A misera, assiduis quam luctibus externauit
Spinosas Erycina serens in pectore curas,
Illa tempestate, ferox quo ex tempore Theseus
Egressus curuis e litoribus Piraei
Attigit iniusti regis Cortinia tecta.

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Nam perhibent olim crudeli peste coactam
Androgeoneae poenas exoluere caedis
Electos iuuenes simul et decus innuptarum
Cecropiam solitam esse dapem dare Minotauro.

Here the favorite rhythm does not occur at all, and every one of the other verses is distinct from its neighbor.

There is, however, one point, and one only, in which the two poems of Cato can contrast favorably even with Catullus. Read through the *Peleus and Thetis*, and you will be astonished to find in how many cases the pause of the sentence or clause coincides with the end of the verse. This is particularly observable at the beginning of the poem, but throughout it marks a point of immature development. Whereas in the *Lydia* already in v. 3 the sentence is continued and completed from the previous line, ***mea quod formosa puella E uobis tacite nostrum suspirat amorem.*** So in vv. 13 and 14, 24, 25, 26, 27,

non ulla puella
Doctior in terris fuit aut formosior: ac si
Fabula non uana est, tauro Ioue digna uel auro,
Iuppiter auertas aurem, mea sola puella est.

and indeed throughout both the poems. It would be perhaps hazardous to conclude too much from this, yet it may induce us to be more sceptical in assenting to the supposed late date of the *Peleus and Thetis*. The influence of Cicero's *Aratea* seems to some extent still perceptible; and this it could hardly have been if it was written as late as 56 or 54 B. C.

I will now enumerate some points which the laborious erudition of Näke has collected as attesting an early style. Many, but not all of them, fall under what he calls *antiqua simplicitas*.

(1) Repetition of the same words or types of expression in different parts of either poem at short intervals.

Dir. 20. Veneris uario florentia serta decore
Lyd. 13. inter uarios Venerem stipantia flores
Membra reclinarit
Lyd. 14. illiserit herbam
66. elidere in herba Purpureos flores
Lyd. 37. Cur non et nobis facilis natura fuisset?
77. Quo facilis natura fuit
Lyd. 48. Condicio similis fuerat mortalibus illis
52. Condicio nobis uitae

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Lyd. 58. Dulcia cum Veneris ſuratus gaudia primus
65. Gaudia libauit dulcem ſuratus amorem

so *felix*, *formosus*, *umbrae* recur again and again.

Dir. 10. felicia rura
33. felicia ligna
90. felix nomen agelli
Dir. 27. formosis uirectis
32. Formosae umbrae
Lyd. 1, 2. Inuideo uobis agri, formosaque prata
Hoc formosa magis, mea quod formosa puella
E uobis, etc.
24. non ulla puella Doctior in terris fuit aut formosior
Dir. 43. diffusis
49. diffunditis
51. perfundat
63. infundimus
65. diffundite
77. diffuso

(2) Double epithets.

Dir. 92. Mollia non iterum carpetis pabula nota.

Cf. Cat. LXVI, Illius a mala dona leuis bibat irrita puluis.

Under this head may be reckoned

Dir. 16, 17. Pallida flauescant aestu sitientia prata
Inmatura cadant ramis pendentia mala.

(3) Juxtaposition of substantive and epithet.

Dir. 42. Vicinae flammae rapiant ex ordine uites
97. Extremum carmen repetamus Battare auena.
Lyd. 11. Aut roseis digitis uiridem decerpserit uuam.

(4) Peculiar or unnatural position of words.

non.

Dir. 13. Ipsae non siluae frondes, non pampinus uuas.

Compare with this

Cul. 26. tibi namque canit non pagina bellum
Cul. 29. Urit Ericthonias Oriens non ignibus arces

et.

arboribus coniungat et ardor aristas.

Also in the Culex 51

Pendula proiectis carpuntur et arbuta ramis

which, however, must be later in composition. In Propertius this trajection of *et* is very frequent. Näke quotes six certain examples,

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six from Tibullus. Though therefore a specialism in the *Dirae* and *Lydia*, it is a sign not of archaic style, but of the style which was coming in.

quom.

Lyd. 39. Sidera per uiridem redeunt quom pallida mundum.
47. Aurea quin etiam quom saecula uoluebantur.
Dir. 31. Militis impia quom succaedet dextera ferro.

Very little stress can be laid on this, which is simply the effort of poetry to throw off the yoke of prose.

qui. The simple old connective use of *qui* stands on a very different footing. It is a distinct sign of archaism of poetry still not sufficiently marked off from prose. In the *Dirae* one instance occurs—

78. imbres, Qui dominis infesta minantes stagna relinquant.

In the *Culex* it forms a marked feature.

Cul. 109–112.

Delia diua, tuo, quo quondam uicta furore
Venit Nyctelium fugiens Cadmeis Agaue
Infandas scelerata manus et caede cruenta
Quae gelidis bacchata iugis requieuit in antro.

Cul. 120. Ipsa loci natura domum resonante susurro
Quis dabat.
Cul. 143. Quis aderat ueteris myrtus non nescia fati.
Cul. 168. ecfert Sublimi ceruice caput: *cui* crista superne.

Two other points, also observed by Näke: (1) *Parenthesis*, (2) *Apostrophe*, belong also to a newer and a freer style, and are in no way archaic.

(1) Dir. 35. Iuppiter (ipse
Iuppiter hanc aluit) cinis haec tibi fiat oportet.
Dir. 66. Nil est quod perdam ulterius—maris omnia—diris.
Lyd. 26, 27. tauro Ioue digna uel auro
Iuppiter auertas aurem—mea sola puella est.

(2) *Apostrophe* may almost be called the most marked feature of the *Dirae*, as is natural in a curse. It falls into two genera.

(1) The address in the vocative *of the objects cursed*, the fields, the wood of Lydia; of the objects *by which the curse is to be effected*, the rivers and sea-waters, the objects *which the poet* removes with him at his departure, his cattle and goats.

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(2) Change from third person of prose narrative to second of poetry.

Dir. 8. dicam tua facta, Lycurge,
15. sulci condatis auenas.
83. Tuque inimica tui semper discordia ciuis.

Some of these points show the author of the *Dirae* and *Lydia* as still under early influences, others as making a departure to a newer, more absolutely poetic style. There is, I believe, nothing which conclusively militates with the view of Scaliger, that the two poems (at least in their earliest form) belonged to the *former* half of the last century of the Republic. And if this is so, we may estimate the excessive unhappiness of the Sullan proscriptions; for poetry, with the ancients, did not often take the form of a solemn curse; and the only perfect specimen besides the *Dirae* which has descended to us, the *Ibis* of Ovid, records one of the deepest tragedies which has ever befallen a great poet. Whatever we may think of Cato's success in his cursing—for my own part I would not compare it for an instant with the *Ibis*—the choice of that *form* must, I think, point to a real indignation that can only have been prompted by a real wrong. If Ribbeck in his recently published *History of Roman Poetry* (I, p. 311) can bring himself to believe that Cato was recalled by the triumviral division of lands in 41 B. C. to the memory of his own dispossession forty years before, and wrote his *Dirae* then, at a period when his powers were matured, nature and reason, I imagine, are alike against him. It must have been when the outrage was still recent, that the poem first took shape, though there is nothing to prevent its being recast and re-edited later. As little can I feel anything like improvisation in its structure. The facility of a Statius who could throw off most of his *Silvae* in a single day, the longest of them in two, is utterly absent. The poet has at best but a thin vein of poetry, and that he seems to have cultivated to the best of his ability.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

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II.—ON THE SENTENCE-QUESTION IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

Second Paper.

I. *nonne.*

The theory that *nonne* was not used by Pl. was proposed by A. Spengel, Die Partikel "nonne" im Altlateinischen, Progr. München, 1867. His grounds are three: First, as "*ne* = *nonne*" and *non* express sufficiently all shades of negative questioning, *nonne* would be superfluous. Second, it is *a priori* probable that the copyists changed *non* in some cases into *nonne*, and this accounts for the cases where *nonne* is given in the MSS. Third, the cases given are all but one before a vowel. This one is metrically incorrect, and the demands of sense and metre are satisfied by *non* wherever *nonne* occurs.

These arguments are answered in detail by Schrader, *de particularum -ne, anne, nonne apud Plautum prosodia*, pp. 42–46. First, the early and colloquial Latin is full of double and triple expressions for practically identical ideas, e. g. *rogas? me rogas? men rogas? tun rogas?* Moreover, there must have been a time when "*ne* = *nonne*" and *non* were still in use, while *nonne* was beginning to crowd in by the side of them. The only question is whether this had already begun in the time of Pl. Second, not only *nonne* but *anne* also is found in Pl. only before vowels. The explanation of this fact must apply to both cases, not, as does Spengel's, to *nonne* alone, and is to be found in the very light effect of *-nĕ*, which caused its shortening in nearly all possible cases to *-n*. See the evidence in Schrader, especially the table on p. 37, showing the preference of Pl. for *ne* before vowels. Omitting words ending in *s*, there are in Pl. only 28 cases where *ne* both follows and precedes a vowel. Schrader gives a full list of the passages where the MSS support *nonne*, which need not be repeated here. Ter. uses it in Ad. 660, Andr. 238, 239, 647, 869, Eun. 165, 334, 736, Heaut. 545, 922, Hec. 552, Ph. 768.

The distinction in sense between *non* and *nonne*, which Kühner, II 1011, 1, attempts to make, is valueless for Pl. and Ter., at least.

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K. Relatives with *ne*.

See Lor., Most.[2] 738, Brix, Trin.[3] 360, Spengel, Andr. 768, Warren on *ne*, Amer. Journ. Philol. II, pp. 79–80.

Relatives with *ne* divide themselves into two classes, according as the antecedent is or is not expressed in the same sentence.

(*a*). The antecedent is not expressed. Most. 738, *ventus navem nostram deseruit.* || *quid est? quo modo?* || *pessumo.* || *quaene subducta erat tuto in terram?* Curc. 705, . . . *ne quisquam a me argentum auferat.* || *quodne promisti?* || *promisi? qui?* Similar to these are Amph. 697, Epid. 719, Mil. 13, Rud. 861, 1019, 1231, Truc. 506, Andr. 768, Ph. 923. The following have the subjunctive in the relative clause, independently of the question, but are otherwise like the preceding: Bacch. 332, Merc. 573, Mil. 973 (MSS *quae*), Trin. 360. In Epid. 449 *quemne* is an early conjecture for *nempe quem*, adopted on metrical grounds.

Here belong also a few cases with other relative words. Bacch. 257, *dei quattuor scelestiorem nullum inluxere alterum.* || *quamne Archidemidem?* || *quam, inquam, Archidemidem.* Most. 1132, *ego ibo pro te, si tibi non lubet.* || *verbero, etiam inrides?* || *quian me pro te ire ad cenam autumo?* Also with *quiane* Pers. 851. Truc. 696 is a very probable emendation by Spengel.

With these go the few cases of *utin*.[1] Rud. 1063, *animum advorte ac tace.* || *utin istic prius dicat?* Merc. 576, *tu ausculere mulierem? utine adveniens vomitum excutias mulieri?* Hec. 66, *et moneo et hortor, ne quoiusquam misereat, . . .* || *utine eximium neminem habeam?* || *neminem.* Hec. 199, Ph. 874, Epid. 225. The last is the only one lacking in clearness.

There are further two cases where *priusne quam* is used, which are closely allied to the preceding. Mil. 1005, *hercle vero iam adlubescit primulum, Palaestrio.* || *priusne quam illam oculis vidisti?* Truc. 694, *is quidem hic apud nos est Strabax: modo rure venit.* || *priusne quam ad matrem suam?* Pl. 22 [23], Ter. 5.

These clauses are in their nature, aside from the use of *ne* or the interrogation, incomplete sentences. Some of them have the subjunctive of characteristic, which they could have only as clauses in themselves incomplete. Some few of them, e. g. Trin. 360 (*quin*), Epid. 225 (*utin*), might, if taken alone, be understood as complete sentences, but when all are put together and their simi-

[1] A fuller discussion of these clauses is given below in connection with the history of the interrogative sentence.

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larity is noted, I cannot see how they can be regarded as anything else than ordinary relative clauses, separated from the main clause of the sentence. The hypothesis of an ellipsis is made necessary, therefore, not by the use of *ne* or its unusual connection with a relative, nor by the interrogation, but by the relative. And it is plain that *ne* is attached to the relative simply because the word to which it would naturally be appended is not in the sentence. Most. 738 would be *deseruitne ventus eam navem, quae;* Merc. 573, *idne non osculer quod amem?* Or more briefly *dicisne eam (id), quae (quod) . . .?* So in Epid. 107, *idne pudet te, quia captivam genere prognatam bono de praeda's mercatus?* might have been *quian*, if the other speaker had happened to say *pudet me.* So also Eun. 415, *eone es ferox, quia.*

These questions have in all but two or three cases a rather distinct tone of rejection. This arises from the fact that they supplement in an interrogative tone the statement of the other speaker. This may be done inquiringly, as in Bacch. 257, Mil. 13, or with astonishment, as in Epid. 719, without going so far as to express dissent. But the natural tendency of this, as of all supplementary questions (cf. Engl. "Do you mean . . .?" "Do you mean to say . . .?"), is to become corrective or repudiating. In this way these questions come very close to the corrective sense of *quin*, so that it may in certain passages be difficult to distinguish between them.

(*b*). In a few cases the relative clause precedes the leading clause, and the antecedent is either expressed or plainly implied. St. 501, *quaene eapse deciens in die mutat locum, eam auspicavi ego in re capitali mea?* Here the sentence is interrogative, but with the leading clause after the relative, and *ne* is simply appended to the first word of the sentence. Rud. 272, *quaene eiectae e mari sumus ambae, opsecro, unde nos hostias agere voluisti huc? (vis tibi huc*, Sch.) This is similar except that in the leading clause a new interrogative *unde* is introduced, by a second thought; that is, the sentence ends with an anacoluthon. In the same way I should explain Cist. IV 2, 6, *quamne in manibus tenui atque accepi hic ante aedis cistellam, ubi ea sit nescio.* Here the substituted second clause is, of course, not interrogative, but it is one which could easily be substituted for an interrogation. In Mil. 614, *quodne vobis placeat, displaceat mihi?* Lor.[2] omits *ne* because there is no example of such a use of *ne* except where a demonstrative or personal pronoun follows in the main clause. But we are dealing here with unusual and infrequent forms of sentence,

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and it seems to me that it is by no means necessary that they should be alike in all points. The only essential is that the relative clause should precede; if Pl. could write *quod vobis placeat, displaceat mihi?* as Ribbeck and Lor. read, then he could write *quodne vobis*, etc.

Beside these there are some passages where *qui-ne* is used after the leading clause. My collection of examples is not, I fear, complete on this point, nor have I any new explanation to offer except such general suggestion as comes in the line of the remarks to follow upon the extent and variety of the uses of *ne*. Truc. 533 is classed by Lor. (Most.[2] 738) with Catull. LXIV 180, 182 f., as a continuation; rightly, as I think. On Rud. 767 I should agree with Kienitz on *quin*, p. 2, in thinking *quin(e) ut* impossible. For Cist. IV 1, 1 f. I know neither parallel nor explanation. On Ad. 261 f. see Dz. Krit. Anh., the ed. with notes.

On *ne* with Apparent Negative Sense.

Questions of this kind, in which, as it is commonly expressed, *ne* = *nonne*, are given by Holtze, II 256 ff., in the list of questions with *ne*, but without explanation. Kühner, II 1002, gives a short list of places where *ne* expects an affirmative answer, saying in the index "scheinbar statt *nonne*," but giving no explanation. Hand, Turs. IV 74, gives a partial explanation, but as he starts from the thesis that *ne* has everywhere an appreciable negative force, he says only that *ne* is here a briefer expression for *nonne*. In the commentaries, where the usage is noticed (Bx. on Men. 284, Lor. on Ps. 340), a few illustrations are given. The only real attempt to explain this kind of question is made by Professor Warren in his article "On the enclitic *ne* in early Latin," Am. Jour. of Philol., II, pp. 50-82. After quoting comments of grammarians on *vidin*, *dixin*, etc., he says "I infer that to them [the Latin grammarians] the negative force of *ne* [in *vidin*, *dixin*] is as clear and sharp as the negation in *can't*, *won't*, etc., is clear to an English speaker." In other words, as the context shows, this usage is to be regarded as a survival of the original negative sense of *ne*. The problem of the origin of the *ne-* question will be taken up later, in connection with the general history of the interrogative sentence; this seems a fitting point, however, to gather together the cases in which *ne* has the effect of *nonne*.

They are these: *sumne*, mostly with a relative clause, *videon* (?), *vincon* (?), *possumne* (?), *cognoscin* (?), *scin* in a few cases, *viden*

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with infin. and perhaps in some cases with *ut* clause, *facitne*, *faciuntne*, *videturne* (?), *estne* in certain cases, the perf. indic. first sing. except one case, *dixtin*, *iuravistin* (no others in perf. second pers.), possibly two or three in perf. indic. third pers., the impf. subjunctive in apodosis, and possibly two or three with *satin*.

These have been commented upon as they came up, and it has been shown in detail that they are always attended by some circumstance or expression which of itself shows that an affirmative answer is expected. This attendant circumstance may be asserted by a phrase in the question, or it may be obvious from the action or situation of the speaker. *sumne* has a rel. clause, Merc. 588, *sumne ego homo miser, qui nusquam bene queo quiescere?* "Am I not a wretched man? I can never be at rest!" *sumne ibi?* (Rud. 865) "I said I'd be at Venus' temple; am I there?" = "Am I not there?" because he was standing in plain sight in front of the temple. *viden* with infin. asks in *viden* and answers in the infin. Capt. 595, "His body is spotted all over! Don't you see it?" With an *ut* clause, which is less definite than the infin. (see Bx. Trin. 1046 on the difference in independent questions), the *nonne* effect is also less clear. Verbs in the third sing. pres. indic. are almost invariably neutral; the question is genuine; but *facitne* (Amph. 526) has the effect of *nonne*. The full question is *facitne ut dixi?* "I said he would do it. Isn't he doing it?" So the perf. indic. first sing., not simply with *vidin*, *dixin*, *edixin*, but in every case but one (*dixin*, Cist. 251 Uss.), contains an assertion in itself and demands an acknowledgment rather than an answer.

Beside these cases in which the *nonne* effect is rather clear, there are others in which it is less distinct. Some of these are marked in the list with a question mark. Thus, *vincon*, Amph. 433, may be either "Am I proving my point?" or "Am I not proving . . .?" The questions indicating recognition, *videon* and *estne hic meus sodalis*, etc., may be taken either way, according as the recognition is more or less complete. *estne haec tua domus?* is a question for information, because there was nothing to show whether it was *tua domus* or not; *estne haec manus?* (Pers. 225) means "Isn't this a hand?" because the hand was violently thrust into view. *sumne apud me?* Mil. 1345, spoken by a person just recovering from a (pretended) swoon, means "Am I in my senses?" If it were used in angry argument it might be spoken with such a tone and manner as to make it mean "Am I not in full possession of my reason?" So *dixin* is the standing example of *ne* = *nonne*, but in Cist. 251 Uss. (Fragm. 27, Ben.) we have *haec tu*

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pervorsa omnia mihi fabulatu's. || *dixin ego istaec, obsecro?* || *modo quidem hercle haec dixisti.* Here the half-dazed speaker really does not know whether he had said it or not, and so *dixin* means "did I say that?" and could not possibly mean "didn't I say that?"

Further, there are questions like those already cited, having the same degree of *nonne* effect, but not having *ne*. They will be found below under IV G. Examples are And. 423, *sum verus?* (cf. Rud. 865, *sumne ibi?*), Eun. 532, *dico ego mi insidias fieri?* Even in *quis* questions a similar effect may be produced, e. g. Asin. 521, *quid ais tu? . . . quotiens te votui Argyrippum filium Demaeneti conpellare . . .?* which is very nearly "Haven't I often forbidden . . .?"

It seems clear that we have to do here with a shading or tone, which is not always associated with *ne* and therefore cannot be produced by it, but which is always associated with certain attendant circumstances and varies in intensity as these circumstances vary. If the *nonne* effect were really a negation, due to the negative force of *ne*, there could be no half-tones, no cases about which there would be any doubt as to the presence of the *nonne* effect. But in fact the same form passes through various gradations of meaning: *estne frater intus? estne tibi nomen Menaechmo? estne hic meus sodalis? estne haec manus?* Between *dixin* and *dixin* there is nothing like the gap that there is between *can* and *can't* in declarative sentences. If, however, we turn to English interrogative sentences and compare, e. g. "Can I help you?" with "Can't I help you?" we see that, though one question starts from the affirmation and the other from the negation, they have both approached neutrality of meaning, so that we can imagine circumstances which would permit the use of either. But if *can* and *can't*, in spite of their different forms, may be used almost indifferently in questions, much more must *estne* and *estne*, alike in form and origin, have seemed to a Roman identical, even though the circumstances may have given them slightly varying shades of meaning. It seems to me, therefore, quite erroneous to hold that the "*ne* = *nonne*" questions are distinctly negative in sense; rather they are neutral questions, with very slight (possibly negative) shading, used in circumstances where the modern idiom employs the neutral-negative question. Later I hope to show that *dixin* = "didn't I say?" is not in reality more immediately connected with the original *nē* than is *dixin* = "did I say?"

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II. *num*.

Of all the interrogative particles *num* and *an* are the most difficult.

In regard to the etymology of *num* two distinct opinions are held. One (e. g. Corssen, Kühner, Landgraf Reisig-Haase, III, p. 301, note) is that *num* is the accus. sing. masc. of the pronominal stem *no-* and bears the same relation to *nunc* as *tum* to *tunc*. The other (Ribbeck, Lat. Partik., p. 12, Stolz-Schmalz, p. 299) is that *num* contains the negative *ne* and means "nicht zu irgend einer Zeit." This seems to be connected in the Stolz-Schmalz grammar (p. 298) with a theory that all questions except the disjunctive necessarily contain a negative word.

In regard to the meaning also of questions with *num*, there is a considerable variety of opinion, though it is usually said that *num* expects a negative answer. Kühner, as usual, appears to test the answer expected by the answer received, an error upon which I have commented before. One reason for the uncertainty in regard to *num* is that it has no special sets of phrases connected with certain verbs or certain persons or numbers, like *sumne*, *ain*, *vin*. Except *numquid vis* and *num moror* it has formed no idioms which could serve as a starting-point for investigation. It would therefore be useless to divide *num* questions according to the person and tense of the verb, as was done with *ne*, and the only course left is to note the leading tendencies of meaning, applying such tests as the context furnishes, and remembering that the results must necessarily be somewhat uncertain. In doing this one must take some pains to rid himself of the inclination, which we get from familiarity with the classical Latin, to attach to *num* the idea of a negative answer, and must endeavor to look at each case without bias.

(*a*). There are many cases where the context shows that the speaker could not possibly have held the negative opinion or have expected a negative answer. Amph. 1073, *numnam hunc percussit Iuppiter? credo edepol.* Andr. 477, *num immemores discipuli?* ("Your pupils have forgotten your instructions, haven't they?") Aul. 389, *strepitust intus. numnam ego conpilor miser?* Andr. 591, *hem, numnam perimus?* Eun. 947, *quae illaec turbast? numnam ego perii?* Aul. 242, *sed pro Iuppiter, num ego disperii?* (Müll. Pros. 305, *nunc*). Men. 608, *num ancillae aut servi tibi responsant? eloquere: inpune non erit.* Men. 413, *pro Iuppiter, num istaec mulier illinc* (from Syracuse) *venit, quae*

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te novit tam cate? Amph. 620, . . . *quid ais? num abdormivisti dudum?* || *nusquam gentium.* || *ibi forte istum si vidisses quendam in somnis Sosiam.* (So Goetz-Loewe.) Other sure cases are Amph. 709, 753, Cist. IV 1, 6, Poen. 976, Eun. 286, Heaut. 517.

While the context shows that the speaker in several if not in all of these held the affirmative opinion, this does not anywhere appear to be so distinctly expressed as to make it possible to put *nonne* in the place of *num.* They seem rather like neutral questions: "Has Jupiter struck him? I really believe he has!" "What a noise there is! Am I getting robbed?"

Pl. 10, Ter. 5.

(*b*). In some cases the question is clearly asked for information. Men. 890, *num larvatust aut cerritus? fac sciam. num eum veturnus aut aqua intercus tenet?* This is asked by a physician who wants to know his patient's symptoms. Merc. 173, after a vague but disquieting announcement of misfortune, a father whose son is at sea asks, *obsecro, num navis periit?* || *salvast navis.* Asin. 31, *dic serio, quod te rogem . . . num me illuc ducis ubi lapis lapidem terit?* Merc. 215, *num esse amicam suspicari visus est?* Other passages are similar to these, but I have preferred to give only those where the context makes the inquiring tone clear beyond question.

In the following cases the context does not forbid the negative sense, nor does it require it. If it is presumed on the evidence of the later usage that *num* requires a negative answer, these questions would not be inconsistent with the rule; if it can be shown that *num* is properly neutral in sense, there is nothing to prevent these cases from being so understood. They are Asin. 619, Aul. 161, Bacch. 212, Cas. II 6, 32, V 2, 31, 54, Capt. 658, Merc. 131, Mil. 924, Most. 336, 905, 1109, Poen. 1079, 1258, 1315, Rud. 235, 1304, Truc. 546, 602, Ad. 487, 697, Andr. 438, 971, Eun. 756, 829, Ph. 846. In Men. 612, Rud. 830 there is perhaps an inclination toward the negative. Pl. 27, Ter. 7.

(*c*). Rather sharply distinguished from the preceding uses is the use of *num* in sentences which, like "*ne* = *nonne*," challenge the hearer to acknowledge something which the dialogue or the action makes evident. This is always a negative, but it is not quite accurate to say that *num* here "expects a negative answer." It challenges the hearer to deny, if he can, but the denial is not waited for. Capt. 632, *meam rem non cures, si recte facias. num ego curo tuam?* Men. 606, *potin ut . . . molestus ne sis? num te appello?* Precisely similar to these is *num moror?* "I'm not

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delaying, am I?" Curc. 365, Most. 794.[1] Cf. *numquid moror?* Epid. 681, *quid me quaeris? ecce me! num te fugi? num ab domo absum? num oculis concessi a tuis?* Heaut. 793, 794 (twice) is similar. Also with the first pers., Ps. 220, Men. 565, Mil. 291, Truc. 379, Heaut. 738, Ph. 411, 524.

With second pers. less frequent. And. 496, 578, and probably Eun. 854. I find no cases in Pl.

With the third pers. Curc. 94, *num mutit cardo? est lepidus.* Most. 345, *num mirum aut novom quippiam facit?* "There's nothing remarkable in his being drunk, is there?" Truc. 352, *num tibi nam amabo ianuast mordax mea, . . . ?* "You don't suppose my door will bite, do you?" softened by *nam* and *amabo.* Ps. 1289, Asin. 576, Poen. 866, Andr. 366, 877, Eun. 163, 575, Heaut. 514, Hec. 707, Ph. 848. Pl. 17, Ter. 16.

The large proportion of these with the first person is noteworthy, as supporting the analogy with "*ne* = *nonne.*" (Cf. *sumne, dixin.*) This analogy is further supported by the fact that the two kinds of question occur together, e. g. Rud. 865, *dixeram praesto fore. numquid muto? sumne ibi?*

Numquis, numquid.

Some of the same difficulties which attend the discussion of *num* appear also in *numquis*, and the arrangement is in general the same.

(*a*). In some cases the context shows that a negative expectation is improbable. Most. 999, *numquid processit ad forum hic hodie novi?* (cf. 1004) || *quid tu otiosus res novas requiritas?* Most. 1031, *perii, interii.* || *numquid Tranio turbavit?* Lor. transl. "Hat Tranio irgend einen Streich gespielt?" and the very mention of T. shows that Simo thinks him the probable source of trouble. Merc. 369, *sed istuc quid est, tibi quod commutatust color? numquid tibi dolet?* Bacch. 668, *numqui nummi, ere, tibi exciderunt, quod sic terram optuere?* Eun. 272, *numquidnam hic quod nolis vides?* || *te.* || *credo: at numquid aliud?* || *quidum?* (= What makes you think so?) || *quia tristi's.* Also Bacch. 538, Andr. 943.

[1] Kühner, II 1008, 2, translates this "soll ich noch bleiben?" taking this rendering with time-force apparently from Draeger, I 342, who perhaps took it from Haud. IV 319. In Curc. 365 the preceding words are *eamus nunc intro, ut tabellas consignemus?* after which *num moror?* could not possibly mean "soll ich noch bleiben?" Nor is this sense any better in Most. 794.

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The negative opinion is not so entirely impossible here as it is in some cases with *num*, but it is unlikely. I think it may be said that no one would suppose that these questions required a negative answer, if he took them by themselves, apart from the influence of later usage, as should of course be done.

The following cases are less clear: Capt. 172, Curc. 23, 25, Merc. 642, 716, Men. 608, Most. 548, 750. Pl. 13, Ter. 2.

(*b*). A negative answer was probably expected in Asin. 830 (*numquidnam*), Men. 1146, Ps. 1330, Rud. 832, Eun. 994, Ph. 563, but so far as a negative implication exists, it is due to the challenging tone noticed above with *num*. These cases therefore form a middle step to the following class. They are Cas. III 5, 41, Poen. 1355, Ps. 728, Eun. 283, Hec. 865, Ph. 474, 509. With *numquidnam*, Bacch. 1110, Ad. 265, Andr. 325, Heaut. 429, Hec. 267.

The question *numquis hic (ad)est?* used when the speaker wants to impart a secret, deserves special mention. It is used Most. 472, Mil. 994, 1019, Rud. 948, St. 102, Eun. 549. Cf. also Trin. 69, below. This seems to mean "Is there any one here? (I hope not)" and to be in its form almost neutral. Pl. 14, Ter. 11.

(*c*). *numquis*, with negative effect, in questions challenging the hearer to deny an evident fact.

Pers. 462, 726, Cas. II 6, 70, *numquid moror?* Cf. *num moror?* Rud. 865, quoted above, Rud. 736, *fateor, ego trifurcifer sum: . . . numqui minus hasce esse oportet liberas?* Also with *numqui minus*, Rud. 1020, Ps. 160, Ad. 800, and *numqui nitidiusculum*, Ps. 219. Other cases of *numquid* are Mil. 1130, Ps. 919, Pers. 551, Ad. 689, Eun. 163, 475. The challenging tone is somewhat less distinct in Amph. 347, Bacch. 884, Eun. 1043. Ps. 495 resembles Ps. 368, Most. 1141. In Epid. 593 there is an affectation of humility and innocence, but the general sense is the same. Trin. 69, *numquis est hic alius praeter me atque te?* is especially instructive. It is essentially the same in form as *numquis hic (ad)est?* Mil. 994, 1019, etc., but differs from them in the circumstances. The passage is (*venio*) *malis te ut verbis multis multum obiurigem.* || *men?* || *numquis . . .?* || *nemost.* The form of the question and the quiet answer *nemost* show that it is properly only an ordinary question, "is there any one else here?" but when brought into connection with *men?* "do you mean *me?*" it assumes a challenging tone and seems to demand a negative answer.

Similar in general effect to these are questions with *numquae causast quin* used in *stipulatio*. See Lor. Einl. zu Ps. Anm. 9.

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Aul. 262, *sed nuptias hodie quin faciamus numquae causast?* || *immo hercle optuma.* Capt. 353, Amph. 852 (*numquid causam dicis quin*), Ps. 533, Trin. 1188 *numquid causaest quin* . . . Here the question expresses in interrogative form the fact to which the previous dialogue has led up, that is, the readiness of the other person to make the bargain. As *numquid moror?* means "Isn't it plain from my actions that I am not delaying?" so this means "There is no objection on your part, is there? to the bargain." The negative sense thus forced upon the question justifies *quin* and *immo.* Pl. 21, Ter. 5.

(*d*). *numquid vis?* On this *formula abeundi* Don. remarks, Eun. II 3, 50 (341), "abituri, ne id dure facerent, *numquid vis?* dicebant iis, quibuscum constitissent." Brix, Trin.[3] 192, translates, "Wünschest du sonst noch etwas?" and I should agree with him in thinking that the words in themselves contain no negative. The politeness of the question would be slight if it meant "You don't want anything more, do you?" It is like the shopman's question, as the customer takes out his money, "Can I show you anything else?" The courtesy consists in making the offer as if it were to be accepted; the negative suggestion comes from the readiness already shown by the other speaker to bring the interview to a close. There is no challenge, and the analogy to *numquis hic adest* is close.

Numquid vis? is used Amph. 542, 544, Bacch. 604, Capt. 191, Curc. 516, 525, Men. 328, 548, Merc. 325, Mil. 1086, Ps. 665, Trin. 192, Truc. 883, Ad. 432, Hec. 272.

Other forms are *numquid me vis? n. aliud me v.?* and with *ceterum*, Aul. 175, 263, Cist. I 1, 121, Curc. 522, Epid. 512, Mil. 575, Pers. 692, 708, Eun. 191, Ph. 151, 458.

Without verb, *numquid aliud (me)?* Bacch. 757, Capt. 448, Mil. 259, 1195, Most. 404, Poen. 801, Eun. 363.

With infin., Capt. 400 (*nuntiari*), Ps. 370 (*dicere*).

With *quin* clause, Cist. I 1, 119, Amph. 970, Ad. 247.

Other verbs are *imperas*, Eun. 213, *me rogaturu's*, Trin. 198, *me morare*, Poen. 911. *num quippiam* is used Pers. 735, Truc. 432 (Müll. 463, *numquid nunc.*) Pl. 33, Ter. 8.

When *quid* is in the acc. cognate or of "compass and extent," it has very little weight in the sentence, and *numquid* becomes nearly equivalent to *num*, serving merely as an interrogative particle. So *numquid moror?* is about the same as *num moror?* and see Rud. 865, Pers. 551, Most. 750, Andr. 943, Ps. 1330, Asin. 830, Rud. 832, etc.

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The following passages have been passed over as conjectural or too doubtful for use:—*num*, Amph. 321, Cas. II 2, 24, II 6, 22 (conj. Uss.), IV 3, 14, 620 Gepp., 809 Gepp. (Uss. 892, *nunc*), Men. 823, Merc. 981, Poen. 258, Ps. 472, Trin. 922, Truc. 186, 546, 723, Ad. 395. *numquid*, Cas. 757 (Gepp. conj.), Most. 726, Truc. 639.

The uncertainty in regard to the etymology of *num* and the lack of sharply distinguished idioms makes the history of the uses obscure, but the challenging use, which afterward became the use "expecting a negative answer," seems to bear somewhat the same relation to *num* in neutral questions that "*ne* = *nonne*" bears to the ordinary *ne*. That is, the negative opinion of the speaker and so the expectation of a negative answer are made apparent by something in the action or, less often than with "*ne* = *nonne*," in the words. This is so similar to the special use of *ne* that it needs no further comment. Rud. 865, where *num* in the challenging sense and *ne* in the sense of *nonne* are both due to the same influence, is a good illustration.

The only question is whether *num* in this challenging use preserves anything of its original force.

It is hardly possible that *num* has here any original negative effect, since a negative force would require an affirmative answer. Nor am I able to see in these questions the slightest trace of time-force, such as Kühner and Draeger find in *num moror* and *numquid vis*. To succeed in shoving an Engl. *now* or a German *nun* into the translation without destroying the sense, does not prove the existence of any time-force in *num*. It seems probable also that the loss of the time-force was a necessary accompaniment of the development of an interrogative particle out of an adverb of time.

There is, however, another use of *nunc*, which seems to me to be connected with the challenging *num*, that is, *nunc* in the sense of "in view of this," "under these circumstances." This use appears to be closely related to *nam*, in that it reasons from what precedes, and as it shows the pronominal force of *nunc* it is probably an early sense. At any rate, it is found in Pl., and in *quid nunc ago?* has a distinct challenging force. Cf. the adversative use in Livy, pointed out by Wölfflin[3] on XXI 13, 2. The circumstances which give a challenging tone to questions, even when they have *ne* (Ad. 136), would tend to preserve this tone in a word which already possessed it.

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While the neutral *num* is found in later Latin, e. g. Hor. Sat. II 6, 53, *numquid de Dacis audisti?* it was, perhaps even in the time of Pl., a dying usage, being pushed aside by *ne* in its ordinary sense. But so far as I can judge from the incomplete statistics at my command, the challenging *num* increased in usage, and took its regular sense of expecting a negative answer.

III. *Ecquis, ecquid, en umquam.*

The commonly received derivation of *ecquis* is from *en-quis* with assimilation of *en*. Ribbeck, however, Lat. Partik. p. 42, points out the difficulty of supposing that *en* (*em*) could change to *ec*, in view of forms like *hunc*, *illunc*, and prefers to leave *ec-* unexplained.

Kühner, II 995, makes two curious mistakes in classing *ecquis* with *quis* interrogative, and in saying "in direkten Fragen zeigt es an dass man mit Bestimmtheit eine negative Antwort erwartet."

As with *numquis* the variations in the form of the question are not sufficient to serve as a basis for classification, and all that can be done is to show the general function and note some of the idiomatic uses.

(*a*). In the masc. and fem., and in the neuter as subject or object, *ecquis* is a colorless interrogative-indefinite. Some few exceptions to this will be noted below.

Amph. 856, *dic mihi verum serio, ecquis alius Sosia intust, . . .?* Rud. 1033, *ecquem in his locis novisti?* Asin. 514, Capt. 511, Cist. IV 2, 42, Epid. 437, Men. 135, Mil. 782, Ps. 971, St. 222, 342, Truc. 508.

When, as frequently happens, *ecquis* is in agreement with some definite word or phrase, the indefinite *quis* has little more force than the indefinite article. Poen. 1044, *sed ecquem adulescentem tu hic novisti Agorastoclem?* Esp. with the plural, Ps. 484, *ecquas viginti minas paritas ut a med auferas?* the special sense of *quis* seems wholly lost. Merc. 390, Ps. 482, Rud. 125, 313, 316, Hec. 804. Also perhaps Mil. 794, Most. 770. These questions could be about as well expressed by *-ne*.

ecquis est qui with the subjunct. occurs Cas. V 3, 12, Curc. 301, Merc. 844, Most. 354, Rud. 949.

In three cases, Merc. 844, *ecquisnam deust, qui mea nunc laetus laetitia fuat?* Rud. 971, Eun. 1031, there is an expectation of a negative answer, but it has nothing to do with *ecquis*, which is in its ordinary sense. These are the only cases of *ecquis* masc. or fem. except those given below, used in knocking at a door.

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ecquid as subject of *est*, with partitive gen. Asin. 648, *ecquid est salutis?* Pers. 107, Poen. 257, Rud. 750, Truc. 897, Ph. 474. Possibly Truc. 93.

ecquid as direct object. Men. 149, Pers. 225, Poen. 619, Ps. 739, Rud. 1030, St. 338, Eun. 279, Heaut. 595, Ph. 798. Verb to be supplied Merc. 282. Pl. 40, Ter. 6.

(*b*). *ecquid* in the accus. of "compass and extent." With *meministi*, Bacch. 206, Mil. 42, Pers. 108, Poen. 985, 1062, Rud. 1310. With *amas*, Asin. 899, Cas. II 8, 19, Truc. 542, Eun. 456; *amare videor*, Poen. 327; *adsimulo*, Men. 146; *madere*, Most. 319; *placent*, Most. 906; *oneravit*, Mil. 902; *sentis*, Men. 912; *facere coniecturam*, Men. 163; *ecquid te pudet*, Cas. II 3, 26; Poen. 1305, Ps. 370, Andr. 871; *ecquid lubet*, Curc. 128; *ecquid in mentemst tibi*, Bacch. 161.

With adjectives, Mil. 1106, 1111, Ps. 746, 748, Truc. 505. Pl. 26, Ter. 2.

In many of these cases *ecquid* has degenerated into an interrogative particle (cf. *numquid*). It has generally a neutral effect, indicating nothing as to the answer expected, but like *ne* or *num* it may be used in circumstances which admit only one answer, and so may seem to expect an affirmative or negative. *ecquid matrem amas?* (Asin. 899) is used where only the negative is possible; *ecquid amas nunc me?* (Cas. II 8, 19) hopes for an affirmative answer. *ecquid te pudet?* is not distinguishable in effect from *non te pudet?* And in general *ecquid* not only resembles *num*, *numquid*, but is also frequently used in immediate connection with them.

(*c*). *ecquid* with pres. indic. 2d sing. in impv. sense. Aul. 636, *ecquid agis?* || *quid agam?* Cist. III 12, Epid. 688, Amph. 577, *ecquid audis?* Aul. 270, Pers. 488, Trin. 717; Truc. 584 is uncertain, but *ecqui auditis* (Sch.) is without parallel. This use is less marked with other verbs, yet some impv. force seems to be present with all verbs in 2d pers., except where *ecquid* is defined by a partitive gen. or other phrase. Curc. 519, *ecquid das . . .?* Poen. 364, *ecquid ais?* Ps. 383, *ecquid inperas?* So, somewhat less clearly, in Poen. 385, Men. 149, Rud. 1030. In these questions *ecquid* has no new and special force; the impv. effect is produced, as in *abin*, *audin*, by the asking of an urgent question about an action, which would be either going on or just about to take place. It is not to be expected that there should be any sharp line dividing impv. questions from others of similar form, and Men. 149, Rud. 1030, form a kind of half-way point between *ecquid adportas boni?* and *ecquid agis?*

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(*d*). Like these in sense are a few questions in 3d pers. with *ecquis* as subject. Asin. 910, *ecquis currit pollinctorem arcessere?* Bacch. 11, Cas. II 2, 2, Men. 1003, St. 352, Cas. II 6, 52, *praecide os tu illi hodie. age, ecquid fit?* has the same kind of sense, and Uss. rightly compares *quid fit?* Bacch. 626, 879, to show that *fit* has really the effect of a 2d pers. active. *ecquid fit?* = *ecquid agis?* very nearly. With impv. effect, Pl. 21.

(*e*). One of the most common uses of *ecquis* is when the speaker is impatiently knocking at the door of a house, and, while the cases are not all alike in sense, I place them by themselves because they illustrate the gradual transitions which questions with *ecquis* make from one meaning to another.

ecquis hic est? Amph. 1020, Bacch. 582, Capt. 830, Men. 673 (*e. h. e. ianitor?*), Mil. 1297, Most. 339, 899, Poen. 1118, Rud. 762, Eun. 530 (*est* om.). *ecquis in villast*, Rud. 413, *in aedibust*, Bacch. 581.

With other verbs the impv. effect appears, as in *d. ecquis* (*hoc*) *aperit* (*ostium*)*?* Amph. 1020, Capt. 830, Most. 900, 988, Bacch. 582, Ps. 1139, Truc. 664. Most. 445 probably belongs here. Cf. Lor.[2], Krit. Anm. With *exit*, Bacch. 583, Most. 900, Truc. 255. *prodit, recludit*, Rud. 413. Pl. 23, Ter. 1.

The noticeable point is that these two kinds of questions are frequently used together, e. g. Amph. 1020 f., Most. 899 f., Rud. 413, Bacch. 581 ff. Cf. *quin* with impv. and with pres. indic. *ecquis in aedibust* (*villast*)*?* evidently can have no impv. force. But as the questions are alike in everything except the verbs, the difference in sense must be due to the fact that the active verbs *aperit, exit* answer themselves; it is plain that no one is opening, is coming out, and the underlying idea, "if no one is doing it now, he should do it at once," becomes prominent, with its semi-impv. force.

Truc. 255, Trin. 870, *heus, ecquis his foribus tutelam gerit?* show how slight a variation of sense might turn an impatient question into an impv. It seems to mean "Is any one guarding this door?" (= *ecquis hic ianitor est?* Cf. Trin. 1057 f.). If the phrase *tutelam gerere* were in any degree active ("come to the help of, save, protect"), it would be impv. And even with *est* there is sometimes a shade of impv. effect, cf. Most. 899, *heus, ecquis hic est, maxumam qui his inuriam foribus defendat?*

(*f*). In a few cases, by a kind of anacoluthon, *ecquid* is preceded or followed by another interrogative word. Bacch. 980, *quid quod*

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te misi, ecquid egisti? Ps. 740, *quid, si . . ., ecquid habet?* In Pers. 310 the MSS give *ecquid, quod mandavi tibi, estne in te speculae?* Rit. *est nunc*, with other changes *metr. grat.* There are probably other cases; my list is not, I think, complete.

In Cas. II 6, 22 (270 Gepp.), Ps. 737, Pers. 534, *ec* is supplied by conjecture. In Asin. 432 *ecquis* is a corruption of a proper name.

Upon *ecquis* in general Draeger, I, p. 344, acutely remarks, " eine specielle Bedeutung hat diese Form der Frage nicht, doch ist oft eine besondere Dringlichkeit bemerkbar." This urgency, which is the main characteristic of *ecquis*, suggests a connection with the vivid *em* or *en* rather than with the indefinite *eque*, but is of course not decisive.

It is remarkable that Ter. uses *ecquis* so seldom; he appears to have anticipated the classical usage, in which *numquis* is much more common than *ecquis*.

En umquam.

These words occur in the MSS Cist. I 1, 88, Men. 925, Rud. 987, 1117, Trin. 589, Ph. 329, 348. To these Brix adds by a very probable conjecture Men. 143. To what has been said by Ribbeck, Partik. p. 34, I have nothing to add, except that Brix seems right in saying on Men.[3] 143 that the words are not necessarily emotional.

IV.—Questions without an Interrogative Particle.

Questions without a particle occur about nine hundred times in Plautus and Terence. Before proceeding to the consideration of these in detail, some two or three points which have a general bearing upon them must be noticed.

In the first place, as the line which divides declarative from interrogative sentences is not clearly defined nor indeed capable of clear definition, and as *ne* would be used mainly where the questioning tone was rather clearly felt by the speaker, we must expect to find among sentences without a particle many semi-interrogative sentences; about these we cannot always be certain how much questioning effect they may have had. These, with some other sentences which omit *ne* for special reasons, I shall set aside first, as contributing least to the history of the interrogative sentence.

In the second place, there are three conceivable ways in which an interrogative sentence might differ from the same sentence put

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declaratively: (1) it might omit words which the declarative sentence would contain; (2) it may contain words not found in the declarative sentence; (3) it may differ in the order of the words. There is no other way in which a question may be marked in writing. Omitting the first case, which of course does not occur, we must include under the second not only the recognized interrogative particles *ne*, *num*, *an*, *ec-*, with *quis* in all forms, but also cases where a personal pronoun is expressed to help out the interrogative emphasis (if I am right in supposing that such cases may be found), as well as the cases where a word is used in meanings that have no parallel in declarative sentences, e. g., *ita*, *satis* and perhaps *iam*, *etiam*. In the third case, where the changed order is the only thing to indicate the question, we have the questions whose interrogative character may have been fully denoted in speaking by voice-inflections and tones. We may in part recover these inflections by the analogies of modern colloquial usage, but such analogies are of course to be used only with great caution. Most of the tone and inflection must escape us; only when the emphasis was strong enough to affect the order of the words has it left any mark upon the written language. And even when the order is changed under the stress of interrogative emphasis, there remains the difficulty of distinguishing this from other kinds of emphasis, which so frequently cause variation from the so-called normal order.

It is plain, therefore, that no perfectly logical classification of questions without a particle is possible. In the following arrangement I have placed first the sentences in which the interrogative tone seems slight, the sentences which lie in the borderland between questions and assertions; second, the sentences in which the interrogative tone, though generally distinct, was not sufficient to affect the order. After these I have gathered together a few sentences in which the order of the words seems to mark the question. These divisions overlap one another somewhat, but they will at least serve as indications of certain groupings and tendencies of usage, and in this way help toward an understanding of the history of the interrogative sentence.

A.—Idioms and Sentences with Slight Interrogative Effect.

1. *possum*. St. 324, *possum scire ex te verum?* || *potes*. Amph. 346, Cas. III 5, 26 (Becker, 178 f.), Pers. 414, 423, all with dependent infin. and with *possum* at the beginning of the sentence.

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These questions are strongly ironical, but they are in form questions for information. The irony consists in using a formal interrogation instead of a less courteous command. We should therefore expect *ne*. Its absence is due to the compound nature of *possum*; to say *pos-sum-ne* would have been against the usage, which required, e. g., *molestusne sum*, not *molestus sumne*, and so *potis-ne sum*, not *potis sum-ne*. Plautus therefore does not use *possumne* at all; Terence does not feel the compound nature of *possum* so plainly, and uses it once in a sense exactly the same, Eun. 712, *possumne ego hodie ex te exculpere verum ?*

Pl. 5, Ter. 0.

potin in 2d and 3d pers. is perhaps preserved longer by its idiomatic use with *ut*. *potestne* does not occur in Pl. or Ter.

2. *cesso*. Aul. 397, *sed cesso priusquam prorsus perii currere ?* Capt. 827, *sed ego cesso hunc Hegionem onerare laetitia senem ?* Aul. 627, Cas. II 3, 20, III 6, 4, Epid. 342, Merc. 129, Mil. 896, Pers. 197, Rud. 676, Truc. 630, Ad. 320, 586, 712, Andr. 845, Eun. 265, 996, Heaut. 410, 757, Hec. 324, Ph. 285, 844.

Pl. 11, Ter. 11.

These are all in soliloquy and all have an infin. without subject accus. The verb stands first or preceded only by *sed*, *at* and a word or two, *ego*, *etiam*, except in Epid. 342, when the infin. comes first.

These sentences are generally punctuated with a question mark, but single passages are marked with a period by Bent., Umpf., Wagn., Speng., Uss. Taking them all together it is plain that they are not questions for information; in many cases, e. g. Capt. 827, Ph. 844, they have not even the hesitating tone of *videon* in soliloquy nor the challenging demand of *sumne*. I believe that the position of *cesso* at the beginning of the sentence (*cesso ego* three times in Pl.) is due to non-interrogative emphasis, so that the sentence means something like "This is regular shuffling—foolish hesitation," or *Hibernice* "Sure it's delaying I am." That this emphatic recognition of the meaning of the speaker's action approached an exclamation is plain from Epid. 342, *sed ego hinc migrare cesso, . . . ?* and the use in connection with other exclamatory questions (Merc. 129, *at etiam asto ? at etiam cesso . . . ?*) shows a leaning toward the interrogation. But on the whole the emphasis which caused *cesso* to stand at the head of the sentence was not the questioning emphasis, and the *cesso* phrases lie nearer the declarative than the interrogative sentence. There is no connection with the use of the pres. indic. in fut. sense.

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Compare also the Terentian use of *cessas*, given below under D, which in some respects resembles *cesso*.

3. *nempe*. To the full discussion of the uses of *nempe* by Langen, Beiträge, pp. 125–132, I have nothing to add. Though perhaps properly printed with a question mark, these sentences are not really interrogative. They add an interpretation, more or less hesitating and conjectural, of what has been said by the other speaker. Langen calls such a sentence "eine als sicher richtig bezeichnete Voraussetzung, resp. Behauptung." As with the Engl. "doubtless," the tone and inflection might so far overcome the proper sense of *nempe* as to give the sentence a half-interrogative effect.

The list below may not include all cases which in any edition are marked with an interrogation point.

Aul. 293, Asin. 117, 339, Bacch. 188 [so Goetz, but cf. Lang. p. 131], 689, Cist. II 3, 56, Curc. 44, Epid. 449 (Goetz *quemne*), Men. 1030, Mil. 337, 808, 906, 922, Most. 491, 653, 919, Ps. 353, 1169, 1189, Rud. 268, 343, 565. 567, 1057, 1080, 1392, Trin. 196, 328, 966, 1076, Truc. 362, And. 30, 195, 950, Eun. 563, Hec. 105, Ph. 307. Pl. 31, Ter. 6.

4. *fortasse* (*fortassis*), *scilicet*, *videlicet*. Sentences with these words are sometimes printed as questions. They are similar to *nempe* questions, except that, from its proper meaning, *fortasse* is more hesitating. I have noted the following cases: *fortasse*, *fortassis*, Amph. 726, *tu me hic vidisti?* || *ego, inquam, . . .* || *in somnis fortassis?* (cf. Most. 491, *nempe ergo in somnis?*), Bacch. 671, Curc. 324, Pers. 21, 441, Rud. 140, And. 119, Heaut. 824, Ph. 145, 901.

scilicet, Eun. 346, Heaut. 705, Ph. 695.

videlicet, Capt. 286. Pl. 7, Ter. 7.

In a few cases sentences similar to these, containing a parenthetic *credo*, are punctuated as questions, but I have made no record of them.

In all these cases, with *cesso*, *nempe*, *fortasse*, *scilicet*, *videlicet*, we have sentences which lie between an assertion and a question, and which could have either effect according to the inflection of the voice.

B.—Repetitions.

When a speaker takes up and repeats words just used by the other person in the dialogue, it is because these words in particular have excited some emotion, surprise or incredulity or indignation.

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The effect is not necessarily interrogative, but rather exclamatory, shading off into interrogative.

1. The words are repeated without change, and the verb is not expressed.

Amph. 692, . . . *ut dudum dixeras.* || *dudum? quam dudum istuc factumst?* Amph. 901, Capt. 838, 844, Men. 380, 615, Merc. 735, Mil. 376 (Bx. uses period), Most. 383, 477L², 493, 638, 642, 810, Poen. 474, Ps. 79, 305 (but cf. Lang. Beitr. 315), 345, 637, 717, 842, Rud. 799, St. 749, Trin. 941 twice. In Curc. 636 the repetition is due to doubtful conjecture. In Trin. 375, . . . *ducere uxorem sine dote.* || *sine dote uxorem?* || *ita*, Ritschl's *uxoremne* has been accepted by Brix, who quotes instances of *ne* with second or third word in the sentence. His list might be somewhat enlarged, but the only cases where the MSS give *ne* with a noun in repetitions are Epid. 30, *armane*, and Eun. 573, 992, *pro eunuchon.* The latter is the nearest approach to a parallel to *uxoremne*, and does not give it much support. The passages from Ter. are Ad. 700, 753, And. 328, 663, 945 (Dz. only), Eun. 184, 318, 370, 856, 859, 908, 1073, Heaut. 192, 331, 587, 815, 861, 938, Hec. 432, 639, Ph. 300, 385, 553, 558, 642, 790, 981.

Cases where *non* is repeated are given below.

Pl. 25 [27,] Ter. 27.

2. Slight changes are made in the repeated words, especially in the person of pronouns. Curc. 582, *tuom libertum.* || *meum?* Cas. II 6, 14, III 6, 12, Men. 282, Poen. 762, 1238, Ps. 715, 723, Truc. 918, Ad. 697, 934, Eun. 745, 798, Hec. 209, Ph. 447.

In the following the changes are greater. Capt. 148, *alienus* . . . || *alienus ego? alienus ille?* Aul. 784, *renuntiare repudium iussit* . . . || *repudium rebus paratis exornatis nuptiis?* Eun. 224, 626, And. 928, Ad. 182, 960. Ph. 1047 is an improbable conjecture. In Rud. 728 Sch. reads *det.* In Aul. 326 the only objection to Wagner's text, *fur? etiam fur trifurcifer*, is that it makes the thought unnecessarily involved. Cas. II 5, 10, *cum uxore mea?* is changed by Gepp. to *uxoren*, cf. Trin. 375. In Andr. 469, Merc. 525, there is, strictly speaking, no repetition of words but only of the thought. Curc. 323 *ain tu? omnia haec?* is similar.[1]

Pl. 14 [16], Ter. 12.

[1] Repetitions preceded by *quid?* are not included in these lists. They are in many cases best punctuated with a comma after *quid* and cannot be clearly distinguished from repetitions like Capt. 1006, . . . *gnate mi.* | *hem, quid gnate mi?* ("What do you mean by *gnate mi?*"), or even like Ps. 46, *salutem* . . . |

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3. The verb, if it is in the 3d pers., may be repeated without change, either with or without other words. Curc. 173, *te prohibet erus . . .* || *prohibet? nec prohibere quit nec prohibebit.* Aul. 720, Cas. III 5, 38, Epid. 699, Merc. 181, 534, Most. 376, 481, 554, 830, 946, 1079, Poen. 1309, Rud. 1095 (infin.), Trin. 969, Truc. 306, Ad. 934, And. 876, Eun. 956, 984, 986, Heaut. 606, Hec. 100 (infin.), Ph. 510 (twice). Pl. 16, Ter. 9.

4. The verb may be changed in person and other changes or additions may be made. Aul. 761, *quod subrupuisti meum?* || *subrupui ego tuom?* Aul. 652, Bacch. 681, 825, Capt. 611, Cas. III 5, 10, Curc. 705, Epid. 712, Men. 394, Mil. 556, 1367, Most. 1029, Ps. 509, 711, 1203, Truc. 292, Ad. 565, And. 617, Eun. 162, Heaut. 720, 1009, 1013, Hec. 206 and perhaps Hec. 72, Ph. 389, Ad. 940, 950. Cf. also Trin. 127, above. In Aul. 720 *nescis?* is used as if some spectator had said *nescio* in answer to the previous question *dic igitur, quis habet.* In Men. 645, *palla mihist domo subrupta.* || *palla subruptast mihi?* the person of the pronoun is intentionally unchanged; in Most. 375, . . . *ego disperii.* || *bis peristi? qui potest?* the speaker is drunk.

Cases where the change is still greater cannot be classified minutely, and the question whether the speaker is introducing a new idea or catching up one which has been implied in the previous conversation can be settled only by a careful reading of the context. Such cases are Ps. 344, Trin. 605, Ad. 726. Sometimes the repetition is in the thought, not in any one word, and amounts to an interpretation of what has been said with the intention of bringing out more clearly some one aspect of it. So Ad. 747, *domi erit.* || *pro divom fidem, meretrix et mater familias una in domo?* Capt. 262, *ut vos hic, itidem illic apud vos meus servatur filius.* || *captus est?* (= "you mean that he is a prisoner?" not "is he a prisoner?") Ad. 538, *lupus in fabula.* || *pater est?* (Cf. Dz. note. Nearly equal to "what! my father?") So Men. 1058. When the idea has only been implied in a general way, the whole passage must be read. So Bacch. 145, Cist. II 1,

quam salutem? That is, they run over into *quis* in repetitions and ordinary *quis*-questions. They are Amph. 410, Ba. 114, 569, 852, Merc. 542, 685, Mil. 27, 316, 323, 470, Pers. 741, Rud. 736, 881, St. 597, Andr. 765, Eun. 638, Heaut. 311.

There is something of the same difficulty when the verb is repeated; so *erras.* | *quid erro?* (Men. 1025) is very near to *amat . . .* | *quid? amat?* (Eun. 986), and without the help of the voice inflection it is impossible to draw perfectly sharp lines; cf. Mil. 819 with Ps. 711.

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24, Mil. 976, Rud. 752 (III 4, 47), in Par.; Sch. gives period. St. 599, Eun. 636; also, I think, Ph. 548, Ad. 433, though the previous implication is less distinct.

Here belong also a few cases of exclamation, consisting of two or three words in which an idea already suggested is summed up. Asin. 487, *nunc demum?* Andr. 474, *hui, tam cito?* Also And. 755, Eun. 87, and Hec. 875, which would have had a verb if it had not been interrupted.

In a few passages a long sentence is taken up in parts and repeated interrogatively in order to get confirmation of each particular. The passages, which are too long to quote, are Capt. 879 ff., Ps. 1152 ff., Rud. 1267 f., Eun. 707 f., Heaut. 431 f.

Repetitions with variation of phrase, Pl. 31 [32], Ter. 23.

In all these cases there is a common element of repetition, generally exclamatory, frequently though not necessarily rejecting the repeated idea. When the repetition is plain, and no change is made except in person of verbs or pronouns, there is really nothing interrogative in the effect of the sentence, though it seems possible that an interrogative effect might be produced as in English by the voice-inflection. The common forms of reply, *ita dico, id volui dicere*, or a repetition of the word (Capt. 838, *cedo manum.* || *manum?* || *manum, inquam*), show that there is no request for information in this form of question. But the moment the speaker adds to the repeated words some idea of his own, or repeats not the precise words but some modification of them, he introduces an element which in the full logical presentation of his thought would require a separate question. Thus Ad. 726, *scio.* || *scis et patere?* means in full "You know it! And do you endure it, too?" Aul. 784, *renuntiare repudium iussit . . .* || *repudium rebus paratis exornatis nuptiis?* "Break the engagement! Does he propose that when everything is ready for the wedding?" In such cases the exclamatory structure of the first words is carried over into the second part and the real question is merged in the exclamation. Very possibly there would be in the Latin, as in the English, a slight pause after *repudium.*

Further, when the idea only is repeated in words which amplify or interpret it, the line which separates such exclamations from real questions is easily passed. Thus in Ad. 950, *agellist hic sub urbe paulum . . .* || *paulum id autemst?* does not mean "is that a little matter?" but "is that *what you call* a little matter?" In Capt. 262, given above, the change from *captus est?* "you mean that

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he's a prisoner?" to *captusne est?* "Is he a prisoner?" is so slight that either might be used in such a conversation. In repetitions which are considerably changed, therefore, we cannot use the principle here outlined as a basis for deciding text questions. Especially in the long series of repetitions it is impossible to be sure that *ne* would not be used. Cf. Capt. 879, *meum gnatum?* MSS *meumne*, and so Bent., Fleck., Goetz. And generally in the long-continued repetition the speaker swings away from the exclamatory form, his emotion cooling, and tends to question facts instead of statements of facts.

While the preceding classification is one of function rather than of structure, it nevertheless corresponds pretty closely to a distinction in form. In nearly all the complete sentences, the verb is near the end, or at least not near the beginning; that is, the order is declarative, not interrogative. The exceptions are Aul. 652, 761, Trin. 127, Truc. 747. In Aul. 652, *certo habes.* || *habeo ego? quid habeo?* ("Have! have what?") the verb is first for emphasis, and so, I think, in Aul. 761, *quod subrupuisti meum.* || *subrupui ego tuom? unde? aut quid id est?* Of Trin. 127 I have spoken above, and in this passage, and in Truc. 747, *non licet* with infin., the repetition is so precise and immediate that the phrases cannot be interrogative. But even granting these exceptions, it is plain that the late position of the verb in the sentence and the exclamatory nature of the repetition belong together.

The use of *autem* with repetitions I have not thought it necessary to notice, after the remarks of Langen, Beitr. 315 f. Cases in which *ain?* precedes the repetition will be found also under that word, which is more frequent in Pl. than *autem.*

5. The repeated verb is in the subjunctive.

(*a*). Repetitions of an imperative. Aul. 829, *i, redde aurum.* || *reddam ego aurum?* Mil. 496, *ausculta, quaeso.* || *ego auscultem tibi?* Cist. 241 U, Merc. 749 twice, Most. 579, 620 L^2, Ps. 1315, And. 323 (only Umpf.; better with period), 894. Twice the reply is by a third speaker, and the verb is in the 3d pers., Ph. 1001, *tu narra.* || *scelus, tibi narret?* and Eun. 797. Besides these, Asin. 93 is a dittograph of 94; St. 471 implies the omission of a vs. containing an impv. or its equivalent; Pers. 188 is confused and probably not a repetition. Langen, Beitr. 123, objects to Wagner's punctuation and explanation of Aul. 82, and proposes, apparently with hesitation, *quippini ego intus servem?* I should follow Wagner's text, . . . *intus serva.* || *quippini? ego intus*

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servem? understanding *quippini* to be the servant's assent to her master's order, while the next line is spoken in a grumbling undertone. Men. 198, *salta sic cum palla . . .* || *ego saltabo? sanus hercle non es*, and Merc. 915 are remarkable as the only cases in which the future repeats an impv. It must be connected with the impv. use of the fut. indic. 2d pers. and with the original fut. sense of the subjunctive. Pl. 9, Ter. 4.

(*b*). The impv. is only implied, or is expressed in the form of a question.

Bacch. 627 *non taces, . . . ?* || *taceam?* With *iubesne?* Eun. 389; with *non vides?* Eun. 676; with *quid dubitas dare?* Ps. 626. Also Ad. 938, Andr. 231, Ph. 988.

(*c*). Repetitions of a subjunctive, either impv. or in a subordinate clause. In the former case the subjunctive is like the preceding; in the latter it is merely a quotation with change of person, as with indicatives. Ps. 1226, *saltem Pseudolum mihi dedas.* || *Pseudolum ego dedam tibi?* Ps. 486, . . . *paritas, ut a med auferas.* || *abs te auferam?* With other tenses, Ps. 288, *surruperes patri.* || *surruperet hic patri, . . . ?* Bacch. 1176, Cas. II 6, 14, II 8, 18, 21, Men. 1024, Merc. 567, 575, Most. 183, Rud. 842, Ad. 396, And. 282, 382, 649, 900, Hec. 589, 670, Ph. 120, 382, 775. Also Most. 895, though it is partly corrupt.

There remain several passage in which the idea which is repeated and rejected by the subjunctive, is not distinctly expressed. Capt. 208, *at fugam fingitis . . .* || *nos fugiamus? quo fugiamus?* Asin. 838, *an tu me tristem putas?* || *putem ego quem videam esse maestum . . . ?* Asin. 482 is an interpolation; Rud. 728, *habeat, si argentum dabit.* || *det tibi argentum?* is an early correction now supported by A, Ps. 318, Truc. 625. Amph. 813, *mi vir, . . .* || *vir ego tuos sim?* (DEJ *sum*); Hec. 524, *mihine, mi vir?* || *vir ego tuos sim?* (*sum* all MSS exc. A), Andr. 915, *bonus est hic vir.* || *hic vir sit bonus?* ("Das soll ein Ehrenmann sein?" Speng.). Cas. I 1, 26, *mea praeda est illa . . .* || *tua praeda illaec sit?* (*est* BJE). The passages support each other, in spite of the variation in the MSS. It is plain, also, that *vir ego tuos sum?* would mean, "I am not your husband," while *sim* means "I am not going to be your husband any longer"; i. e., *sum* would deny the fact, *sim* rejects the claim. Pl. 22, Ter 17.

C.—*Rogas, negas, rogitas* AND SIMILAR VERBS.

Somewhat closely connected with repeated sentences is a group of verbs in the 2d pers. of the pres. indic., which sum up in a word

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or two the idea of the previous sentence. For example, in Aul. 764, *nequé . . . dixi neque feci*, the second speaker instead of repeating the words in an exclamatory tone, *non dixisti?* sums up the sentence in the single word *negas?* This usage, though distinct enough with a few verbs, shades off, as repetitions do, by the addition of ideas not contained in the previous sentence, into ordinary questions or exclamations.

1. *rogas* alone. Aul. 634, *quid tibi vis reddam?* || *rogas?* Epid. 64, *amatne istam . . . ?* || *rogas? deperit.* Bacch. 206, 216, 980, Capt. 660, Cas. II 3, 35, Epid. 276, Pers. 42 (Ba. Rit. *rogan*), 107, Poen. 263, 386, 733, Ps. 740, Rud. 860, St. 335, Trin. 80, Truc. 505, Ad. 772, And. 163, 184, 267, 909, Eun. 324, 436, 574, Heaut. 532, Ph. 574, 704, 915. Pl. 18, Ter. 12.

2. *rogitas* alone. Aul. 339, *qui vero?* || *rogitas?* Rud. 1361, Ad. 558, Eun. 366, 675, 794, 897, 948, 1008, Heaut. 631, Ph. 156, 257. With *at*, Andr. 828, Hec. 526. Pl. 2, Ter. 12.

The question which precedes *rogas? rogitas?* has *ne* once, *non* once, *etiam* once, *ecquid* four times; the other 37 cases, including all from Ter., have some kind of *quis* question. It is hardly likely that this is accidental, but I can see no reason for it, unless it be that a mere exclamatory repetition of e. g. *quid ego deliqui?* in the form *quid tu deliquisti?* would not be sufficiently differentiated from the ordinary question *quid tu deliquisti?* This might lead to the addition of *rogas* (see below) or to its substitution for the repetition.

With some four or five exceptions the speaker makes no pause for an answer after *rogas*, *rogitas*, but continues with some reply to the previous question. No answer is needed, in fact; the apparent question is purely exclamatory, performing the same function as exact repetitions, and differing little from the Engl. "What a question!"

3. *negas?* Curc. 711, *non conmemini dicere.* || *quid? negas?* || *nego hercle vero.* Aul. 764, Men. 306, Mil. 829, Ph. 740. Pl. 4, Ter. 1.

Though a pause is regularly made after *negas* and it is answered in three cases by *nego hercle vero*, it is entirely similar to *rogas*, *rogitas*.

4. *rogas*, *rogitas*, *negas* followed by other words.

rogitas etiam? Cas. V 4, 18.

rogas me? Men. 713, Amph. 571 (MSS *rogasne*. See O. Seyffert, Philol. 29 (1870), 385–6), Ad. 82, 665, Eun. 653; *rogitas*,

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quod vides? Ps. 1163; *rogitas quid sit?* Heaut. 251; *negas, quod oculis video?* Rud. 1067. *negas novisse me?* (After *novi cum Calcha simul*) Men. 750. Pl. 6, Ter. 4.

5. *rogas, rogitas, negas* preceded by other words.

etiam rogas? Bacch. 331, Merc. 202, Andr. 762; *etiam rogitas?* Aul. 424, 437, 633; *me rogas?* Men. 640, Heaut. 780, Mil. 426; *quid negoti sit, rogas?* (cf. Becker, 198), Aul. 296, Mil. 317; *quid fiat, facias, agam, metuam*, etc. Ad. 288, Eun. 837, Heaut. 454, 780, Merc. 633 (V. Beck., 209, MSS *men rogas*), Amph. 1025, 1028, Aul. 551, Bacch. 65, 1196, Curc. 726, Merc. 721, Most. 907 (*ecquid*), Rud. 379, St. 333, Eun. 720, *de istac rogas virgine?*

tu negas? And. 909. Men. 630 (MSS *tun*) and 821 (MSS *tu*) have been given above under *tun*. Bx. reads *tu* in both, Rit. *tun*, but it is entirely likely that Pl. should use *tu* and *tun negas* without discrimination. On Capt. 571 see Bx. Anh., Langen, p. 220. *tu negas med esse* (*sc.* Sosiam)? Amph. 434, Fleck. *tun. etiam negas?* Merc. 763. Pl. 23 [24], Ter. 8.

In all cases where *rogas, rogitas* has a dependent clause, the clause is repeated from the preceding question, e. g. *quid negotist?* || *quid negoti sit, rogas?* In such cases both the repetition and the verb *rogas* are exclamatory, and the implication is intended that no such question should have been asked. But in the few cases where new ideas are introduced the exclamatory rejection is less prominent and the questioning effect appears. The most distinct case is Eun. 720, *quid faciundum censes?* || *de istac rogas virgine?* || *ita*, where there is no rejection. Other cases of *negas* with infin. have a faint interrogative tone.

6. With a few other verbs in the 2d pers. pres. indic. These are not clearly marked off from other verbs (esp. *verba dicendi*) in the 2d pers., but a few cases will suffice to show that this exclamatory use is not confined to *rogas, rogitas, negas*, but extends also to other words. Only the cases in which the verb stands alone, or nearly alone, are given here, because with a dependent infin. or clause the distinction is less clear.

Hec. 527, *peperit filia? hem, taces? ex quo?* Bacch. 777, *quid fit? quam mox navigo . . . ? taces?* Eun. 695, 821. In Merc. 164 *taces* is a conjecture of Ritschl, differing from all other cases in not coming immediately after a question: the passage is, besides, an interpolation. *derides?* Merc. 907, Ad. 852. Ps. 1315 is improbable. *inrides?* And. 204. *narras*, Heaut. 520 *nihil nimis.* || *'nihil' narras?* And. 367, *non opinor, Dave.* || *'opinor' narras?*

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non recte accipis; certa res est. Also Ph. 401. To these Ad. 398, *vigilantiam tuam tu mihi narras?* bears the same relation that repetitions of an implied idea bear to exact repetitions. With these I should place Andr. 754, *male dicis?* Hec. 706, *fugis?* Heaut. 883, *ehem, Menedeme, advenis?* (cf. *tu hic eras?*). Men. 166, *agedum, odorare . . . quid olet? apstines?* In Ph. 515 A has *optundis*, the other MSS *obtunde;* most editors follow Fleck. and read *optundes.* Phaedria has been pouring out petitions to Dorio, who does not trust his promises and expresses his deafness to prayers for mercy in this word, *optundis*, "You keep at it?" "You hammer away at my ears?" The future is entirely out of place, while the present is entirely in accord with the manner of Ter., who uses this kind of exclamation, especially with single words, very frequently. For parallel in sense, cf. Ad. 769, *tu verba fundis hic sapientia?* and Andr. 348, *optundis, tam etsi intellego?* Ps. 943 R. *meram iam mendacia fundes*, is properly future.

Here also belongs *cessas*, with or without infin. Cf. *cesso*, above. *cessas?* Hec. 360, Ph. 565; *sed (tu) cessas?* Hec. 814, Ph. 858; with infin., Andr. 343, Ad. 916. Not in Pl. Pl. 3 [4], Ter. 19.

To these might be added a considerable number of cases showing a less distinct relationship to *rogas*, and gradually shading off till the reference to the preceding speech or act would be imperceptible and the sentence would become distinctly interrogative. These cases will be given under other headings.

As the repetitions were marked, though not quite invariably, by having the verb near the end of the sentence, so in this class the distinction of function is marked by a special form, the use of the 2d pers. pres. indic. without dependent words, except *me*, *etiam* and a clause or infin. repeated from the preceding speech. The typical form is *rogas* and the departures from it are few and unimportant.

D.—Questions with *non* and other Negative Words.

Questions without a particle containing a negative word occur about two hundred times in Pl. and Ter. Of these about 180 have *non.* The problem in regard to these sentences is to see whether they have any special interrogative form, and to determine their relation to *nonne.*

1. *non* in repetitions. These may or may not have a verb. Cist. II 1, 35, *non edepol . . . recipis.* || *non? hem, quid agis?* Ad. 661, 803, And. 194, Heaut. 780. Asin. 445 is entirely uncertain. *quid? non?* And. 587, Heaut. 894.

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Epid. 482, *haec non est ea.* || *quid? non est?* || *non est.* Most. 594, *non dat, non debet.* || *non debet?* Asin. 480, Men. 302, 503, Merc. 918, Poen. 173, 404, Ps. 326, Rud. 341, 1372, Ad. 112, Eun. 179, 679, Heaut. 612, Hec. 342. Pl. 12, Ter. 11.

Other cases occur in which the repeated idea is so expanded as to make it in part a new sentence, e. g. Most. 950, *nemo hic habitat.* || *non hic Philolaches adulescens habitat hisce in aedibus?* Cf. cases above, IV B. But the line which separates these from other *non*-questions is very indistinct, and I have preferred to place them below with other sentences of like form.

2. The remaining questions with *non*, except those having impv. effect, are arranged in three classes according to the position of *non* and the verb: (*a*) *non* and the verb together at the beginning of the sentence; (*b*) *non* and the verb together at the end; (*c*) *non* at the beginning, the verb at the end. These three arrangements do not, of course, cover all possible forms of sentence; *non* and the verb may be together in the middle of the sentence; they may be separated by a word or two, but generally the main part of the sentence, especially if there be a dependent infin., is not divided, but lies all together either after or before or between *non* and the verb.

(*a*). *non* and the verb are at the beginning of the sentence. Here are included some cases where *quaeso, eho, quid* or a vocative precedes, some in which *ego* or *tu* comes between *non* and the verb, and the short sentences consisting of *non* and the verb only.

non vides with infin. or clause. Asin. 472, *inpure, nihili, non video irasci?* Most. 811, *non vides tu hunc voltu uti tristist senex?* || *video.* Asin. 326, Bacch. 1136, Men. 947, Pers. 642, Ps. 1297, Rud. 942, Heaut. 1013. Without clause, Eun. 675, *ubi est?* || *rogitas? non vides?*

non tu scis with infin. or clause. Merc. 731, *non tu scis quae sit illaec?* || *immo iam scio.* Men. 714, 911, Mil. 1150, St. 606. Without clause, Asin. 215, *non tu scis? hic noster quaestus ancupi simillumust.* So Asin. 177, Amph. 703. The second sentence is here added paratactically, instead of being subordinated.

Other verbs in 2d pers. pres. indic. *non audes* with infin., Asin. 476, Ps. 1316 (A *nonne*), Truc. 425; *non audis*, with clause Ps. 230, alone like *non tu scis*, Poen. 1011; *non soles respicere te*, Ps. 612; *non intellegis?* Amph. 625; *non quis . . . durare*, Truc. 326; *non amas me?* Cas. V 4, 9; *non habes venalem amicam . . .* Ps. 341 (cf. 325); *non ornatis . . .?* Cas. III 2, 16; *non arbit-*

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raris . . . ? Trin. 789 (MSS *nonne*); *non clamas ? non insanis ?* Ad. 727; *non cogitas . . . ?* Heaut. 239; *quid ? non obsecro es, quem . . . ?* Ph. 742.

Perf. indic. 2d pers. *non nosti nomen meum ?* Men. 294, Truc. 595; *non (con)meministi*, Men. 533, 1074, Epid. 639; *non audivisti . . . ?* Rud. 355; *non tu dixti . . . ?* And. 852 (MSS *dixtin*).

Impf. indic. Epid. 599. Fut., in short sentences, Cist. II 1, 31, 32, Merc. 750, Eun. 696.

Impersonals. *non licet* with infin. Mil. 1404, *non licet mihi dicere ?* Asin. 935, Ps. 252, Rud. 426, Truc. 747. *non (te) pudet*, Men. 708, Poen. 1301, Ph. 525. Without infin. or gen. the order indicates nothing; *non te pudet ?* Men. 741, and *non pudet te ?* Trin. 1017 are indistinguishable.

Other tenses and persons are less frequent. First pers. pres. Cas. III 6, 12. In Amph. 403 ff., where the MSS. give *nonne* in several cases, the close connection of the questions with each other obscures the effect of the order. There are three cases with 1st pers. I can see nothing to distinguish Amph. 539, *non* (MSS *nonne*) *ego possum, furcifer, te perdere ?* from Rud. 1125, *non ego te conprimere possum sine malo ?* though the order is different. Ph. 543, *non triumpho, si . . . ?* has clear *nonne* force, and, less clearly, Ph. 489, Trin. 1153.

Third pers. pres. indic. Hec. 360, *non sciunt ipsi viam . . . ?* St. 393, Eun. 839. Impf., Aul. 294, *quid ? hic non poterat . . . ?* Bacch. 563. Plupf., Ph. 804.

Pres. subjunct., Hec. 341, *quid faciam misera ? non visam uxorem Pamphili, . . . ?* Eun. 46, Ph. 419, Heaut. 583. Rud. 969 is conditional. Pl. 57, Ter. 18.

Many of the sentences just given might have been placed in the preceding class as repetitions of a previously implied negative. Thus *non nosti* follows *quisquis es* or some other expression of uncertainty; *non amas me ?* Cas. V 4, 9 is distinctly implied before; Ps. 341 has been asserted in 325; and so Ph. 742, Rud. 335, all cases of *(con)meministi* and of the pres. subj. 1st pers.

Further *non vides, non tu scis, non licet, non pudet* closely resemble *rogas ?* etc., in that they sum up in a single word the effect of the previous sentence. Cf. Eun. 675, *ubi est ? || rogitas ? non vides ?*

(*b*). *non* and the verb together, but not at the beginning of the sentence; in most cases at or near the end.

None in indic. with 1st pers.

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Second pers. Epid. 514, *fides non reddis?* Eun. 463, *quid? hunc non vides?* Amph. 659, 937, Cist. III 11, Trin. 810. Perfect, Men. 505, *tuom parasitum non novisti?* Aul. 772. Fut., Mil. 696. Plupf., Ph. 384.

Third pers. Hec. 231, *cum puella anum suscepisse inimicitias non pudet?* Cas. IV 4, 25 (A, Gepp. *nonne*). In Asin. 395 the Goetz-Loewe text, *sed post non rediit huc?* seems to me improbable on account of *sed*, which is not found elsewhere in *non*-questions.

With subjunct., Eun. 798, *ego non tangam meam?* Impf., Eun. 591. In Rud. 723 the subjunc. is independent of the question.

Pl. 10 [11], Ter. 5.

These few cases are not different in sense from the preceding. *non pudet* at the end has the same relation to *non pudet* at the beginning that *quid sit me rogitas?* bears to *rogitas quid siet?*

(*c*). *non* and the verb are separated, *non* being at the beginning, the verb generally at the end.

In the first pers., Amph. 518, *carnufex, non ego te novi?* the same, Capt. 564, Men. 408. *non . . . sum*, Heaut. 920; *non . . . possum*, Rud. 1125. Amph. 406 has *nonne* in MSS. Perf. indic., Men. 512, *non ego te indutum foras exire vidi pallam?* Men. 631.

Second pers. pres. Pers. 385, *non tu nunc hominum mores vides, . . .?* Capt. 969, Cas. V 4, 28, Epid. 480, Men. 307, Merc. 133, 881, 913, 1014, Pers. 670, Rud. 347, 740, 870, And. 710, Ph. 492. Perf. indic., Epid. 638, *quis tu's homo, . . .?* || *non me novisti?* Mil. 428, Men. 438, Poen. 557, Rud. 1372, Heaut. 436. Impf. indic., Ad. 560, *non tu eum rus hinc modo produxe aibas?* || *factum.* Capt. 662, Pers. 415, Ps. 500. Fut. indic., And. 921, *non tu tuom malum aequo animo feres?* Eun. 819, Hec. 603, Ph. 1002.

Third pers. Bacch. 1193, *non tibi in mentemst, . . .?* Bacch. 1000, Cas. III 2, 17, Most. 950, Ad. 94, 754, Hec. 236, Ph. 392. Amph. 406 is in a series of *non*-questions, and in 404, 405, 407, 452 the MSS have *nonne*.

Pres. subjunct. 1st pers. Epid. 588, *non patrem ego te nominem . . .?* Truc. 732, Eun. 223. Impf. subjunc., Trin. 133, Curc. 552, (B *nonne*). Third pers., Ph. 119 in apodosis.

In a few cases, Asin. 652, And. 149, 752, Ad. 709, the verb is omitted.

Pl. 42, Ter. 18.

The following are corrupt or conjectural: Cas. III 5, 53, Men. 453, 823, Mil. 301, Most. 555, Poen. 258, Truc. 257, 259.

As has been said, this division is not entirely precise, either for

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interrogative or for declarative sentences. Single words, mostly conjunctions or interjections, occasionally precede *non*, a pronoun or adverb (*nunc*) sometimes separates *non* and the verb, and in the third class, under (*c*), the verb is frequently followed by two or three words, instead of being at the end. Also, in using the order as a basis for comparison, sentences consisting of *non* and the verb only must of course be thrown out, as well as other short sentences like *non te pudet? non me novisti?* and perhaps *fides non reddis?* Cf. *non manum abstines?* Even *non nosti nomen meum?* cannot differ greatly from *tuom parasitum non novisti?* But longer sentences fall pretty plainly into these three classes.

There are no statistics in regard to the position of *non* in declarative sentences, but taking a single play, and counting only simple sentences like those used in questions, there are in Trin. 33 cases, divided as follows:

	Declar.	Interrog.
(*a*) *non* and verb early, . .	6 = 18 per cent.	75 = 50 per cent.
(*b*) *non* and verb late, . .	11 = 33 per cent.	15 = 10 per cent.
(*c*) *non* and verb separated,	16 = 49 per cent.	60 = 40 per cent.

Taking the first two classes, it appears that *non* and the verb are put in the first place much more frequently in interrogative than in declarative sentences. This is due mainly to the large number of questions which resemble *rogas?* viz., *non vides, non tu scis, non nosti, non licet, non pudet;* the rest are either repetitions or sentences which would have *non* and the verb early for emphasis (Bx. on Trin. 414), even if they were declarative. A consideration of the order therefore strengthens the conclusion indicated by the meaning, that these are not properly questions, but exclamations, which presuppose a negative opinion on the part of the other speaker, and express doubt or rejection by repeating the negation in an exclamatory tone. In the cases under (*a*) only the verb and *non* belong to the repetition, and these therefore stand first as the starting-point of the speaker's thought. Cf. Aul. 784, . . . *renuntiare repudium iussit . . . || repudium rebus paratis exornatis nuptiis?* Where the verb and *non* stand at the end, the exclamatory tone is sustained through the whole sentence.

In the third class, (*c*), *non* comes at the beginning of a declarative sentence almost invariably in order that it may go with some single word. So in the Trin. with *ita* 649, *fugitivos* 1027, *credibile* 606, *optuma* 392, *satis* 249, 623, *minus* 409, *edepol* 357, *temere*

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740. In 705 only *enim* separates *non* from the verb; in 341, 414, 976 *non* contrasts one clause with another. The only cases in which it can go with the whole sentence are 480, 720 and perhaps 211. But when such sentences as these become interrogative they drop *non*, that is, they pass to the interrogation from the affirmation, not from the negation (cf. Paul, Princip.[2] p. 110), and appear in the forms *itan est? fugitivosne est? satin habes?* etc. On the other hand, of the 60 cases in questions there are scarcely half a dozen in which *non* could be taken with any one word. It is true that it very frequently stands just before a personal pronoun, *ego*, *tu*, *me*, *mihi*, but it does not negative the pronoun, nor would the pronoun be emphatic if the sentence were declarative. This seems rather to be another instance of the expression of the personal pronoun under the influence of the interrogative inflection, and its presence and close connection with *non* strengthen the hypothesis that this form of sentence is properly interrogative, not exclamatory like (*a*) and (*b*). *non* is placed first in order that it may go with the whole sentence (= " is it not true that . . . ? ").

Schrader gives 24 cases in Pl. and Ter. of *nonne;* of these 19 have the verb late, 4 contain only *nonne* and the verb, and only one (Ps. 1317 *nonne audes . . .*) has *non* and the verb together. In later Latin also, so far as I have been able to examine, *nonne* comes first and the verb at the end. I should therefore regard this third form of the *non* sentence as a true interrogation and the source of the *nonne* questions.

To this distinction *non* with pres. indic. 1st sing. seems to be an exception. Whatever its form, it has generally the meaning of *nonne.*

3. *non* with the second pers. pres. indic., with impv. force. *non taces?* Amph. 700, Asin. 931, Bacch. 470 (*non tu t.*), 627, Cas. V 4, 14, Curc. 712, Men. 618, 1026, Merc. 211, 484, 754, Most. 734, Ph. 987, 1004; *non tu* (*hinc, istinc*) *abis?* Men. 516, Ps. 1196, St. 603, Eun. 799; *non mihi respondes?* And. 743, Ph. 992; *non te tenes?* Men. 824; *non manes?* Ph. 849; *non tu te cohibes? non te respicis?* Heaut. 919; *non omittitis?* Ad. 942; *non manum abstines?* Ad. 781; *non tu tibi istam praetruncari linguam largiloquam iubes?* Mil. 318. *non taces?* Ps. 889 (B, Goetz); I prefer *non places* (CD, Lor.) Pl. 17, Ter. 10.

That these have impv. effect is shown by the reply *taceam?* Bacch. 627, Ph. 987, as if after *tace.* But the questioning effect

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is also felt, as appears from the other form of answer *non (hercle vero) taceo*, Cas. V 4, 14, Curc. 912, Men. 618. These do not differ in any essential point from other questions with *non*, and something of impv. force may be felt in *non vides* (cf. *videsne*), *non tu scis* and even in *non licet*.

4. Other negatives used in questions without a particle are these:

nil. nil respondes? Ad. 641, Eun. 152, Poen. 259. These are like *non taces?* with an impv. effect. The other cases of *nihil* are all in Ter., Ad. 244, And. 949, Eun. 735, Hec. 462, 811; I should add Cas. prol. 78 and Merc. 912, generally punctuated with period.

nullus, Bacch. 718, Ps. 294, 1002; *nemo*, Ad. 529; *neque . . . neque*, Amph. 756, Pers. 131. Pl. 6 [8], Ter. 8.

The negative word in these sentences (except *nil respondes?*) is not at the beginning of the sentence and has no effect upon the question. Its presence is accidental, and the questions are like other forms of interrogative sentence without particle, with which they might have been classed.

E.—Questions with *iam* and *etiam*.

Questions without a particle, having *iam* at or very near the beginning, occur 50 times, beside two (Ad. 700) without verb. In most of these *iam* has the same sense as in declarative sentences. Thus *iam ferio foris?* Men. 176 is "at once"; Merc. 222, *iam censes patrem abiisse a portu?* "by this time, already." So also with *nunc*, Ad. 290. With the perfect indic. the meaning "by this time, already, so soon" is quite distinct. In a few cases there is an approach to the impv. effect (cf. *etiam*). Merc. 884, *prehende. iam tenes?* || *teneo.* || *tene.* Most. 836, *iam vides?* Closely connected with this is a kind of assertive force, as if the sentence were both interrogative and strongly declarative. So most cases of *iam tenes? iam vides? iam scis?*

There are also a few cases in which I can see no time-force. Pers. 25, *iam servi hic amant?* Ps. 472, *iam tibi mirum id videtur?* (Rit. *num*, Lor. *an*). Asin. 929, *iam subrupuisti pallam, quam scorto dares?*

The passages in which *iam* is found are, with pres. indic. 1st pers., Men. 176, Eun. 814; 2d pers., Amph. 798, Asin. 338, Capt. prol. 10 (incomplete vs. Bx. *iamne*), Cist. II 3, 69, Epid. 25, 401, Merc. 222, 884, Most. 836 [III 2, 154 is a mere repetition], Pers.

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528, 589, Poen. 578, Trin. 780 (*tenes iam?*), Truc. 881, Ad. 290, Eun. 703, 1016; fut., Heaut. 350; perf., Amph. 962, Asin. 929, Cas. II 3, 34, Merc. 658, Mil. 1344, Most. 668, Pers. 483 (MSS *an iam*), 484, Rud. 1386, St. 317, Trin. 912, Truc. 378. Third pers. pres., Pers. 25, 485, Poen. 590, Ps. 472, St. 529, Truc. 508 (twice), Ad. 388, Eun. 704; perf., Amph. 957, Asin. 410, 437, 638, Merc. 823, Mil. 1429, And. 806, Ph. 525, 796. The text is doubtful in Rud. 1383, 1369. Ad. 700 is without verb. Ph. 22 with period. Pl. 40, Ter. 10.

With *etiam* the case is somewhat similar. It is used 68 times, and in many of these the sense does not differ from the uses well known in declarative sentences. Thus without time-force, "also, again," Asin. 677, *furcifer, etiam me delusisti?* Amph. 394, *etiam denuo*, Amph. 702, *etiam tu quoque*, Bacch. 127, *etiam me advorsus*, Epid. 711, Mil. 1206, Pers. 849, St. 427, Poen. 1234, Rud. 817, Ad. 243, 246, Ph. 769, Merc. 538, *etiam nunc*, Merc. 829, Ph. 931, And. 644, Eun. 286, 710 (but with a redundant syllable; Umpf. Dz. om. *nunc*). With time-force, "still, yet," Merc. 129, *at etiam asto? at etiam cesso . . .?* St. 574, *etiam valet?*

There are a few cases in which I do not see that *etiam* has any proper meaning. Bacch. 216, *sed Bacchis etiam fortis tibi visast?* cf. Mil. Glor. 1106, *ecquid fortis visast?* Most. 553, *etiam fatetur de hospite?* Pers. 651, *cmam* [*cam*], *opinor.* || *etiam 'opinor'?*

The remaining cases all have the verb in 2d pers. pres. indic., and are of two distinct and well defined classes. First, *etiam* with or without *ne* is used to express an impv. So *etiam (tu) taces?* Curc. 41, Pers. 152, Trin. 514, 790, Ad. 550, *dicis* Pers. 278, *etiam quid respondetis mihi?* Bacch. 670; other cases are Bacch. 1168, Curc. 189, Aul. 255, Asin. 715, Pers. 275, 413, 542, Most. 383, Heaut. 235, Ph. 542. Also *acceptura es*, Rud. 469, and possibly Most. 513 (Lor.[3] *etiam tu fuge*, but the dialogue is confused). Also Men. 422, *etiam parasitum manes?* which Langen does not include. Pl. 16, Ter. 3.

Second, *etiam* is used with the 2d pers. pres. in an exclamatory sentence. So *etiam rogas?* (Pl. 2, Ter. 3), *etiam rogitas?* (Pl. 3), given above under IV C. These, like *rogas?* alone, sum up a previous sentence, and *etiam* does not mean "again" or "still, yet," since the preceding question is frequently the first that has been asked. In some of the following cases *etiam* might be taken to mean "still" or "again." Merc. 896, *etiam metuis?* "are you still afraid?" Merc. 982, *etiam loquere?* "you still speak!" But

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in most cases no such sense is possible, and these questions so closely resemble those given under IV C that it is difficult to draw any line between them. So *etiam minitare?* Bacch. 785, Truc. 621; *male loquere*, Pers. 290; *male loqui audes*, Capt. 563; *quaeris*, Merc. 981; *mones*, Bacch. 910; *muttis*, Amph. 381, Pers. 827; *inrides*, Most. 1132; *derides*, Men. 499; *clamas*, Amph. 376; *negas*, Merc. 763 (IV C); *rides*, Eun. 1017. In the following the sense of "still" is possible or probable: Merc. 728, 896, 982, Rud. 877, Trin. 572, 708, 991, Eun. 668, Hec. 430, 507. Also Most. 851, *at etiam restas?* (Rit. *restas:* Lor.^{2} *restat:*)

Pl. 20, Ter. 4.

Andr. 849 should be *responde*, Rud. 733 is entirely confused, Rud. 711 might be included with the preceding, but is generally marked with a period. Bacch. 321, *etiam dimidium censes?* is condemned by Langen, p. 161, but retained, rightly, as I think, by Goetz. Pl. 54, Ter. 14.

As has been said, there are about 900 questions without a particle in Pl. and Ter.; it now appears that more than 100 of these begin with *iam* and *etiam*. This raises two questions: (1) Were *iam* and *etiam* put at the beginning of the sentence, as *non* appears to have been, under the influence of the interrogative inflection? (2) Or did they, being already at the beginning of the sentence, take on an interrogative function?

As to the first question, a rough count shows that there are about 100 cases of *iam* in declarative sentences in the Amph., Asin., Aul. and Capt. In 30 of these *iam* goes with a subordinate verb or clause; of the remaining 70 about 40 have *iam* at the beginning. For *etiam* I have made no count, but believe the facts to be about the same. It appears likely, therefore, that the position of *iam* and *etiam* is not peculiar to questions, but is common to interrogative and declarative sentences.

The second question could be more surely answered if there were any discussion of the early uses of *iam* and *etiam*. The 42 cases of *iam* in declarative sentences are divided as to persons and tenses as follows:

	Pres.	Impf.	Fut.	Perf.	Pres. subj.	
1st pers.	8	...	14	2	1	= 25
2d pers.	1	1	...	...	...	= 2
3d pers.	9	...	6	...	...	= 15
	18	1	20	2	1	= 42

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In questions as follows:

	Pres.	Fut.	Perf.	
1st pers.	2 (fut. sense)	...	...	= 2
2d pers.	17	1	12	= 30
3d pers.	9	...	9	= 18
	28	1	21	= 50

Here is a marked tendency to use *iam* with the first pers. and the fut. in declarative sentences, but with the 2d pers. and the perf. in questions, the 3d pers. and the pres. remaining unchanged. This appears to indicate that *iam* expressed a kind of impatience or urgency, which I suppose to be connected with its use "in contrast with the time at which something was expected" (Harper's Lex., s. v., I. A, 2). A similar assertive force is plain in *etiam*, "and even, even," and in its use in answers, "just so, yes indeed." From the contrast between this subjective standard, which *iam* and *etiam* express, and the actual occurrence result the peculiar uses of these words in questions. Thus *etiam tu taces?* means "Are you keeping still at last? I should have expected it long ago." *etiam dicis ubist?* "Are you going to tell me at once? I asked you long ago." With *iam* this impv. force is much less distinct, but cf. Merc. 884, *prehende. iam tenes?* || *teneo.* || *tene*, with Pers. 413 ff., *accipin . . .? accipe sis . . . tene sis . . . etiam tu . . . tenes?* So in *iam scis? iam vides?* there is a kind of challenge or demand, in which the expression of contrast is more important than the idea of time; "*now* you know, *now* you see, don't you? though before you didn't."

Langen says, Beitr. 160, in commenting upon Bacch. 319, with Ussing's note '*etiam* interrogantis,' "*etiam* hat aber in der Frage sonst immer seine besondere Bedeutung, hier würde es zu einer blossen Fragepartikel herabsinken." Below on the same page he says that the only case where *etiam* serves merely to give a special shading to the question is the impv. use. I have called attention above to some instances of *iam* (Pers. 25, Ps. 472, Asin. 929) and *etiam* (Bacch. 216, Most. 553, Pers. 651), mostly with the 3d pers., in which I can see no individual meaning for these words, where they seem to me "der Frage eine besondere Nüance zu geben," to use Langen's words. To these I should now add *etiam rogas*, *rogitas*, *minitare*, *negas*, etc., as being questions in which *etiam* has at the most only the meaning "actually, really,"

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or, better expressed, has so far lost its proper sense as to serve merely to give a particular shade of meaning to the question, to make the question urgent and impatient and exclamatory. That is, *etiam* has almost and *iam* has less frequently assumed interrogative functions.[1] It is worth noting that *iam* is used without *ne* 50 times, with *ne* 38, while *etiam*, having more interrogative effect in itself, is used without *ne* 68 times, with *ne* only 26 times.

F.—Continued, Supplementary, and Introductory Questions.

Similar in a general way to the partially interrogative sentences given above are certain forms of incomplete questions, which depend upon either a preceding or a following sentence. These for the most part explain themselves, and no full lists of them are given, but it seems worth while to point out their relation to and possible influence upon other forms of question.

1. To a previous question the speaker himself adds a second thought, either in a phrase or a clause, in order to define the main question more precisely.

The added words may follow the question immediately, and be so clearly a part of it as to make it doubtful whether all should not be considered one question. Ps. 617 ff., *esne tu an non es ab illo militi Macedonio? servos eius, qui . . . est mercatus . . . dederat . . . debet?* Mil. 994 f., *numquis hic prope adest, qui rem alienam potius curet quam suam? qui . . . ancupet? qui . . . vivat?* So Men. 380, Poen. 557 ff., Rud. 1185, St. 97, Eun. 46 f., 794, Hec. 676, Ph. 156.

More frequently the continuation is added after an interruption or a reply by the second speaker. In this case the interruption may be almost entirely neglected, as in Poen. 879 f., *scin tu erum tuom meo ero esse inimicum capitalem?* || *scio.* || *propter amorem?* Ph. 739, *quis hic loquitur?* || *Sophrona.* || *et meum nomen nominat?* Or the speaker may continue his question because the reply was inadequate, or because he desires to make his question more precise and so compel a different answer. Aul. 773, *dic bona fide: tu id aurum non subrupuisti?* || *bona.* || *neque scis quis id abstulerit?* || *istuc quoque bona.* Ps. 484 f., *ecquas viginti minas paritas ut auferas a me?* || *aps te ego auferam?* || *ita: quas meo*

[1] In Bacch. 670, *etiam quid respondetis mihi?* the indef. *quid* is used after *etiam* exactly as it is used after the recognized particles *num*, *ec-* and *an*.

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gnato des, qui amicam liberet? See esp. Rud. IV 8 (1265 ff.) Other examples are Most. 974 ff., Poen. 725, 732, Heaut. 894, etc. —about 30 in all. In some cases the continuation begins with *at*, correcting the previous question, and this may make the continuation amount in sense to a new question, though in the form of the original question. Heaut. 973, *ere, licetne?* || *loquere.* || *at tuto?* (all edd. use period). St. 342, *ecquem convenisti?* || *multos.* || *at virum?* Hec. 804, *es tu Mycónius?* || *non sum.* || *at Callidemides?* The string of names in Trin. 916 f. is entirely similar, though *at* is not used.

When the original sentence is a *quis*-question, the second part is not so closely dependent upon the main sentence, but it implies, in the full logical expression of the thought, a repetition of the leading verb. Amph. prol. 52, *quid contraxistis frontem? quia tragoediam dixi futuram hanc?* Pers. 718, *quo illum sequar? in Persas? nugas.* About half a dozen cases.

In all continued questions the previous speech is itself a question, and in the words added by the same speaker there is no real interrogative force. They take over the interrogation, with whatever shading of genuine desire for information, of rejection or of exclamation it may have, from the main question. This fact sufficiently explains the absence of an interrogative particle.

2. Resembling these in form but differing essentially in character are the semi-interrogative phrases or clauses which supplement a remark made by the other speaker. In these the interrogation, so far as there is any, is not in the words but in the unexpressed idea, "Do you mean your remark in this way,—if this idea is added?" Hec. 809, *dic me orare ut veniat.* || *ad te?* "(Do you mean) to you?" Heaut. 778, *argentum dabitur ei ad nuptias, aurum atque vestem qui—tenesne?* || *comparet?* "get ready, do you mean?" Amph. 805, *ego accubui simul.* || *in eodem lecto?* || *in eodem.* Aul. 148, Ad. 536, Heaut. 905—about 12 in all. A relative clause may be added in this way, either with (see I. K.) or without *ne*. So Epid. 700, Mil. 973, with Brix's note, Ad. 530, Heaut. 1018.

There are a few places where a brief question is added, not depending upon what has been said, but using the framework of the previous sentence. Ph. 209, *quin abeo?* || *et quidem ego?* Rud. 1161, *ubi loci sunt spes meae?* || *immo edepol meae?* With these I should class a few brief demands, consisting of a word or two and immediately connected with the previous remark. Andr.

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928, *ibi mortuost.* || *eius nomen?* Eun. 317, *color verus, corpus solidum—* || *anni?* Eun. 810.

Here belong finally all questions with *si* (*sin, verum si, at si, etsi*). Ph. 492, *nondum mihi credis?* || *ariolare.* || *sin fidem do?* Cf. esp. And. 348, *nuptiae mi—* || *etsi scio?* || *hodie—* || *optundis, tam etsi intellego?* About 10 cases.

3. If the main verb is in the second part of the question, then the first part may shrink away into an almost meaningless phrase, whose only function is to introduce with vividness the main question. This is the case with *ain?* which introduces an exclamatory repetition, with *audin?* introducing a command, and sometimes with *scin tu?* Also *quid?* is used most frequently before exclamations, *quid nunc?* before questions, and *quid ais?* before regular and somewhat formal questions. All of these occur often before questions without a particle, and it is probable that these words of themselves marked the following sentence as interrogative and made the particle unnecessary. In the same way, when two independent questions of similar form are used together, *ne* in the first would suffice for both; cf. Capt. 139, *egone illum non fleam? ego non defleam . . .?* with Brix's note. These are only continued questions, in which the second part has a main verb and has become grammatically independent, but is still so far dependent as to have no separate sign of interrogation.[1]

E. P. MORRIS.

[1] Continued questions are common in Pl., but interruptions and supplementary phrases seem to be used much more frequently by Ter.

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III.—BEGINNINGS OF THE "CLASSICAL" HEROIC COUPLET IN ENGLAND.

In the year 1885 Mr. Edmund Gosse published a series of collected essays under the title "From Shakespeare to Pope."[1] They had been delivered as lectures before the Johns Hopkins University, and elsewhere in America, the previous year. The argument of these lectures (and the author takes great pride in the irrefragability of the "links of the argument," as his subsequent preface shows) culminated in the following assertions: "I do not myself believe, or see any reason for suspecting, that the change to classicism in England was originally started by direct influence from France any more than from Germany, or from Holland, or from Spain" (p. 17). "I do not believe that Waller was in the very smallest degree affected by the French revolt against the poetry of the renaissance when he opened his campaign against the romantic school at home. I am persuaded that it was the result of one of those atmospheric influences which disturb the tradition of literature simultaneously, and in all the countries of Europe alike, and that it was a much more blind and unconscious movement than that which towards the close of the eighteenth century impelled all the literatures of Europe to throw off the chains which they had adopted one hundred and fifty years before" (p. 19).

Mr. Gosse's grounds for the first assertion are given in the form of a statement of fact; and it must be acknowledged that there is a tradition of two hundred years' standing to recommend it: "Waller was writing poems in distichs, which were often as good as Dryden's ever became, at least as early as 1623" (p. 18), while "Malherbe's poems did not appear in Paris till 1630, two years after his death." "A few of his pieces had come to light [before Waller wrote], but he had issued no book; he was only a fructifying centre of influence."

It will be observed that we have here two assertions and one statement of fact. The latter is the date of Malherbe's death and that of the issue of his poems. The unsupported assertion is that

[1] Cambridge, At the University Press. The citations in this paper are made from the New York edition, 1885.

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Malherbe was only a "fructifying centre of influence," or, as he puts it (p. 18) more plainly: "Malherbe, with whom by universal consent the fashion for correct versifying and the exclusion of ornament set in, was not at this time a poet known even to the French public." Finally, the statement supported by English tradition, *and by this alone*, is to the effect that Waller began writing at least as early as 1623.

Before taking up the questions affecting England it may not be amiss to examine the statements concerning Continental literature. Mr. Gosse now and then speaks of changes which cannot be understood "merely by a reference to our local schools of poetry in England" (p. 13); but a little preliminary consideration will show that there is no real comparative study in his book. On page 17 the admission is made that "at the final decline of the Renaissance it was France that stood at the intellectual head of Europe." But our author finds in this simply an explanation of the fact that the "movement began first in France." In the case of Holland, the point at issue is avoided by what might be called a denial of the major premise; that is, it is denied that there ever had been, properly speaking, any romantic poetry at all in Holland, and it is asserted that Vondel accomplished the change to "classicism" by "polishing the execution of their [of the Dutch] verses." Finally, in the case of Germany, no mention is made of French influence except in the single phrase, "he (Opitz) took his cue directly from Holland and France." But this is only a saving clause, and has no part in his argument. Opitz is made to sound the first note of change in 1617, and, as far as Mr. Gosse is concerned, the matter begins and ends here. Opitz is essentially an autochthon, and is "as rigidly classical, didactic, and anti-romantic as it is possible to be."

This whole representation of the state of things in Holland and Germany is unsatisfactory. Heinsius,[1] who was at this time to Holland what Opitz was to Germany, is not even mentioned. Vondel's services to Dutch literature were of course very great, but the mention of him in *this* connection is unfortunate. For while Heinsius, though borrowing largely from Ronsard, rejected the

[1] Cf. J. B. Muth, Ueber das Verhältniss von Martin Opitz zu Dan. Heinsius, Leipziger Diss., 1872, p. 30; Dr. G. Witkowski, Martin Opitzens Aristarchus, Leipzig, 1888, p. 6. The dissertation of R. Beckherrn, Martin Opitz, P. Ronsard und Daniel Heinsius, Königsberg, 1888, was not accessible.

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latter's authority as to the *vers communs*,[1] and elected the Alexandrine, it was Vondel who, in 1659, in his 'Jephte,' introduced in his tragedies the verse of ten syllables, *in deference to the authority of Ronsard.*[2]

For Germany it will be sufficient to amend Mr. Gosse's picture by a reference to the following authorities. For Opitz' enormous and direct obligations to Heinsius cf. Dr. Karl Borinski, Die Poetik der Renaissance, Berlin, 1886, pp. 61–62; and C. W. Berghoeffer, Martin Opitz' Buch von der deutschen Poeterei, Frankfurt a.-M., 1888, pp. 34–36, 43. His relation to Ronsard is discussed by Otto Fritsch, Martin Opitzens Buch von der deutschen Poeterei, Ein kritischer Versuch, Halle, 1884, p. 76 f. Not even was Opitz' national patriotism in poetical matters original; it was kindled at the French patriotism of Ronsard (Fritsch, p. 31). The assertion that Opitz' couplets were "strictly classical in taste"[3] must mean "classical" in the sense in which the word is employed elsewhere in the book; that is, as characterizing the end-stopt couplet. How far this is from the truth is seen in Opitz' own words.[4]

The conclusion forced upon us by this review of Mr. Gosse's brief survey of the condition of literature on the Continent in the second decade of the seventeenth century, is that his estimate of French influence on European literature at this time is lower than the facts warrant. In this way the reform in each country is made to appear quite spontaneous, and Waller's title as originator of a school of literature in England is rendered doubly secure.

Returning then to England, two things arrest our attention, before all others: indifference as to the origin of the "classical" couplet, and a curious persistence of the tradition above referred

[1] But cf. Ronsard, Œuvres Complètes, VII 330 f.

[2] 'Naar dien de edele heer Ronsard, de vorst der Fransche dichteren, deze dichtmaet hooghdravender oordeelt, en beter van zenuwen voorzien, en gesteven dan d'Alexandrijnsche, van twalef en dertien lettergreepen, die, zooveel langer, naer zijn vordeel flaeuwer vallen en meer op ongebonde rede trecken.' Werken, door J. van Lennep, VIII, 1863, p. 16. Vondel was no stranger to the couplet before 1659, but the verse he habitually makes use of is the Alexandrine.

[3] From Shakespeare to Pope, p. 14.

[4] "So ist es auch nicht von nöthen, das der periodus oder sentenz allzeit mit dem verse oder der strophe sich ende: ja es stehet zierlich, wann er zum wenigsten biss zue des andern, dritten, vierdten verses, auch des ersten in der folgenden strophe Caesur behalten wird." Deutsche Poeterei, ed. Witkowski, p. 185; cf. also Ronsard, Œuvres, III 26.

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to, that this form of verse is far more beholden to Waller for its introduction and first development than to any other English poet.

In October 1886 a writer in the Quarterly Review, who subsequently disclosed himself as Churton Collins, published a violent attack on Mr. Gosse and his book. This was based upon a considerable number of errors in detail, and not only attracted wide attention, but aroused violent discussion in a legion of journals.

But in all this discussion, the theory and the assertions cited above were either not mentioned at all, or were dealt with in a summary and uncritical fashion. The Quarterly Reviewer actually rejects as "not practical" the question of the influence of Continental literature upon that of England. His reason is, partly, because "English literature can never be studied properly, unless it be studied in connection with the literature of Greece and Rome," but chiefly, because it is not to be expected that a student should "read, in addition to Greek and Latin, half-a-dozen other languages, and among those languages . . . *Anglo-Saxon and German*" (p. 322). It is difficult to understand Mr. Collins' position in regard to the classical couplet. He does not appear to recognize the existence of that metrical form as distinguished from the Elizabethan rhymed couplet. An instance of the rashness of his statements is this, that Geo Sandys "wrote heroic couplets simply indistinguishable from Pope's couplets" (p. 304). This is literary criticism "by and large." We shall see below that Sandys' couplets are simply and easily *dis*tinguishable from those of Pope. The discussion aroused by the Quarterly Review article produced absolutely no critical result.

And now, in 1889, in "A History of Eighteenth Century Literature" (London and New York), Mr. Gosse enters the field again with a series of statements, chastened in form, but with unabated clearness and pretension.

"The most obvious phenomenon connected with the change of poetry was the gradual substitution, in non-dramatic verse, . . . of a single normal instrument of versification, namely, the neatly balanced *and unbroken* heroic couplet" (p. 2).[1]

"Waller, without apparently any ambition to restore the couplet as Chaucer had left it, nor, on the other hand, any suggestion from France, where the Alexandrine was not yet subjected to a like

[1] "I must insist upon the fact that the principle of the structure of romantic poetry was overflow, that of the classical poetry was distich." From Shakespeare to Pope, p. 47.

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reform, revised and strengthened this form of verse, and gave it the character which it retained for no less than one hundred and fifty years" (p. 3).

Let us pause to consider what this means. A youth of eighteen years, still "living in his mother's house in Buckinghamshire," acting upon some impulse or instinct, or enlightenment, writes verses not only of perfect harmony and cadence, but also according to a new principle of structure. Unsupported during many years, and yet persistent, he obtains in 1642 (about twenty years) his first disciple. His earliest verses were not only as good as any he wrote during the course of his long life, they were also better of that kind than any which his contemporaries succeeded in producing. This young man, then, in the manner indicated, set the fashion in English literature. He did more; he fixed the type for one hundred and fifty years. The matter has even been taken up by historians, and we find so capital an authority on the seventeenth century in England as Mr. S. R. Gardiner thus generalizing on Waller's great deed:[1] "Something, no doubt, of that great law of reaction by which the courses of humanity are governed is visible in the adoption, by one whose own life was so dissolute as to cast off all moral restraints, of a scheme of poetry of which the chief characteristic is the subordination of independent thought and fancy to the severest artificial laws of style. Yet, even in this respect Waller was floating on a tide which ran with a greater sweep than could be accounted for by the peculiarities of his individual character." In a note Mr. Gardiner adds: "My own knowledge of the history of poetic form is extremely slight, but I suppose, speaking under correction, that the recent critics of Mr. Gosse, by whose work these paragraphs were suggested, will allow so much to Waller." The generalization is superb, and the fact must be allowed, but is Waller entitled to this extraordinary distinction? The answer must be sought for in his works.

The poem which heads the list in most editions of Waller[2] is entitled "Of the Danger His Majesty (being Prince) Escaped in the Road at St. Andero," and contains 170 lines in couplets. Charles I is represented embarking off Santander in Spain, after

[1] S. R. Gardiner, History of the Great Civil War, Vol. I, London, 1886, pp. 9–10.

[2] The editions of Waller which were used in preparing the present paper are: London, 1729, ed. Mr. Fenton, 4to; London, 1730, ed. Mr. Fenton, 8vo; and the edition by Robt. Bell, London, 1854, 8vo. Unfortunately, none of the earlier editions were accessible.

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his dubious wooing of the Infanta at Madrid, in 1623. The argument is afforded by the fortunate rescue of the barge in which the Prince was, when it was in danger of being swept out of the open roadstead by a sudden squall off shore. There is much mythology of feminine eyes and influences in the poem:

> "And dear remembrance of that fatal glance,
> For which he lately pawned his heart in France.
> . . . . . .
> When France shall boast of her whose conquering eyes
> Have made the best of English hearts their prize."

Mr. Gosse in some incredible way has misread the poem, when a single glance at Dr. Johnson's life of Waller would have set him right. "The dubious and coy position of the Infanta . . . is lightly touched" (p. 49). But the Infanta is not even referred to. The "fatal glance" is owned by the French Princess Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. Charles had seen her, but by no means "pawned his heart" to her, while travelling incognito through France, a few months before, to reach Spain and the Infanta.[1] The marriage between Charles and Henrietta Maria had been talked of in January 1624, but the whole matter was disavowed by its promoters, Buckingham and Marie de Médicis, as soon as it was noised abroad.[2] That a time-serving poet like Waller, who risked his art only on certainties, should have written the piece at this time is impossible. The marriage treaty was signed in November, the dispensation for it granted in Rome in December, and the marriage itself took place May 1, 1625, after Charles had ascended the throne. All Waller's commentators have dated the poem 1623. Fenton (1730) wishes to prove by the date that "Waller began to write only twenty-five years after the death of Spenser." Gosse conjures up the following dramatic situation: "It was distinctly an inspiration for a lad of eighteen, in the winter of 1623, when Ben Jonson, and Chapman, and Drayton were the poets most in vogue, resolutely to sit down without a model to write a long poem on the exciting incident of the moment, the danger Prince Charles had just escaped on his return voyage from Spain" (pp. 48–9). Dr. Johnson[3] stands alone in the opinion that the piece "could not have been the sudden effu-

[1] S. R. Gardiner, Prince Charles and the Spanish Marriage, Vol. II, 1869, p. 303.

[2] S. R. Gardiner, History of England under the Duke of Buckingham and Charles I, Vol. I, 1875, p. 5.

[3] Lives of the Poets, London (Warne & Co.), n. d., pp. 96–7.

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sion of fancy, and must have been written after the event." A careful reading of the poem, with the attested fact in mind that Waller composed slowly and painfully, and kept his pieces long by him,[1] must convince any unprejudiced reader that Dr. Johnson is right. The poem cannot have been written before 1625, and was more probably—for reasons which will appear later on—produced later still.

With two or three exceptions, to be presently mentioned, there is no evidence that Waller wrote anything further before 1635. And there is direct evidence to the contrary. Lord Clarendon, in his Life, has given us a complete picture of Waller.[2] "He had the good fortune to have an alliance and friendship with Dr. Morley, who had assisted and instructed him in the reading many good books, to which his natural parts and promptitude inclined him, especially the poets; and at the age when other men used to give over writing verses (for he was near thirty years when he first engaged himself in that exercise, at least that he was known to do so), he surprised the town with two or three pieces of that kind, as if a tenth muse had been born to cherish drooping poetry. The doctor (Morley) at that time brought him into that company, which was most celebrated for good conversation, etc."

Dr. Morley,[3] afterwards Bp. of Winchester, was a great student, and had distinguished friends. It is furthermore known that he lived in Waller's house at Beaconsfield several years, and assisted him in his literary studies. The circle to which Waller was introduced was the famous one which gathered around Lord Falkland at Great Tew, twelve miles from Oxford.[4] Falk-

[1] Five couplets written in the Tasso of Her Royal Highness (Fenton's ed., 1730, p. 175) are said on the authority of the Duke of Buckingham to have cost Waller the greater part of a summer, in composition and correction.

[2] Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Vol. I. Oxford, 1827, pp. 53–54.

[3] The story that Waller discovered and befriended Morley, and introduced him to the literary circle, is so evidently a fabrication as to be scarcely deserving of mention; cf. Bell's edition of Waller's Poems (1854), p. 18, note.

[4] The exact date at which Falkland's life at Great Tew began is not known. He returned from Ireland "when he was about the age of eighteen years" (Clarendon, I 42), as the heir of his grandfather, and became possessor of the manor at the death of his grandmother, which "fell out about the time that he was nineteen years of age" (p. 43). But it is clear that he may have kept open house there before her death. This, together with the probability that he was born, not in 1610, as commonly assumed, but in 1609 (S. R. Gardiner, in Dict. Nat. Biog. IX 246), makes 1627 not too early a date for the beginning of his hospitalities at Great Tew.

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land, himself no great poet, but confessedly a good judge of poetry,[1] and one of the foremost men of his time in character, was the hospitable centre around which these bright spirits of Old and New England revolved. Ben Jonson was a frequent visitor, and other members were Clarendon, then a young law student "at gaze," John Earle of Oxford, Dr. Morley, and Geo. Sandys. Clarendon's attitude towards Lord Falkland is well known; he makes him the centre and hero of his history. It is therefore reasonably certain that Clarendon must have exactly known the members of the literary set around Lord Falkland, "their exits and their entrances," and must have been in some degree acquainted with their pretensions in literature. Waller cannot have begun producing his occasional pieces after 1627, and it is extremely probable that Clarendon, who was no poet, did not share in the intimate literary discussions of the circle. Certain poems of Waller, when passed around and commented on, might therefore escape his notice, and he might even err by a few years in the matter of Waller's appearance as a poet. But he could never have mistaken a youth of eighteen for a man of thirty. His characteristic of Waller remains, as a whole, in force as a vivid personal reminiscence, and places him in just that light in Falkland's circle which the new evidence, about to be introduced, demands. From Aubrey, we have only the testimony that "Waller was very much admired at Court before the late civil warres."[2]

In the course of a careful search for references to Waller in the works of the company of writers around Lord Falkland, the "Characters" of Bishop Earle have furnished unexpected material. John Earle, born 1600, was Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, Chaplain to the Prince of Wales, an exile in Holland, and (after the Restoration) Bishop of Worcester, and finally Bishop of Salisbury. He died in the year 1665. Clarendon says of him:[3] "He was an excellent poet, both in Latin, Greek, and English, as appears by many pieces yet abroad; though he suppressed many more himself, especially of English, incomparably good, out of austerity to those sallies of his youth. He was very dear to the Lord Falkland, with whom he spent as much time as he could make his own." From some lines of his on Francis Beaumont,[4]

[1] Cf. Lord Falkland's Poems, in Fuller Worthies Miscellanies, Vol. 3, ed. Rev. A. B. Grosart.

[2] Lives of Eminent Men, Vol. II, 1813, p. 564.

[3] Life, Vol. I. Oxford, 1827, p. 58.

[4] Cf. Beaumont and Fletcher, ed. Geo. Darley, London, 1872, p. lvii.

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which cannot have been composed after Earle was twenty years of age, it is possible to form an opinion of his poetic tastes. The tone of the verses is far deeper and fuller than that of the ordinary poetical panegyric.

> "Such strength, such sweetness couched in every line,
> Such life of fancy, such high choice of brain,
> Naught of the vulgar wit or borrowed strain;
> . . . . . .
> And these so unaffectedly expressed,
> All in a language purely flowing dressed;
> And all so born within thyself, thine own,
> So new, so fresh, so nothing trod upon."

It is evident that Earle, at least as a young man, found his ideal of poetical expression in the romantic poetry of the period of James I. That he was fastidious appears from Aubrey's remark that Earle "would not allow Lord Falkland to be a good poet, though a great wit." His ability as a poet is further attested by "Lines on Sir John Burroughs," and "On the Death of the Duke of Pembroke."[1] The work of Earle which is of importance for our present purpose is entitled "Microcosmographie, or a Peece of the World Discovered," and was first published in three editions in 1628 (London). The first edition in the present century (ed. Bliss, 1811) was followed in 1868 by Mr. Arber's Reprint. In 1871 a manuscript of the work was discovered at Durham, differing very considerably from the first printed editions, and containing the colophon: "Ffinis. December, this 14th day, 1627." Rev. J. T. Fowler has published a collation of this MS with Arber's Reprint, in Notes and Queries, Fourth Series, VIII and IX.

No. 24 in the list of "Characters" [No. 22 in the Durham MS], is entitled

A Pot-Poet[2]

Is the dreggs of wit; yet mingled with good drinke may haue some relish. *His Inspirations are more reall than others; for they doe but faine a God, but hee has his by him.* His Verses run like the Tap, and his inuention as the Barrell, ebs and flowes at the mercy of the spiggot. In thin drinke he aspires not aboue

[1] Cf. Microcosmography, by John Earle, D. D., ed. Philip Bliss (1811). First American edition, ed. L. L. Williams, Albany, 1867, pp. 169–171.

[2] The passages in italics are additions to the MS, first found in the printed editions of 1628. The passage in brackets is not found in the edition of 1628, printed by W. S. for Ed. Blount. This edition (reproduced by Bliss in his edition of 1811, and collated with that of 1732) may therefore be earlier than that of the same year reprinted by Arber. But cf. Arber, p. 10.

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a Ballad, but a cup of Sacke inflames him, and sets his Muse and Nose a fire together. The Presse is his Mint, and stamps him now and then a sixe pence or two in reward of the baser coyne of his Pamphlet. *His workes would scarce sell for three halfe pence, though they are giuen oft for three Shillings;*[1] but for the pretty Title that allures the Country Gentleman: and for which the Printer maintaines him in Ale a fortnight. His Verses are like his clothes, *miserable Cento's and patches, yet their pace is* not altogether so *hobling* as an Almanacks. The death of a great man or the *burning* of a house furnish him with an Argument, and the nine Muses are out strait in mourning *gowne*, and Melpomine cryes Fire, Fire. [*His other Poems are but Briefs in Rime, and like the poore Greekes collections to redeeme from captiuity.*] *He is a man now much imploy'd in commendations of our Nauy, and a bitter inueigher against the Spaniard.* His *frequent'st* Workes goe *out in single* sheets, and *are chanted from market to market, to a vile tune, and a worse throat: whilst* the *poore* Country wench melts like her butter to heare them. And these are the Stories of some men of Tiburne, or a strange Monster out of Germany: or sitting in a Baudy-house, hee writes Gods Iudgements. He *ends* at last in some obscure painted Cloth, *to which himselfe made the Verses*, and his life like a Canne too full spils vpon the bench. He leaues twenty shillings on the score, which *my Hostesse looses.*

This characterization presents varied features, constantly recurring, which render it impossible to believe that the satire is directed against a type. Some individual poet is meant.[2] This is further strikingly confirmed by the careful re-editing (between December 1627 and 1628) of just those portions which contain the most unmistakable hits. Some obnoxious poet and character is here pilloried. It can scarcely be any other than Waller.

First in Waller's works, five poems have always stood, all poems of occasion. The order has not always been the same, for Fenton (p. xvi) complains in 1729 that the verses "To the King on his Navy," in all the editions since the Restoration, have the inconvenient date 1626 added to the title, whereas in his opinion

[1] For "His . . . Shillings," the Durham MS has "His workes neere exceede thre half pence, and would hardly sell so."

For "miserable . . . pace is," the Durham MS has "and raggs and patches get their footemanshippe"; for "hobling," "shuffling"; for "burning," "fireing"; for "gowne," "cloaths"; for "His other . . . Spaniard," "At more leisur'd times he makes disticks on noblemen, which are put vnder their two-penny pictures that hang in the bookbinders' shops."

For "frequent'st," commonest"; for "out in single," "forth in small"; for "ends," "drops away"; for "my Hostesse looses," "mine Host looseth."

[2] For a parallel, though immeasurably less clever, cf. "A Tippling Poetaster," in Follie's Anatomie, compiled by Henry Hutton, Dunelmensis, London, 1619 [cited by Brydges, Censura Literaria, II 406–7]. In this the Water Poet is plainly satirized.

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the verses were written in 1635. Bell (1854) thinks the date of the piece uncertain. The writer in the Quarterly Review, October 1886 (p. 302, note), thinks it "may have been written as late as 1635." But no sufficient reasons have ever been adduced for this date, and we have the old editions with the date 1626 still to reckon with. No more striking correspondence of date can be imagined. A comparison of the Durham MS (finished Dec. 1627) with the accessible printed editions of 1628 shows that the passage in question was during that time twice re-edited. The words in the MS are: "At more leisur'd times he makes *disticks* on noblemen which are put under their twopenny pictures that hang in the bookbinders' shops." For this, the first edition in 1628 substitutes "He is a man now much imploy'd in commendations of our Nauy, and a bitter inueigher against the Spaniard." To this last, the second edition of 1628 prefixes: "His other Poems are but Briefs in Rime, and like the poore Greekes collections to redeeme from captiuity." The three passages are all extremely clever attacks upon Waller's poetry, both as to subject and form. We are forced to conclude that Waller had just descended upon the town "like a tenth muse" (to use Clarendon's phrase), when Earle is portraying him as the man "now much imploy'd in commendations of our Nauy."

The very first gibe of Earle, that "the death of a great man" furnishes his Pot-Poet "with an argument," finds its application in the verses which have usually occupied the second place in Waller's volume: "Of his Majesty's receiving the News of the Duke of Buckingham's Death." If the Durham MS contains the reference to "the death of a great man," and it would appear from Mr. Fowler's collation that it does contain them, then there is a difficulty in the date; for Buckingham was murdered August 23, 1628. The discrepancy is not to be explained, except on the supposition that Waller had written verses on a similar subject before, and that these have not come down to us. He himself notes the fact that one of his occasional poems was for many years lost (Fenton's ed., 1730, p. 144). As far as the printed editions are concerned, we venture to assume that the reference is to Waller, and that for the following reasons:

The duke's taking off was hailed with delight by the nation, and Waller's fulsome adulation of him in the poem as a limb lopped from the State and from Charles could not but excite attention and remonstrance. But the chief point is that the verses

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are not an elegy, nor an epitaph. Such were common enough on the death of great men. The death of Buckingham actually furnishes the poet with his "argument," and the piece marks a new departure in English poetry. On this point Mr. Gosse may be cited (p. 69): "We have but to consider how difficult it would have been for one of the romantic poets to have proceeded with a theme like this" [he is speaking of another one of Waller's first five poems of occasion]. "It was very seldom that they would allow themselves to be entrapped into the treatment of public recent events."

That "Pot-Poet" had become in literature a general term of reproach, with no implication of booziness, is shown in the following passage from John Taylor, the Water Poet:

> "But there's a kind of stealing mysticall,
> Pick-pocket wits, filch-lines sophisticall,
> Villaines in verse, base runagates in rime,
> False rob-wits, and contemned slaves of time,
> Purloyning Thieues, that pilfer from desart
> The due of study, and reward of art.
> *Pot-Poets*, that haue still to steale translations,
> And (into English) filch strange tongues and Nations,
> And change the language of good wits unknown,
> These Thieuish rascals print them for their own."[1]

It remains to bring forward certain minor proofs which would establish nothing, if unsupported, but which are offered as corroborative evidence, without prejudice to the main argument.

In the Durham MS the Pot-Poet "drops away [ed. of 1628, 'ends'] at last in some obscure painted cloth." The printed editions add: "to which himself made the verses." 'Painted cloth' usually meant old tapestry hangings, or canvas painted in oil, on which scraps of verses were written. But it also signified such verses as part of the show in a masque. This is shown in Ben Jonson's Expostulation with Inigo Jones:[2]

> "O shows, shows, mighty shows!
> The eloquence of masques! What need of prose,
> Or verse, or prose, t' express immortal you?
> You are the spectacle of state, 'tis true,
> Court-hieroglyphics, and all arts afford,
> In the mere perspective of an inch-board;

[1] Works, comprised in the Folio edition of 1630 [the date corresponds closely with that of Earle]. Spenser Soc., 1869, p. 281.

[2] Ben Jonson's Works, Boston, 1869, p. 777.

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You ask no more than certain politic eyes,
Eyes that can pierce into the mysteries
Of many colours, read them, and reveal
Mythology, there painted on slit deal.
Or to make boards to speak! there is a task!
Painting and carpentry are the soul of masque.
Pack with your pedling poetry to the stage,
This is the money-got mechanic age.
. . . . . .
Almighty Architecture, who no less
A goddess is, than painted cloth, deal board,
Vermillion, lake, or crimson can afford
Expression for. . . .
What poesy ere was painted on a wall,
That might compare with thee?"

Among Waller's poems is an undated one entitled 'The Miser's Speech; in a Masque' [Fenton's ed. 1730, p. 86]. After referring to Atalanta and the golden balls, to Jupiter and Danae—subjects which were frequently represented in painted cloth—the poet brings in the story of Midas:

"'Twas not revenge for griev'd Apollo's wrong,
Those asse's ears on Midas' temples hung:
But fond repentance of his happy wish,
Because his meat grew metal like his dish.
Would Bacchus bless me so, I'd constant hold
Unto my wish, and die creating gold."

There are two considerations which point to this piece of Waller's as the one Earle had in mind. In the first place, the poet was not only rich, but had also the reputation of neglecting no opportunity of augmenting his fortune.[1] The stroke was therefore a fine one, to identify him with his miser in the masque, and, with the original character of the Pot-Poet in mind, to parody the words "I'd . . . die creating gold" by "He ends at last in some obscure painted cloth, to which himself made the Verses." The second consideration is drawn from the character of Midas, as understood in Bishop Earle's time. Geo. Sandys comments upon him in his Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished (ed. 1640, p. 213): "Midas signifies a foole . . . For Pan contending with Apollo in musick, the mountaine Tmolus being their Judge, gave the palme to Apollo: but sottish Midas protests against the sentence; for which Apollo produceth his eares to the length and

[1] Waller's Works, ed. Bell, 1854, p. 17.

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instability of an Asse's. Pan presents illiterate rusticity; Apollo a minde imbued with the divine endowments of art and nature." Midas, appearing in the character of a contemner of good literature, may be well applied to the case in hand; for, if Earle ridiculed Waller at all, it was certainly in the character of a foolish perverter of literary style. The identification of Waller with his own painted-cloth hero, not only in his fate but in his character, would be quite of a piece with the rest of Earle's delineation, and seems in a high degree probable. The expression "in an *obscure* painted cloth" is suggestive. No masque, of which Waller's verses form a part, has been found, and it is extremely probable that the title should have been 'The Miser's Speech; appropriate to a Masque.' Earle could in any case fail to share Waller's opinion as to the character and merit of the piece, and could prefer to see in it the row of pictures on painted cloth, with the appropriate tags of verses.

From the foregoing digression, as well as from the main argument, to which we now return, it is evident that the class of themes chosen by Waller appeared to Earle, who had grown up in the nobler traditions of the preceding reign, quite unsuited to poetic treatment, and the treatment itself deserving of ridicule. The, to him, ludicrous similarity between such subjects of passing interest, and the themes with which the penny poets tried to catch the popular ear, suggested the idea of making the rich, courtly, temperate, but despicable Waller sit for his portrait. He appears to us, clad in the "centos and patches" of the drunken rhymer, from whom he would have revolted, and with whom he had nothing in common except the unpardonably unpoetic range of subject, the offending distich, and a liberal proportion of heathen mythology in every copy of verses.

Certain brief characteristics of John Earle have been handed down, which prove him capable of fine raillery. Wood (Ath. Oxon.) says of him: 'His younger years were adorned with oratory, poetry, and witty fancies; and his elder with quaint preaching and subtle disputes.' Clarendon (Life) reports: '[He was] of a conversation so pleasant and delightful, so very innocent, and so very facetious, that no Man's Company was more desired, and more loved.' In Waller's case, the painful difference apparent between his real character and his talent and pretensions excited frequent criticism. Aubrey relates:[1] 'He had but a tender

[1] Lives of Eminent Men, Vol. II, 1813, p. 565.

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weake body, but was always very temperate; but —— made him damnable drunk at Somerset House, where at the water stayres he fell down, and had a cruel fall. 'Twas pity to use such a sweet swan so inhumanely." And finally, Clarendon tells us plainly that Waller was detested by the very men who welcomed him in their company for his pleasant society.

To sum up the whole argument: if Earle rallied Waller in 'A Pot-Poet,' it is possible to determine the date of composition of one, and perhaps two, of the undated poems. We are also able to get a far clearer idea of the interests of the literary circle, presided over by the immortal Lord Falkland, into which Dr. Morley introduced Waller.[1] It is also rendered extremely probable that Waller did not write in the couplet before 1626, and that it was introduced into the Falkland circle about 1627. Finally, as a result of the last point, if the kind of verse which "set the type in England for one hundred and fifty years" was produced in that country before 1626–7, it was not produced by Waller.

With the claim set up for Waller, that he wrote perfect couplets at a very early age, two assumptions have always been made: that the published editions do not vary, and that the poems as first published in 1645 are the exact pieces that Waller produced some eighteen years before, unchanged and unaltered. The first of these assumptions can be neither confirmed nor disproved without a careful study of the representative editions, beginning with those of 1645. Such a study and comparison appears never to have been made. The second assumption has never been proved, and can perhaps, owing to lack of evidence, never be successfully disputed. In the preface to the first edition after the Restoration (1664), Waller (signing himself Albinovanus) says that on his return from banishment he 'was troubled to find his name in print; but somewhat satisfied to see his lines so ill-rendered that he might justly disown them.' 'The many and gross faults' have, according to Waller, all been made by the printer. The latter is promptly castigated for his delinquencies, while the reader is

[1] The extraordinary intimacy between Dr. Morley and John Earle is another piece of corroborative evidence. During the exile, they lived one year together in the same house at Antwerp, and Morley preceded Earle as Bishop of Worcester (1660–62). Both being Oxford men, with only three years difference in age, the conclusion is at least a probable one that Earle not only knew Morley during the years when the latter guided Waller's literary studies at Beaconsfield, but that he was already at that time acquainted with the character and aims of Morley's rich but singular pupil.

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assured that the poems 'are here to be found as [the author] first writ them.' In 1664 Waller was enjoying fame as the founder of a new school of poetry, and this fame he must have been anxious to increase, by freeing his poems from any earlier blemishes. The same year (1664) finds Dryden praising him as "the first that made writing easily an art; first showed us how to conclude the sense, most commonly in distichs.' We should perhaps be unwarranted in doubting the truth of Waller's assertion without evidence, but it is interesting to note the extreme anxiety of Opitz under somewhat similar circumstances (1624),[1] and the haste with which, in the following year, he issued a new edition of his poems, in which the verses were made to conform to his new theory of accent, and of the regular alternation of arsis and thesis. Malherbe also, in France, assures his public in 1627, the year before his death, that

> 'Les puissantes faveurs dont Parnasse m'honore
> Non loin de mon berceau commencèrent leurs cours;
> Je les possédais jeune, et les possède encore
> A la fin de mes jours.'[2]

So Waller told Aubrey that 'when he was a briske young sparke, and first studyed poetry, 'Methinks,' said he, 'I never sawe a good copie of English verses; they want smoothnesse; then I began to essay.'[3]

Lotheissen, Geschichte der französischen Literatur im 17 Jahrhundert, I (1877), adduces facts to prove that Malherbe, born in 1555, did not attain to his fine manner of writing before 1599, at the age of forty-four; and he attained it as Waller gained his mastery of English, by steady industry. From 1597 on, it is possible to trace Malherbe's closer and closer adherence to strict canons of form. Lotheissen mentions the existence of four anthologies in the period from 1597 to 1611, all containing poems by Malherbe. It is not probable that any early poems by Waller will turn up in the collections, but it must be acknowledged that at least a critical comparison of the printed editions of his poems is much to be desired. But such an examination cannot affect his permanent position among the literary artists of the new school. For that,

[1] The question whether Opitz originally authorized the Zincgref edition of his poems, is still unsettled; cf. Braune's Neudrucke, Nr. 15 (Halle, 1879), S. vi; and Witkowski, Martin Opitzens Aristarchus, und Buch von der deutschen Poeterei, Leipzig, 1888, S. 36 f.

[2] Ode à Louis XIII partant pour la Rochelle.

[3] Lives of Eminent Men, II 563.

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a broader basis of comparison is necessary, and this is to a great degree supplied in the works of Waller's elder contemporary, George Sandys.

Dryden, in the preface to his Fables, calls Sandys "the best versifier of the former age, if I may venture to call it by that name, which was the former part of this concluding century." The work of Sandys which elicited this high praise is his translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, a book which has fallen into unmerited neglect. In 1872 the Rev. Richard Hooper published an excellent edition of Sandys' Poetical Works [Paraphrases of the Psalms, etc.]. In the introduction he gives much information as to the early editions of the 'Metamorphoses.'[1] The earliest complete edition is that of 1626, but in Brydges' Censura Literaria (VI 132), Mr. Haslewood gives an account of an edition of 1621, containing the first five books, no copy of which has since been found. It is known that George Sandys went to Virginia in 1621,[2] as treasurer of the colony, and Stith, in his History of Virginia, Williamsburg, 1747, p. 303, under date of 1623, writes: "In the midst of these tumults and alarms the Muses were not silent. For at this time Mr. George Sandys, the Company's Treasurer of Virginia, made his translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses."[3] In the poems of Michael Drayton (1627) a poetical epistle to Sandys in Virginia is published, which must have been written while the latter was in America:

> "Go on with Ovid, as you have begun
> With the first five books; let your numbers run
> Glib as the former, so shall it live long,
> And do much honour to our English tongue."

It is therefore certain that Sandys, before 1623, and probably before his departure for Virginia in 1621, had published a translation of part of the Metamorphoses. That he continued correcting and improving the successive editions up to his death in 1638 is

[1] A complete bibliography of Sandys' Metamorphoses will be found in the Dictionary of Books relating to America, by Jos. Sabin, Parts 107-108. New York, 1889, p. 440.

[2] Cf. Hooper, p. xxvii.

[3] This statement is repeated in Justin Winsor's Critical and Narrative History of America, Vol. 3, by Robt. A. Brock, Boston, 1884, p. 145. Bancroft, History, Vol. I, 1883, p. 126, mentions Sandys in another connection, but apparently thinks it not worth mentioning that the first considerable literary work in America was done by Sandys in Virginia at this very early date.

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certain; that of 1632 contains the following, in an Address to the Reader: "To the Translation I have given what perfection my Pen could bestow, by polishing, altering or restoring, the harsh, improper or mistaken, with a nicer exactness than perhaps is required in so long a labour."

It is, however, unlikely that the change in the handling of the couplet was great, or, in other words, that the number of unstopt lines will be found to be much greater in the earliest edition.[1] In 1626 Sandys was already forty-nine years old, and had in all probability essentially formed his style. In 1615 he had published in prose: 'A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure Bookes. Containing a Description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, and the Remote parts of Italy, and Islands adjoining.' This book has been praised by authors of his and our own day alike, as 'learned without pedantry, and circumstantial without being tedious.' We have it further, on the authority of Wood, that Sandys returned 'master of several languages.'

The circumstances of his journey are of interest for literature. Son of the Archbishop of York, educated at Oxford, left in easy circumstances, preceded to Paris by his elder brother, who had written a famous political tractate while there in 1599,[2] George Sandys begins his journey in 1610 as a scholar and gentleman of leisure, proceeding to the great centres of culture, and to the Holy Places. Of France he says: 'I began my journey through France hard upon the time when that execrable murther was committed upon the person of Henry IV by an obscure varlet.'

It is possible that we may never get nearer a solution of the mooted question of French influence upon English poetry just at that period than is presented in the case of Sandys. Malherbe, who introduced the 'classical' reform in French literature, who forbade *enjambement* in verse, had been for ten years an acknowledged authority in the French literary world, and had been since 1605 at the court, attached to the person of Henry IV, and setting

[1] There is no copy of the edition of 1626 in America, unless in some private library. The Lenox Library in New York possesses a copy of the edition of 1632, and a comparison of the first book in it with the same book in the folio of 1640 shows an almost exact agreement between them in the number of unstopt couplets.

[2] In his 'Discoveries' Ben Jonson mentions Sir Edwin Sandys with Sir Philip Sidney, and Richard Hooker, as excellent, 'either for judgment or style.' Works, p. 873.

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the literary taste. To suppose that Sandys should not have become acquainted with the canons of French literature, and of Malherbe's reform, appears absurd.

It is not the object of any part of the present argument to attempt to prove that the gradual growth of the English heroic couplet in non-dramatic verse, from the epigrammatic and satirical style of Bishop Hall[1] and other writers about 1600 to its culmination at the end of the seventeenth century, was at any time violently disturbed by French influence. The English heroic couplet is a thoroughly national product, arrived at by a slow process of evolution. But, on the other hand, a sudden quickening of literary conscience in certain English writers, about the years 1616–26, as to the sin involved in the unstopt line, has never been explained, and it is not probable that any reasoning about the 'sober deliberativeness,' the introspection, the 'national quiet' which the new century brought in, will ever be able to explain it. At all events, it was Sandys, and not Waller, who at the beginning of the third decade of the century, first of all Englishmen, made a uniform practice of writing in heroic couplets which are on the whole in accord with the French rule, and which, for exactness of construction, and for harmonious versification, go far towards satisfying the demands of the later 'classical' school in England. The proof of this lies in a detailed comparison of Sandys' verse with that of Waller. The edition of Sandys' 'Metamorphosis Englished' used for this purpose was the folio of 1640 (London, printed by J. L. for Andrew Hebb), a fine copy of which is in the library of the Peabody Institute in Baltimore.

On a basis of the first eighteen hundred lines in the works of each author, it was found that Sandys has 14 per cent of unstopt lines, Waller 23 per cent. For unstopt couplets the first book of the Metamorphoses (832 lines) was compared with the first 1025 lines (in couplets) in Fenton's edition of Waller. The percentage of unstopt couplets in Waller is 5.26, in Sandys 1.8 (one-third of the number in Waller). Sandys avoids an unstopt couplet, by introducing a parenthesis, 5 times, an average of .6 per cent; Waller 14 times, an average of 1.3 per cent (twice Sandys' average). Sandys has nine instances of feminine rhyme, Waller none.

[1] Schipper, Englische Metrik, II 206–8, marks in Bp. Hall the beginning of regularity in the use of the couplet, and finds in most of the following poets this regular epigrammatic character sustained.

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These results are decisive as to the relation of Sandys to Waller. But it is also interesting to compare their use of the unstopt couplet with that of other poets. This it is now possible to do conveniently, as the necessary statistics have been compiled by Wm. Edw. Mead, in his dissertation, 'The Versification of Pope in its relation to the Seventeenth Century,' Leipzig, 1889. Adopting Mead's statistics of Pope's couplet, the result is as follows: In the avoidance of unstopt lines Sandys is found to be midway between Waller and Pope, the ratio being, Waller 23 per cent, Sandys 14.7, and Pope 6. In the unstopt couplet the ratio is a similar one. Waller has 5.26 per cent, Sandys 1.8, and Pope very few indeed. Mead has found six instances of unstopt couplet in the works of Pope, exclusive of the translations.

The importance of these figures is obvious. However much we may be influenced in favor of Waller by the smoothness and easy flow of his verse, certainly no modern critic has maintained that these characteristics, subjectively considered, offer a practical basis for any doctrine in poetics. No one has yet set up any precise and special test for the 'classical' verse for the period culminating in Pope, except the avoidance of unstopt couplets. This also is the sole claim that has been allowed in France to Malherbe. According to this test, therefore, it was Sandys, the predecessor of Waller by several years, who first set the type of composition for the new school, and whose technical execution is more correct than that of any English writer up to Dryden and Pope.

It now remains to produce direct evidence that Sandys, while possessing a less happy poetical instinct than Waller, was more conscious of the new rule, and was, in his earlier work, more conscientious in following it. It is notorious that Waller's first couplets do not differ in execution from his last. But a careful examination of the whole of Sandys' Metamorphoses reveals the fact that there is from first to last a gradual increase in the number of unstopt lines and couplets:

		Unstopt Lines.	Unstopt Couplets.
B. I	832 lines,	14 per cent,	1.8 per cent.
II,	966 "	16.5 "	3 "
III,	820 "	16 "	3 "
IV,	906 "	17.6 "	3.4 "
V,	774 "	24 "	5.8 "
VI,	770 "	20 "	6 "
VII,	932 "	23 "	7.7 "

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	Unstopt Lines.	Unstopt Couplets.
VIII, 984 lines,	25.5 per cent,	6 per cent,
IX, 732 "	28 "	9.7 "
X, 820 "	28.5 "	8.4 "
XI, 836 "	33.9 "	11 "
XII, 674 "	33 "	10.8 "
XIII, 1092 "	28 "	8.5 "
XIV, 928 "	30 "	10.8 "
XV, 936 "	29 "	10.4 "

This represents a gradual increase of more than one hundred per cent in the number of unstopt lines, and of nearly six hundred per cent of unstopt couplets.

Sandys' translation of the first book of Virgil's Aeneid, which appears in the edition of 1640, exhibits 32 per cent of unstopt lines, of which 10 per cent mark unstopt couplets. Appended to the translation is the following expressive motto: 'Splendidis longum valedico nugis.' It is plain that this was the last of his translations. It is impossible that the small number of unstopt couplets and lines in the first books of the Metamorphoses should be the result of later correction on the part of Sandys, for in that case the translation of Virgil would exhibit a similar percentage. The first books of the Metamorphoses represent his first literary work, when fresh from theoretical studies of poetics. In the later books, led by his own sound poetic instinct, he gradually frees himself from the unnatural bondage of invariably stopt couplets.

Saintsbury (History of Eliz. Lit., 1887, p. 454) says of English verse in the period of James I, that "a certain improvement in general technical execution testifies to longer practice." Theorists were not then, nor had not been, lacking, but just at the threshold of the new age there are two poets, very different in rank, who accompany the exercise of their art by curious studies, interesting for the history of the couplet. They are Sir John Beaumont and Drummond of Hawthornden. The first of these need not detain us long. In verses, which must have been written before 1625, he lauds King James as the real author of a reform in poetry. James had published his 'Essays of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie' in 1585, four years before the publication of Puttenham's Arte of English Poesie; but it is not probable that it had ever exercised influence in England. Beaumont, while praising the king, has his eye upon influences from abroad. The verses are

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interesting, as giving one of the first contemporary descriptions of the purely reflective couplet:[1]

'Forgive my boldnesse, that I here present
The life of Muses yielding true consent
In ponder'd numbers, which with ease I try'd,
When your judicious rules have been my guide.
. . . . . .
In ev'ry language now in Europe spoke
By nations which the Roman empire broke,
The relish of the Muse consists in rime,
One verse must meete another like a chime.
. . . . . .
In many changes these may be exprest,
But those that joyne most simply run the best
[i. e. heroic couplet]:
Their form surpassing far the fetter'd staves
[i. e. stanzas],
Vaine care, and needless repetition saves.'

In a set of verses which must have been written in the period between James' death (1625) and his own (1627),[2] he indicates the progress of the reform in England:

'He leads the lawless poets of our times
To smoother cadence, to exacter rimes:
He knew it was the proper work of kings,
To keep proportion, ev'n in smallest things.'[3]

Drummond of Hawthornden, born 1585, is a poet of far wider range. Though a Scot, he wrote pure and 'softly sliding' English verses. Drummond was probably a closer student of foreign poetry than any other man in Great Britain. He was in France throughout the years 1607–8. By 1611 he had gathered together at his pleasant country-seat one hundred and twenty French books. In 1609 he entered in his note-book the following works of Ronsard as having been read during that year: La Franciade, Amours, Hymnes, Odes, Elegies et Eclogues.[4] In 1619 occurred the famous conversations with Ben Jonson, who was his guest at Hawthornden. Drummond informs us that Jonson praised his

[1] Cf. Chalmers' English Poets (1810), Vol. 6, p. 30. The edition of Beaumont's Poems, by Rev. A. B. Grosart, in Fuller Worthies Library, was not accessible.

[2] Cf. Dict. of Nat. Biog., where the received date, 1628, is shown to be an error.

[3] 'To the Glorious Memory of our Late Sovereign Lord, King James.'

[4] D. Laing, Archaeologia Scotica, Vol. IV (1857), p. 74.

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Epitaph on Prince Henry, 'save that his verses smelled too much of the schools,' and that he 'wished, to please the king, that the piece 'Forth Feasting' had been his own.'[1] In the first of the pieces mentioned, Tears on the Death of Moeliades[2] (196 lines), published in 1613, there are eighteen per cent of unstopt lines, representing five per cent of unstopt couplets. But in 'Forth Feasting' (408 lines), published in 1617, there are only seven per cent of unstopt lines, and not a single unstopt couplet. In the Elegy on the Victorious King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus (1632), and in other later pieces, there is a very large number of unstopt couplets.[3]

It is evident that the history of Drummond's verse is similar to that of Sandys'. Returning home from his two years' stay in France, he continues his poetical studies, and produces verse which in the main comes up to even fastidious demands of the new canons then forming. But in the poems of his later years, the strenuous rule is more and more neglected, and a vigorous, harmonious couplet is produced, which is remarkably modern in type.

These two British poets, who were perhaps the most studious and critical of their time, are the very ones who may have come most directly under the influence of the literary movement abroad, especially in France.[4] It is they also, who, on returning, wrote the most correct verses; which were, however, less graceful and melodious than those of Waller. It would be idle to go further, and to assert foreign influence in a case where direct proof is not forthcoming, but the coincidence is remarkable.

Waller's verses are not only more graceful and melodious than those of the writers we have been considering; they are also

[1] D. Laing, Archaeologia Scotica, Vol. IV (1857), pp. 247–8.

[2] Drummond's Works, Edinburgh, 1711.

[3] It may be objected that Michael Drayton's Heroical Epistles (1597) are comparatively free from unstopt couplets. But, aside from the fact that Drayton did not habitually write in this metre, his style is purely Elizabethan, and lacking in every requirement of the reformed poetry: in classical allusion, varying caesura, fixed accent; in short, in 'the strong lines that catch the times.' His metre is as far from the comparative 'classicism' of Drummond, as is that of William Browne, though the Britannia's Pastorals contain a larger proportion of 'free' lines.

[4] Drummond was thoroughly acquainted with Italian poetry also. This is attested by his sonnets, and by the memoranda of books read.

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smoother and have a richer cadence. These constantly recurring words, smoothness, polish, sweetness, in contemporary references,[1] call for a definition. Such, if possible at all, cannot be attempted here; it would be the starting point for a new inquiry. But for such an inquiry the descriptions of the couplet, hitherto in vogue, are insufficient. The older definitions are too vague, and we have seen that the more definite one suggested by Dryden and made more stringent by Gosse, fails to describe the verse adequately. Any new definition of the 'classical' heroic couplet must have something to say of the rhythm and harmony of the verse.[2]

In parting with a writer like Waller, who tried above all things to make himself agreeable to his own age, and who succeeded so well that both it and the whole century following made English poetry really begin with him, and found only music and grace and delight in his verses, there is one thing to regret. It is that any attack whatever upon his position and pretensions as a poet should come at a time when the tide of popular favor is setting so strongly against the kind of poetry in which he excelled. The historic office of that poetry in chastening a too exuberant literary style is in danger of being overlooked. It is even to be feared that the beauty of the cadences of the verse, unequalled within a certain range, is no longer fully appreciated. A permanent modest niche for Waller in our pantheon is more to be desired than the alternate worship and neglect which have been his portion. Waller, like the youth in Wordsworth's poem, was attended on his way by a 'vision splendid,' by the vanishing glory of the literature of

[1] 'The easy vigor of a line
Where Denham's strength and Waller's sweetness join.'
Pope, Essay on Criticism, l. 360.

'Waller was smooth, but Dryden taught to join
The varying verse, the full resounding line,
The long-majestic march, the energy divine.'
Pope, Epistles, Book II, l. 267.

'Well might that charmer [Carew] his fair Caelia crowne,
And that more polisht Tyterus [Waller] renowne
His Sacarissa.' Lines prefixed to Lovelace's Lucasta (1649).

[2] The articles by Professor Sievers, in Paul und Braune's Beiträge X und XII, on Die Rhythmik des germanischen Alliterationsverses, may suggest the beginning of a solution of this problem. The doctrine of 'rhythmical series' within the line has already been applied in an interesting way to Shakespeare's verse [Othello] by Professor T. R. Price, New York, 1888.

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the age just past, while with Pope it had faded to the light of common day. In Waller's songs and verses there are traces of that evanescent grace and softness, but not of the strength; for his poetry is feminine. But his art is able to teach, both by what it accomplished and by what it vaguely suggests.

Sainte Beuve, in his Nouveaux Lundis [Vol. 13 (1870), p. 360], writing in the days of Victor Hugo and Alfred de Musset, sets down with buoyant optimism: 'Malherbe débuta par une disposition, par une inspiration en quelque sorte négative, par le mépris de ce qui avait précédé chez nous en poesie.' Malherbe, the negative inspiration of French literature! How the phrase would have tickled Waller! As applied to himself, and as a tribute to his after-fame, it would almost have consoled him for the lack, in more modern editions of his works, of the proud motto that frowns upon us from the pages of Fenton's gorgeous quarto: 'Cujus gloriae neque profuit quisquam laudando, nec vituperando quisquam nocuit.'

HENRY WOOD.

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IV.—A DESCRIPTION OF STUDENT LIFE AT PARIS IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

Among the many voluminous didactic poems of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one of the most voluminous is the "Architrenius,"[1] a moral epic in nine cantos, written in 1184 by the Cistercian monk, Johannes de Anville or Hauteville. The hero, whose sentimental character is sufficiently indicated by his name, Archweeper, is represented as being dissatisfied with the world and himself. To find relief from his anxieties and doubts, he undertakes a pilgrimage; not, as one might expect, to Jerusalem, but to Nature's holy temple. The many adventures which he undergoes on his way to this imaginary sanctuary form the bulk of the poem. We see him jogging along over mountains and deserts, through lonely forests and populous cities; we see him in the "house of Venus" barely escape the temptations of the flesh, in the "tavern of Bacchus" almost lose himself in wild dissipations. We see him on the "Mount of Ambition," on the "Hill of Presumption"; we see him on the island of Thule listening to moral speeches of Greek and Roman philosophers; we see him finally in the "Garden of Nature," full of faith in the harmony of the universe, and comforted by the presence of a beautiful maiden, called Moderantia, whom the goddess Nature herself introduces to him as his bride.

The poem is remarkable as one of the earliest specimens of allegorical poetry in modern Europe; and as a forerunner of the "Roman de la Rose," of "Teuerdank," and of the "Pilgrim's Progress," it deserves a more careful attention than the histories of literature have hitherto given to it.[2] But its most remarkable part is a strikingly realistic description of student life in Paris, which forms one of the episodes of the hero's life, and which stands in a most curious contrast with the indistinctness and unreality of the rest of the poem. The picture which the author gives us of the daily work and habits of the Parisian student of the twelfth century is far from being pleasant. Paris itself, to be

[1] Thus, instead of Archithrenius, the MSS.

[2] Gaston Paris, in "La Littérature Française au Moyen Age," does not even mention its name.

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sure, seems to have possessed even at that time a charm of its own. It is called "altera regia Phoebi," "mundi rosa," "balsamus orbis"; and its beautiful surroundings, its fertile vineyards, its good-natured population, are highly extolled. But alas! the poor scholastic derives no benefit from all these attractions. His life is wasted in fruitless plodding and incessant abnegation. His dress is shabby and antiquated, his meals consist of peas, beans and cabbage, next to no care is taken of his room, his bed is a hard mattress lying close on the floor. So he lives day in day out, the true picture of a "grind," and even at night his studies pursue him; for he suffers greatly from insomnia.

The first complete edition of this work appeared at Paris, 1517, aedibus Ascensianis, which is now very rare. Th. Wright, in his "Anglo Latin Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century," Vol. I, London, 1872, gave a second edition of the poem, based on MSS from the British Museum. I have compared the following manuscripts:

Cod. A, Rome, Vatic. Reg. 1554, fol. 109–166, saec. XIII.
Cod. B, Berne, City Libr. 683, fol. 93, saec. XIII.
Cod. C, Perugia, City Libr. 15548, saec. XIII.
Cod. D, Rome, Vatic. Reg. 370, fol. 189–214, saec. XIV.
Cod. E, Rome, Vatic. Reg. 1812, saec. XV.

From these manuscripts some extracts were published by myself in Vol. XX of the "Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte," p. 475–502, together with an analysis of the whole poem. Here I offer those passages relating to the scholastic life in the Paris of the twelfth century. Those desirous of further information about the poem and its author I would refer to my article just mentioned; to the Histoire littéraire XIV, p. 569–579; the Biographie universelle s. v. Jean de Hautville; Wright, Biogr. Brit. Lit. II, 250; and J. Simler, De archithrenio duodecimi saeculi carmine, Parisiis, 1871.

De miseria scolarium.

1 At[1] diis paulo minor plebes Phoebea[2] secundos
Vix metit eventus; quicquid serat, undique tortis
Vapulat adversis. Gemit Architrenius agmen
Palladis a miseris vix respirare, beatos

[1] The miserable life of the scholastics is contrasted with the preceding description of the delights of Paris life in general.

[2] Cf. Sil. Ital. 8, 271 Martia plebes.

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Pectore philosophos, fato pulsante, flagello
Asperiore premi, nulla virtute favori
Divitis adnecti, studio sudante[1] malorum
Continuare dies, senium, prohibentibus annis,
Praecipitare malis pubisque urgere senectae
Damna, rudimentis dum vitae abrumpit egestas
Gaudia,[2] dum tenuem victum fortuna ministrat,
Ad modicum torpente manu.[3] Ruit omnis in illos
Omnibus adversis, vacui furit aspera ventris
Incola, longa fames; formae populatur honorem
Exhauritque genas macies pallore; remittit
Quam dederat natura nivem, ferrugine texit
Liventes oculos, facula splendoris adustam
Exstinguit faciem[4]; marcent excussa genarum
Lilia labrorumque rosae; collique pruina[5]
Deicitur livore luti; maestissima vultu
Mortis imago sedet; neglecto pectinis usu
Caesaries surgit, confusio crinis in altum
Devia turbat iter, digito non tersa colenti
Pulverulenta riget, secum luctamine crinis
Dimicat alterno; non haec discordia paci
Redditur, intortum digito solvente capillum.[6]

De tenuitate vestitus.

Quem scopulum mentis, scopulo quid durius illa
Horrida non flectat logicorum turba? Rigorem
Quis non excutiat et toto pectore dulces
Derivet lacrimas, quotiens occurit honesta
Philosophi fortuna minor? Defringitur aevo
Qua latitat vestis; aetatis fimbria longae
Est, non artificis; ipsa est quae abrumpit amictum
Portandique labor quodque omnibus unus adesse

[1] B, suadente.

[2] I. e. old age overtakes them before they have had an opportunity to enjoy their youth (rudimenta vitae).

[3] I. e. fortune is slow to grant even a moderate livelihood.

[4] Nature takes back the snow (transparency of skin) which she had given, she covers with dimness the leaden colored eyes, she puts out the face that had been lit up with the touch of brilliancy.

[5] I. e. whiteness.

[6] A similar picture of scholastic slovenliness is afforded by the description of Aristoteles' appearance in Walter of Chatillon's Alexandreis I, 59 sqq.

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Cogitur obsequiis, varios damnatus ad usus.
Respirasse dies nullo sudore meretur,
Quem dederint noctes venti suspirat ad ictus.
Litigat ad Boreae flatus, adsibilat Euris
Mollibus et Zephyri clementes ridet ad auras.[1]

De indigentia rerum familiarium et cibi maxime.

Parva domus; res ipsa minor. Contraxit utrumque
Immensus tractusque diu sub Pallade fervor
Et logices jucundus amor tenuisque laboris
Emeriti merces et quae de more sophistas
(Miror qua invidia fati) comitatur, egestas.
Pauperiès est tota domus, desuevit[2] ad illos
Ubertas venisse lares, nec visitat aegrum
Copia Parnassum, sublimior advolat aulas,
His ignota casis, ubi pauca annosa supellex.
Languida sordet anus, admoto murmurat igni
Urceolus, quo pisa natant, quo caepe vagatur,
Quo faba, quo porrus capiti tormenta minantur,
Quo rigidum pallescit olus, quo fercula festo
Atriplices[3] libanda die, quo vilior horti
Jejunam expectat quaevis farrago Minervam.
Hic undae assiduo conflictu litigat unda,
Hic coxisse dapes est condivisse; libido
Mensae nulla venit, nisi quod sale sparsa rigorem
Esca parum flectit; solo fit amicior usu
Coenula, luctanti minus obluctata palato.

De vilitate servientium.

Nudus in annoso tunicae squalore ministrat
Geta[4] dapes, dum vile meri libamen in urbe
Birria[5] venatur, pretio vestitus eodem
Muricis ejusdem, luteus, macer, horridus, ore
Languidus exsangui, plumarum squameus hirtam
Agmine caesariem, festucae exstantis in altum
Cuspide cristatus. Crinis silva intima denso

[1] I. e. the same garment is worn for any kind of work, day and night, and at all seasons.

[2] B, desuescit.

[3] B, et triplici.

[4] Cf. Terent. Adelph. III 1 passim.

[5] A, Butria; B, C, Birria; E, Biria; cf. Ducange s. v.

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Pulvere pressa jacet, sed et his pejora latere
Suspicor, attritum digito scrutante capillum,
Nescio quid facilem dum saepe adducit ad unguem.

De cubilibus.

Sobria post mensae tenuis convivia frenum
Suscipiente gula, satiem quod praevenit ante
Dimidiasse famem, scabra farragine[1] strati
Contrahitur macies, quo vix[2] depressior infra
Area descendit, ut terrea paene jacentem
Proxima frangat humus. Illic pugil improbus[3] heres
Sudat Aristotelis, oculum mordente lucerna,
Dum pallens studio et marcens oleo ardet, utroque
Languidus, insomnis et ocello et pectore noctes
Extrahit alterutro vigiles, oculusque lucernae
Pervigil et lippit et lippum torquet ocellum.

De nocturno studio.

Imprimit ergo libris oculi mentisque lucernam
Et libro et cubito, dextraeque innixus et auri
Quod nova quod veterum peperit cautela[4] revolvit;
Omnia, Castaliis pede quae sudaverat[5] antris
Pegasus, exhaurit oculis et mente fluenta,
Nunc oculo nunc mente bibens, nunc haurit utroque,
Illo plus illaque minus, nunc lecta camino
Decoquit ingenii memorique in pectore nodo
Pressius astringit, nunc delibata reducto
Praeterit affectu.

De sopore scolaris studio fatigati.

Talibus insudans olei librique lucerna,
Tabidus illanguet, toti nupsisse Minervae
Sedulus ardet amor, dum strato Phoebus ab axe
Antipodum surgat et paucis distet ab ortu
Jam gradibus. Tenui tum primum spargit ocellos
Nube quies somni calamumque et caetera laxis

[1] Ed. Asc. ferrugine.
[2] B, quovis.
[3] Cf. Verg. Georg. 1, 145 labor improbus.
[4] Cf. Ducange s. v.
[5] Cf. Pers. 5, 149 nummi pergant . . . avidos sudare deunces.

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Instrumenta rapit digitis, declive libello
Suscipiente caput. Sed in illa pace soporis
Pacis eget studii labor insopitus, et ipso
Cura vigil[1] somno, libros operamque ministrat
Excitae somnus animae, nec prima sopori
Anxietas cedit, sed quae vigilaverat ante
Sollicitudo redit, et major summa laboris
Curarum studiis insomnibus obicit Hydram.
Sic varia pectus ambage insomnia vexant
Sollicitumque trahit curarum turba, soporis
Indepasta fame. Iam jamque Aurora diei
Nuntiat adventum, cum Phoebo praevius ortum
Lucifer explorat primumque excerpere rorem
Mane novo sudante parat, ne semita Phoebi
Polluat uda togam chlamydisque elidat honorem.

De properatione ejusdem, ad studium profecturi.

Ecce sopor Phoebo vigili cessurus ocellis
Philosophi cedit, somno nutantibus[2] astris.
Iam vigilante die stellis citus insilit hospes
Hospite mutato. Miser ecce excitur ocellus,
Luciferi clamante tuba, damnoque lucerna
Ardet adhuc, exstincta die caelique sepulta
Lumine, non oleo summam aspergente papyrum
Obsequiove manus vasi revocantis olivum,
Post alios pastus se depascente papyro.
Excutit ergo caput vultuque assurgit et ore
Turbidus, et crinis digitorum verrit apertam
Pectine caesariem, somnoque madentia siccat
Summa labella sinu, noctisque laboribus ore
Respirante gemit, oculosque in faece natantes
Expedit a nodis cilii texentibus umbram
Extricatque manu; partesque effusus in omnes
Undique discurrit oculus, dum tempore digna
Nomina deprendat; et ubi dinovit ad ortum
Surgere solis equos, queritur dispendia somni
Plus justo traxisse moras nimiumque citato
Axe diem raptam, praecessurusque magistrum

[1] B, jugis. [2] A, micantibus; Ed. Asc., invitantibus.

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Praecessisse timet, et jam pro parte diurna
Intonuisse tuba fontisque fecunda propinet[1]
Pocula Cirrhaei. Domitos torporibus artus
Increpat, et maestos irae indignatio risus
Excutit et tumidos flammato pectore questus
Evomit, in lacrimas tandem vergente querela.

De statu ejusdem in magistri praesentia.

Ut ventum est Pallas ubi mitior agmina Cirrhae[2]
Armat et ad studii mens sudatura palaestram
Suscitat ingenii flammas, conamina mentis
Contrahit, exacuit animam totusque coacti
Pectoris incumbit oculis riguaque magistrum
Aure et mente bibit et verba cadentia promo
Promptus utroque levat, oculique et mentis in illo
Fixa vigilque manet acies aurisque maritat
Pronuba dilectam cupida cum mente Minervam.
Hanc sitit, hanc ardet studii Venus altera, major
Alter anhelat Amor; totumque impendit acumen,
Expenditque diem, dum Phoebi roscidus orbis
Crescit in occasum, sublataque redditur astris
Flamma suusque dies, cum limina sole fugato
Et noctis reserat et lucis vespera claudit.

KUNO FRANCKE.

[1] This distorted construction in all the MSS and Ed. Asc.
[2] Cf. Claud. praef. 2 Rap. Pros. 16. Cirrhaeae artes.

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NOTES.

Avesta Contributions.

1.—Avesta *ūnāhva, raēšayaca*, Vd. 17. 2.

The Avesta rites to be observed in connection with cutting the hair and paring the nails are given in the familiar 17th Fargard of the Vendīdād. At Vd. 17. 2, inquiry is made as to who it is that by his deeds offers sacrifice, as it were, to the demon of destruction. The reply, literally rendered, reads: 'It is such a one (as those) who (*yō* = here pl. as often in the Vd.) in this material life comb the hair or shave the hair or pare the nails and let it lie (*dim upa.taošayeiṇti*, i. e. leave the cuttings) in *ūnāhva* and in *raēšaya*'.

The last words *aṭa dim upa.taošayeiṇti ūnāhva dim raēšayaca* are variously rendered by the Avesta translators.[1] Spiegel, Uebersetzung, ad loc., gives 'wenn sie sich scheeren (*taošayeiṇti*) an den Locken (?) oder am Barte'.—Justi, Handbuch, s. v. follows Spiegel.—De Harlez, Av. trad. ad loc., 'et qu'on en fait tomber les débris dans les maisons pour le malheur (des hommes)'. With *ūnā-*, de Harlez in the note ad loc. compares Skt. *vana* 'demeure', and makes *raēšaya* an 'instrumental désignant le terme'.—Darmesteter, S. B. E. iv. Zend Avesta, p. 186, renders the words 'drops them in a hole or in a crack', but adds in the foot-note "doubtful".

Darmesteter's translation, however, in spite of his "doubtful", I believe, is perfectly correct. It agrees apparently also with the traditional rendering of Aspendiārji—see Spiegel, Commentar ueber das Avesta, i. p. 371. We need only support it by finding the etymology. The two words *ūnāhva, raēšaya*, are of course both locatives. The following explanation I would suggest:

(1) *ūnāhva* 'in holes, crevices, crannies' is loc. pl. fem., stem *ūnā-* from adj. *ūna-* 'lacking, empty, wanting, deficient' = Skt. *ūná-*. The same *ūnā-* also as substantive fem. occurs at Ys. 10. 15 *ūnąm* in the sense of an 'empty niggardly (dish)'

[1] The Pahlavi version is treated by Paul Horn in Z. D. M. G. xliii. p. 32 seq.

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which Hoama rejects—see Geldner, K. Z. xxviii. p. 185. The word in its adj. form is found contrasted with *pərəna-* 'full, plenty' at Vd. **22.** 18 *yā ūnəm pərənəm kərənaoti* '(the blessing) which changes want into plenty'. Two new passages as instances of the adj. use of *ūna-* may now be added; they are from Haug, Zand-Pahlavi Glossary, pp. 63. 20; 64. 3. Furthermore, for a verb kindred see *vanaite* 'may be wanting' Z. Phil. Gloss. p. 62. 9. The adj. *ūna-* (the subst. *ūnā-* likewise), then, comes from √*ū-* 'to be wanting', cf. *uyamna* Vsp. **15.** 1 (see the present writer in A. O. S. Proceedings, October, 1888). Cf. Skt. *ūnd-*, Gk. *εὖις* 'empty, bereft', A. S. *wan-ian*, Eng. *wan-ting*. The development of the meaning of the noun from the adjective is easy: the substantive *ūnā-* f. denotes an empty place whether pot or hole—'a cavity', cf. Lat. *cavum* 'hole', i. e. Lat. *cavus*: *plenus* (e. g. Lucret. **6.** 1085) :: Av. *ūna-* : *pərəna-* (e. g. Vd. **22.** 5, cf. Ys. **10.** 15).

(2) *raēšaya* 'in a crack' is loc. sg. (i. e. + *raēše* postpos. *a*) from none other than the ordinary word *raēša-* (e. g. Vd. **7.** 38, **13.** 31, etc.), from √*riš-* 'to split, wound, tear'. That is, *raēšā-* m. (1) 'a wound'.—(2) 'a crack, split' (perh. the more orig. meaning of √*riš-*, cf. Germ. *riss*), i. e. a crack or fissure in the wall or floor,—cf. Eng. '*gaping* wounds' and *gap* 'a breach, opening'. Thus *upa.taošayeiṇti* denotes 'let the hair lie in holes, crannies (or possibly old 'pots' cf. Ys. **10.** 15) or in a crack'. The word 2 *raēša-* in Justi, Handbuch, therefore should be dropped, and the reference placed as meaning (2) under the familiar *raēša-*.

The injunction, therefore, given against leaving the hair or nails in crevices or cracks is particularly apt; it is there, according to the Avesta, Vd. **17.** 3, that vermin (*ϸrafstra*) and lice (*spiš*) will congregate. The hair and nail cuttings should be duly deposited in a hole (*maϱəm* Vd. **17.** 5, 7) properly prepared for them with fitting spells and there buried in ceremonious manner. In illustration of the superstition, it may be added that even now among the Feejee Islanders, 'most natives, on cutting their hair, hide what is cut off in the thatch of their own house'—see Lubbock, Origin of Civilization, pp. 166–170. For similar parallels see A. O. S. Proceedings, October, 1885.

2.—Av. *zafan-*, *zafar-*, *þrizafan-*.

Instances of Av. *f* = orig. *pv* have been given by the present writer in A. J. P., x. p. 86. To these as another example may be

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added, Av. *zafan-*, *zafar-* 'jaw'. The derivation is clearly **zapvan-*, **zapvar-* from √*zab-* = Skt. √*jabh-* 'to grind, crush'—suffix *-van*, *-var* (*v-* voiceless) as in *karšvan-*, *karšvar-*, *urupwān-*, *urupwar-*.

In this connection the nom. sg. *þrizafāə* 'triple-jawed' Yt. 5. 29, 19. 47, becomes interesting. It is from a *van*-stem adjective —cf. voc. sg. *þrizafəm*, acc. sg. *þrizafanəm*—with *s*-nom. (orig. *-ās*) like *taurvāə* 'conquering', cf. also *advāə* 'way'.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE, March 3, 1890.

NASALIS SONANS = $\breve{u}$ IN THE AVESTA.

In the Iranian languages, instances of the *r*-vowel expressed by simple *u* are found—see Hübschmann, K. Z. xxvii. 112. The same is true likewise of the syllabic *l* = *u* in Skt. *ulōkd* (from *ḷlkōkd*, Bartholomae, Studien zur indogerm. Sprachgeschichte, i. p. 123). The examples may be multiplied. I would here draw attention to a few cases in which the vocalic *n* is represented by *u* (written also *ū*) in the Avesta.

(1) Av. *puŋðа-* 'fifth' from **pṇk₃htha-*,—i. e. *pṇk₂* weak form of **pank-*, *pañc-*. The Old Pers., like the Skt., must have had **pancama-*, as the New Pers. پنج *panj* shows. Hence it seems that von Fierlinger's views K. Z. xxvii. 193 are not all that may be said in regard to this word.

(2) Av. *-šūta-* (= *šuta-*) from *kṇsntá-* (cf. Skt. *kṣatá-* from √*kṣan-*) in *anapišūta-* 'uninjured, unabridged', Ys. 19. 5 (bis), Vsp. 15. 2, and in *aipišūta-* Ys. 19. 5; again in *arəzō-šūta-* 'wounded in battle' Yt. 10. 36. All these forms I would prefer to withdraw from √*šu-* (**šyu-*) = Skt. √*cyu-*, and connect rather with Skt. √*kṣan-*. This seems to make their significance clearer. Perhaps here belongs also Av. *vātō-šūta-*, Ys. 9. 32 '(cloud) t o r n by the wind'. I would then connect √*kṣan-* with κτείνω, and n o t—as Benfey, Wurzelwörterbuch, i. p. 181, and Bartholomae, Arische Forschungen, ii. p. 56, with φθόνος, *aŋžaonvamnəm*.

(3) Av. *vayō-tūite* Vd. 13. 8 from *tṇtá-* (cf. Skt. *tatá-* from √*tan-*); thus *vayō-tuta-* 'storm-bound, sturmverhüllt' cf. PWb. *tatá-* s. v. √*tan-*. This explanation of the word heightens the picture in the Vd. passage. Geldner's translation (Drei Yasht, p. 52, *tūite* as

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verb) seems to me doubtful; a verb is hardly wanting in the sentence. The New Pers. تدا *tadah* 'web' (cf. also PWb. s. v. 4√*tan*-) shows that the Old Pers., like the Skt., must have had *tatá*-.

(4) Av. *hūitiš* Ys. 19. 17 from **hn̥tiš* 'earning, meriting' to √*han*- = Skt. √*san*- + suffix *-ti* forming here nomen agentis, cf. Lindner, Altindische Nominalbildung, p. 76. Geldner (Drei Yasht, p. 130) translates it 'Gesinde'. In the new edition of the texts, Ys. 19. 17, he connects *hūitiš* with the phrase *vāstryō fšuyąs*.

(5) Av. *kusra*- to *kas-u*- (stem *kąs*- in *kąsō-tafəðra*-, otherwise *kn̥s*, as in *kasu*- and derivatives) for *kn̥srá*-?

(6) Av. *gufra*-; *gufya*- (variant to *gafya*- Yt. 15. 28) from **gm̥fra*-, *gm̥fya*-?

(7) Av. *buna*- from **bn̥dhna*-, as *sana*- from **sadna* or **sndna*-, with loss of *d*?

I may eventually perhaps add other examples for the representation of the *n*-vowel by *u* in the Avesta. Suffice it for the present thus briefly to have hinted at some instances.

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PROVERBS IN SERVIUS.

To the collections of Otto which have appeared from time to time in Archiv f. Latein. Lex., I would add some examples of proverbs noted in the Commentary of Servius.

Arch. III 217—Die Götter und Halbgötter im Sprichworte—an apparent reference to Proteus in A. XII 891 Verte omnis tete in facies: (Serv.) *et est proverbialiter dictum.*

Arch. III 392—Zu den Tiersprichwörtern—B. VII 51 f.

> Hic tantum Boreae curamus frigora, quantum
> Aut numerum lupus aut torrentia flumina ripas:

et totum proverbialiter dictum est.

Arch. IV 26—Die Natur im Sprichwort—A. XI 405

> Amnis et Hadriacas retro fugit Aufidus undas:

(Serv. ad 403) et utitur Graeco proverbio ἄνω ποταμοί: sic Horatius (Epod. 16, 28) et ante Padus Matina laverit cacumina; compare B. VII 52 above.

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Arch. VI 333 — Der menschliche Körper und seine Teile im Sprichwort—A. IX 276 Iam pectore toto Accipio:

(Serv. ad 274) *et est de proverbio: Cicero de legibus* (I 18, 49), *nisi toto pectore amatur, ut dicitur: cum enim dicit 'ut dicitur' ostendit proverbiale.*

Arch. VI 328; cf. Serv. ad Geor. II 277 In unguem: ad perfectionem. et est translatio a marmorariis, qui iuncturas *marmorum* unguibus probant: Horatius (Sat. I 5, 32).

I have noted also the following additional examples:

A. IV 190 Facta atque infecta: *et est quasi proverbiale: nam hoc est 'tam ficti pravique tenax, quam nuntia veri.'*

A. XII 811 Digna indigna pati: i. e. omnia. et proverbialiter dictum est.

A. X 547 Dixerat ille aliquid magnum: proverbialiter dictum est, ac si diceret, non mirum sic occisum esse eum qui sibi plurimum adrogabat.

LEVERETT MOORE.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

A Commentary on Catullus. By ROBINSON ELLIS, M. A., LL. D. Second edition. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1889.

In his preface Mr. Ellis states that this "edition differs from the former, as in other points, so particularly in recalling the attention of scholars to the earliest period of Catullian criticism, the latter half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century." He claims that these scholars had a nicer perception of language, and a more delicate feeling for what was probable in metre, than the later generations. Only two of Scaliger's conjectures and three of Voss's are accepted as certain, while none of Bentley's or Heinsius's are more than probable; none of the eighteenth century corrections of Catullus will stand, except perhaps *Nunc Celtiber es* in XXXIX 17; in the present century only Lachmann's *Graia* in LXVI 58 can be accepted as final. He especially disavows any intention of detracting from the greatness of eminent critics, many of whom he speaks of in terms of the highest appreciation, as Haupt and Lachmann, and notably of Munro, whom he stamps as a master-mind. It may, perhaps, be urged that the earlier commentators had a wider field to work in, and their emendations were the easier ones, while they left the more difficult passages for their successors; though on the other hand it can be said that the extent of knowledge of the present day is more vast, and the opportunities offered for the examination of MSS and by the schools of epigraphy counterbalance the advantages of the earlier critics. This desire to elevate the position of the scholars of the Renaissance is noticeable not only in the preface, but throughout the work, in frequent references to them and their labors in the notes. Not but that the later editors come in for a full share of notice, as Riese (1884), Bährens (1885), Benoist (1882), and Schmidt (1888), whose works have all been published since the first edition of Mr. Ellis's commentary in 1876, but the complaint is a just one that they contain very little that is new.

By far the most valuable part of Mr. Ellis's new work is the various Excursus appended to many of the poems. He there treats of the several points in dispute with a scholarly clearness, and a breadth of view worthy of the learned commentator of Catullus, acknowledging with frankness where an emendation or suggestion of another appears better than his own preconceived idea, yet defending with firmness his position, when it seems to him still the most rational.

There are about thirty of these essays, of which we can only notice:

(1). On X 9, Mr. Ellis accepts as plausible Munro's emendation of putting a full stop after *referret*, and making *Cur quisquam*, etc., a question, but objects that *nihil esse*, followed as it is by *Cur*, can only with violence be separated from it in construction; but Traube's suggestion, "*nihil neque ipsi Hoc praetore fuisse nec cohorti*," he considers as the cleverest of the emendations yet proposed, and may be what Catullus wrote, since the loose rhythm is in its favor, and *ipsi* can easily equal *mihi ipsi*, following as it does so closely on *respondi*; while

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Hoc praetore fuisse might easily be corrupted into *Nec praetoribus esse* (pp. 39–40).

(2). On XVII 6, Mr. Ellis modifies his former opinion as to the genuineness of this verse, declaring himself as disposed to favor its authenticity.

(3). On XXIX 20 and 23 there is a lengthy excursus, the latter part of which is a discussion of the *opulentissime* of the MSS. Though Ellis retains in his notes his reading *urbis o pudet meae*, he apparently accepts Munro's suggestion of *urbis ob luem ipsimae*, but modifies it by the substitution of *suae* for *ipsimae*, tracing the corruption as running from *opluemsue* to *opluentsue* then *opluentissime*, a course which appears highly probable; indeed it seems that the united thought of these two scholars has finally settled this desperate passage, barring out all other proposals. Ellis would thus make the city referred to Formiae, and not Rome, as Munro thinks.

(4). The LXVIII poem is the subject of a long prolegomenon, in which Ellis boldly maintains his point, in which he is assisted by Lachmann, Haupt, Riese, B. Schmidt, and others, that the poem forms a complete whole, though divisible into two, or perhaps three parts, the last twelve verses forming a kind of epilogue; in this he is opposed by Bergk, Schwabe, Munro, Bährens, and others. Ellis's grounds for his belief are that the repetition of vss. 20–24 in 94–98 are an "indication on the one hand that the two parts were not written simultaneously, on the other that they *are* parts of the same poem"; that "nothing could be a stronger proof of poverty of invention than the recurrence in two completely distinct poems of five identical verses"; and further, that "nowhere in the extant poems of Catullus can any ending be shown so abrupt as *Vltro ego deferrem, copia si qua foret* becomes on the separatist view; nowhere a beginning so startling as *Non possum reticere, deae, qua me Allius in re Iuuerit.*" Ellis claims that his opponents have completely ignored this point on which he lays much stress; and he further claims that the individuals apparently mentioned as two, in the different parts of the poem, are one and the same man, Allius Mallius.

So much has been said for and against the separation of 1–40 from 41–160 that it seems a work of supererogation to renew the discussion; but briefly we may say that the tone of the two poems (for such we conceive them to be) is so entirely different in composition and feeling that it would seem impossible for them to constitute a complete whole. That Catullus should decline so emphatically, and with such good cause, to send his friend any composition of his own, and should then straightway proceed to write a long poem of 120 verses, discoursing of Lesbia, Laodamia, and what not, appears at least improbable. The repetition of vss. 20–24, upon which Prof. Ellis lays such stress, does not seem a strong argument in favor of considering the two poems as one. Verses 1–40 were written under great mental strain from the loss of his brother, in referring to whom these four verses are particularly pathetic and beautiful; what wonder then that he should repeat them in a later poem, when suggested by the mention of the Troad in verse 88, a practice not uncommon among the best poets; 1–40 is written in the most prosaic manner, except when the mention of his brother is direct, and entirely unelaborated, whereas 41–160 is worked up with great care. Again, if considered as a whole, the transition from 40 to 41 is most abrupt, but with all respect to Mr. Ellis, 41 sqq. would not form an inele-

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gant beginning to a new poem. That 1–40 was written by Catullus from Verona or Sirmio to Mallius at Baiae, or some place other than Rome, seems patent to us, while 41–160 give no evidence of where they were written, though they seem to have been composed at a sufficiently later period for his grief for his brother to be somewhat assuaged.

Whether the Mallius or Manlius of 1–40 was L. Manlius Torquatus seems to be still *sub iudice*, though Schwabe's arguments in its favor are clever and strong.

Again, it seems impossible that an Allius Mallius or a Mallius Allius should have existed in Rome, though Mr. Ellis teaches us (p. 401) that we should be careful what assertions we make in regard to Roman names.

If we turn to the MSS they do not help us much, their reading is so various, and the corrupt passing of an *n* before *l* into another *l* so very easy. Confining ourselves to DPGO, in verse 11, we find manli DP, mali O, mali^{o} G; in 30, appears mali GO; in 41, quam fallius GO, quam salius P, quam fallimus D; in 52, ali GP, alli O, aliis D; in 68, manlius DG, allius *marg.* manllius O; in 170, aliis all MSS. It can be seen from these examples that the external evidence of the MSS does not carry us far towards a solution of the problem.

These are but a few brief points in the argument, but from an entirely dispassionate standpoint, viewing the evidence as a whole, we feel that were we a higher tribunal, instead of a very inferior one, we should be compelled to reverse the decision of the upper court, which we freely grant Mr. Ellis to be.

Mr. Ellis still holds to the opinion expressed in his first edition, that the name of the poet was Quintus and not Gaius; the arguments are so strong for the latter *praenomen* that we do not see how Mr. Ellis can fail to recognize them; to be sure he is supported by such eminent scholars as Lachmann, Mommsen, Haupt, and Scaliger, but of these Lachmann and Mommsen were not acquainted with G and O, and Scaliger had his emendation to support in LXVII 12. Ellis bases his opinion on the authority of the Datanus, Riccardianus, Cujacianus, and the Colbertinus MSS, the first of which he thinks very highly of, though all four are usually considered to be inferior MSS; and on a passage in Pliny's N. H. XXXVII 81, *filius strumae Noni eius quem Catullus poeta in sella curuli uisum indigne tulit.* It is to be observed in regard to the passage from Pliny that the MSS by no means agree, some of them having the words as quoted above, and others placing Q. before the word Catullus, which Mr. Ellis thinks of great importance. He has been at pains to examine, either personally or vicariously, some twenty-one MSS of Pliny, with a result that does not seem to us encouraging to his cause; of these the oldest two (the Bambergensis and the Chiffletianus), of the tenth and eleventh centuries respectively, omit the Q. and give n̄ Catulus; of the later codices, 4 of the thirteenth, 2 of the fourteenth, and 6 of the fifteenth century omit the Q., while only 1 of the twelfth, 2 of the thirteenth, 2 of the fourteenth, and 2 of the fifteenth place the Q. before Catullus. Now it is not at all improbable that in these the Q. crept in from the *quem* which precedes it; or arose from a confusion between the old capital forms of Q and C; or again, of a confusion between the *praenomen* of Quintus Catulus and that of the poet, especially as this actually occurs in the Datanus, which gives the form *Catuli*.

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On the other hand, none of the better or the best MSS of Pliny give Quintus, and Jerome especially states in his Chronicle that the poet's name was Gaius, writing it out in full, whilst Apuleius Apolog. 10 writes C. Catullus.

It is noted with pleasure that Ellis has changed the spelling from Virgil to Vergil throughout this edition, in deference, he tells us, "to the arguments of the Roman jurist Castalio, *De Vergili nominis scribendi recta ratione*, Romae 1594.

Prof. Ellis's volume is by no means a reprint of that of 1876. There are comparatively few omissions from his former work, while the pages of the new edition are teeming with rich illustrative passages in both Greek and Latin, which no one but a deeply-read and profound scholar like Mr. Ellis could supply; this is especially the case with the quotations in Greek, from which his wide reading has enabled him to make such valuable selections. Again, in the Latin references he has wisely aimed to quote from "the predecessors or contemporaries, rather than from the followers of Catullus"; not only are these passages more pertinent than many of those in the first edition, but their number is so much increased that they occupy a by no means small proportion of the increase of 116 pages in this over the first edition.

Of the Clarendon Press work, as usual, there is nothing to be said except in commendation.

Amongst all these words of praise it is disagreeable to have to find fault, and grave fault too, with the index, which falls far short of any reasonable standard. It was always a drawback to the first edition that it was not indexed, and we hailed with delight the announcement that this want had been supplied in the present volume, but our disappointment was all the more keen when we found how insufficient it was. It purports to be an "Index of persons and things referred to in the Commentary," and we started to make a list of some of the more notable omissions, taken at random, such as Erycina, Aeneas, Ariadne, Prometheus, Helicon, Pessinus, Cybele, etc., but soon found that this meant the compiling of a new index, in comparison to which the present one would be but a small fraction, and abandoned the attempt.

It is not too often that the world is presented with the exhaustive and learned work of so ripe a scholar as Mr. Ellis, and every student of Catullus owes him a meed of thanks second only in gratitude to that due to the poet himself.

——— WILLIAM H. KLAPP.

The Latin Heptateuch, critically reviewed by JOHN E. B. MAYOR, M. A. Cambridge, University Press, 1889.

This interesting translation of the first seven books of the Old Testament into hexameter verse is, up to the present time, inaccessible in any one work, having undergone a strange history in its fragmentary publication. The first 165 verses of Genesis were published by Wm. Morel in 1560, and have been often reprinted in editions of Tertullian and Cyprian. In 1733 Martène added 1276 verses more from a MS of the ninth century, which completed the book of Genesis with the exception of chapter IX and a part of chapter X. In 1852 Cardinal Pitra published in the Spicilegium Solesmense the missing fragment of Genesis, the books of Exodus, Deuteronomy and Joshua, and parts of Leviticus and Numbers. Before his death, which occurred Feb. 9, 1889, he added

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supplements to Leviticus and Numbers, and printed the book of Judges as far as to c. XVIII (Analecta sacra et classica Sp. Sol. parata, Paris and Rome, 1888). We have in all 5375 hexameter verses and 175 hendecasyllabics in lyrical passages. They are to be brought together in a critical edition by R. Peiper in the Vienna Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. The work of Mayor is preliminary to this promised edition, and is based upon the manuscript C, of the tenth century, belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge. Pitra had already transcribed this and collated two Laon MSS (A, B) for his edition of 1852, and he did not then publish the whole material because he hoped, without success, to find a new manuscript. C shows much divergence from Pitra's text, and its readings are generally, though not always, better. It is strange that so little has been known in Germany of anything but the version of Genesis, and that even Hartel and L. Müller in treating of the poem critically were not aware of Pitra's important publication. The burning question has hitherto been in regard to the authorship of this version. The manuscripts and catalogues have assigned it to various Christian authors, Tertullian, Cyprian, Alcimus Avitus, Juvencus, etc. The theory of Juvencus's authorship has been stoutly maintained by Pitra, even as late as 1888, as well as by Bähr, Schrödl, Daniel, Bernhardy and Gams. Metrical and stylistic considerations have led most critics to reject this claim, which is disposed of by Mayor, who shows that the passage E 526 ff. was originally addressed to Theodosius by Claudian in a poem of the year 396. It may seem gratuitous to give further grounds against J.'s authorship, but the theory of his connection with the poem has died so hard that it is perhaps justifiable to mention some other considerations:

a. The author of the Heptateuch has a predilection, amounting almost to a passion, for beginning a verse with the convenient dactyl *Ilicet*, of which there are about 40 instances scattered throughout the poem: Juvencus has *none* in 3210 verses. *b.* Juvencus is very fond of long honorific titles of the Deity (see Marold's index). While the author of the Hept. uses Tonans = Deus with some frequency (G 65, 141, 168, etc.), there is a noticeable lack of the feature mentioned. The following expressions equivalent to Deus are not found in Juvencus: Rex, E 1162, 1191; Potens, G 205; Maximus, G 102. *c.* With the exception of a simile or two (I 687–689) or a "fine" description of nature, Juvencus takes no liberties with the text of Scripture, but compare:

> Sethum (*read* Semum) Chamumque Jafetumque
> In numerum solitos mollitum tundere ferrum

(G 226, 7) and G 179, E 443, 468, and the treatment of Exod. IV 24, Exod. X. *d.* Juvencus omits lists of proper names (Mat. I; X 2–4), but in the Hept. a laborious effort is made to bring them in, with results like

> qui nomine vero
> Dicuntur Ariac Hadachar Godullagomurus, G 426, 7.

and after a hard struggle with the Gergasenes and Ammonites (E 1143 seq.) the author makes the naïve confession:

> Sed neque quam multae species nec nomina quae sunt
> Lex numeris astricta potest depromere fando.

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Other such lists are given in Gen. V, X, XI, Jo. 375, etc. *e.* In E 729 and throughout the book of Joshua Hept. has Jēsus as a dissyllable, while everywhere in Juvencus the word is a trisyllable : Ĭēsus.

Ebert (Allg. Geschichte der Litteratur des Mittelalters im Abendlande², Leip. 1889, 114 ff.), in treating of the authorship of the Hept., is inclined to ascribe the first 600 verses of Genesis to Juvencus, while in the remainder he sees the work of another author. The latter half of Genesis, he says, is much inferior to the first, especially as it becomes greatly abbreviated in its treatment, and at last is the crudest sort of versification. This theory of more than one hand in the authorship (which Mayor does not notice) cannot be accepted for a moment. The characteristic peculiarities of Genesis are maintained throughout. Even the condensation of the latter part is not so significant as might appear. The first 632 lines of the version of Genesis are concerned with the first 18 chapters of the Bible, which include 458 (prose) verses of Bible-text; or, in the first 632 lines the average is: .72 Bible-verses to the hexameter line. The last 863 lines (32 chapters) include 1075 verses of Bible-text, or 1.24 Bible-verses to the hexameter line. Yet in Gen. X (which falls before the 400th line) 32 verses are treated in 18 lines, or 1.77 Bible-verses to the hex. line, while the version of Joshua covers 658 verses in 585 lines, making the average of 1.12 Bible-verses to the hex. line.

It is due to Peiper that the authorship of the poem has been finally assigned, upon good manuscript authority, to Cyprian, and this not the African church-father, but in all probability the Bishop of Toulon in the middle of the sixth century. In company with Firminus and Viventius he wrote (or furnished the material for) the life of Caesarius of Arles, which is found in Migne's Patrol. Lat. LXVII 1001 ff. That in this life there can be found no resemblances to the style of the Hept. need not disparage the theory, for though in c. 39 *vae mihi misero Cypriano!* might point to him as the actual writer of the memoir, the succeeding *inter quos etiam sanctus Cyprianus Telonensis magnus et clarus enituit*, certainly shows that he could not have composed it all. Perhaps the disclaimer of all rhetorical art in the *praefatio* is also significant. At any rate, all the indications point to a Cyprian of Gaul, who flourished about this time, as the author of the whole version of the Heptateuch. The form of Mayor's work is discursive in the extreme, and with its dedications, quotations, biographies, "sponsors" and reminiscences is spread out to make a volume of 339 pages, without much regard to scientific method in arrangement. It is to be regretted that there is not a better description of the MSS, especially C. Mayor brings to his work extraordinary qualifications: a severe Latin scholar, with that thorough training in metrics possessed by English versifiers, he has also a mastery of the Fathers and especially of the Christian Latin poets, and makes brilliant use of this material on every page. The style is Mayor's own, and is too characteristic to be capable of description. His copious side-remarks are never dull, and are jubilant, censorious or laudatory according to circumstances. There is a rather amusing and self-conscious patronage of Pitra, whose valuable work is certainly inferior to Arevalo's in critical acumen, and not deserving the over-praise which it receives. The long preface (pp. vii–lxvi) gives a history of editions and previous criticism, nothing having escaped the notice of the author. There is also a very valuable summary of the metrical and linguistic

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facts which this monument brings to light. The term "initial *æ*" on p. xlix is ambiguous, and should be "*æ* in the first syllable"; compare the examples given on the next page, and E 598 *hăeres*, E 775 *hăereant*. To the list on p. l should be added: L 16 *mŏerente*, E 307 *mŏerore*, 456 *hўsopi*. To the list of words which are shortened in the first syllable should be added Jo. 516 *lĭbamina* (but cf. *lĭbare*, four lines later). The body of the book is given to critical emendations, some of which are very luminous, and in accordance with which the facts marshal themselves in line like drilled troops. E. g. E 82 *lictorum*, 196 *se Rex* for *senex*, 1323 *Auses*, etc. "Bentley's slashing hook," for which the author sighs, has certainly descended into his hands, and he purges unsparingly against the testimony of all the MSS. Mayor corrects everything (even the epigrams of his deceased master Kennedy), and we doubt whether Cyprian would recognize his own poem in many verses. He lays the blame upon scribes in regard to liberties which are consistently repeated throughout the poem—so *fiunt*, G 6, 282, 429, E 450, 774, etc. Why should we attribute to the scribe the frequently recurring *vădentem*, etc., which all the MSS attest? So with *dāturus* G 224, 878. I cannot think it necessary to change *prĕter*, which occurs in G 1036, E 694, Jo. 12, Ju. 402. Granted that such liberties offend all of one's metrical sensibilities, is it not abundantly shown elsewhere that, in matters of prosody, our Cyprian is *capable de tout?* Why might not *cūpitam* stand at the head of E 114, in the light of the numerous examples on p. li? So Mayor does away with the *ἅπαξ λεγ. clarigenus* E 1187. As to correcting proper names because of inconsistent quantities, if the Christian poetry of the time shows anything, it is that the greatest liberty is allowable in the metrical treatment of such names. So great a purist as Juvencus himself allows perfect freedom in the matter. Confidence in Mayor's results is weakened by the way in which he subsequently takes back what he had defended at length—see the supplement, p. 239. At N 686 there is too much dwelling upon a mere typographical error in Pitra—the printing of *umbra* for *unda*. The final result in G 6, 91 and 138 is hardly satisfactory. I do not think that the author can establish the forms *domni*, etc., for Cyprian. Strange that the verse G 225 has escaped the critical eye of so many theologian-editors who have up to the present allowed *Sethum* to stand, while any Sunday-school scholar would amend to *Semum* (Gen. V 31). The verse E 563 I would amend:

Cui sit gloria dum honore pollens.

JAMES TAFT HATFIELD.

Note. I take this opportunity to make corrections of C. Marold's text of Juvencus (Leipsic, 1886):

II 74, for *orabunt* read *orabant.*

II 191, for *senior* read *senior matris.*

IV 302, for *calvavit* read *calcavit.*

IV 663, for *possesso* read *possessio.*

IV 716, for *procerum* read *procerum solus.*—J. T. H.

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G. H. BALG, Ph. D. A Comparative Glossary of the Gothic Language, with especial reference to English and German. With a preface by Prof. FRANCIS A. MARCH, LL. D. Mayville, Wisconsin, 1887–1889.

The ninth and last part of this work has just appeared, and the author is certainly to be congratulated on the result, taken as a whole. The chief value of the book is undoubtedly to be found in the large mass of materials, assembled in a single handy volume. The meanings of the words are abundantly illustrated: in most of the later articles every occurrence of a given word in the entire literature is noted. What a pity that the author did not, with blind trust in the unequalled value of such collections, make a complete concordance of the entire body of the Gothic literature! He has exhibited sufficient pluck and faithfulness for such a task. The value and permanence of his work would have been thus increased manifold, and he might have made room by reducing the pleasant etymological *causeries*—interesting enough they are, to be sure—without seriously impairing the value of his work.

I agree cordially with Professor March and Dr. Balg, in their prefaces, that Gothic is the fundamental Germanic language, the Sanskrit among them. The phonetics and morphology of either Old High German, or Anglo-Saxon do not present ancient Germanic speech in such limpid perspicuity as Gothic. Gothic is *not* Proto-Germanic any more than Sanskrit is Indo-European, but each stands at the very threshold of the reconstructed period of speech—that period which we designate in the one case by Proto-Germanic, in the other by Indo-European. Thus the value of Gothic radiates in two directions. The student of German speech finds in it more help than in any other dialect, when he grapples with the multiform developments of later Germanic speech; the student of language in any other I. E. domain finds in Gothic on the whole the forms and functions nearest, and most in sympathy with those of his own language.

This pivotal position of Gothic points out a lesson which Teutonic scholars in America should quickly appropriate. It is this, that they cannot stop short at Gothic: they must in a reasonable measure also understand that attraction which constantly brings the student of the remaining I. E. languages over into their domain. We may as well be plain-spoken. In our belief one can no more understand Gothic or Old High German without a knowledge of the more prominent I. E. languages, than one can understand later German forms of speech without a knowledge of Gothic and Old High German. The apparatus of a serious-minded German student is not complete without a correct apprehension of the speech-forms of at least the more prominent I. E. languages, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. Need we go into details? The writer needs but to refer to *ablaut* and Verner's law, or the I. E. surd and sonant aspirates to indicate his meaning. He is willing to add that he has scarcely met with an instance, in which these phenomena were understood fully, down to the bone, without this background. He begs, therefore, to supplement the remarks of Professor March, by urging upon students of German in the earlier years of their career an acquaintance with the general outline of I. E. speech.

I do not believe that I do Dr. Balg an injustice in pointing out, that the want of just such training, or perhaps rather of a sufficient amount of it, forms one of the most conspicuous defects of his excellent work. Let me dwell upon one example somewhat at length. It is his treatment of the relation of *fraþnan*

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'to ask' to OHG. *forskōn*, NHG. *forschen* 'to inquire' on p. 102. He describes *forskōn* as = **forhskōn*, and explains the root-syllable **forh* as due to metathesis of **freh* in *fraíhna*. Neither explanation is correct. There never was a Proto-German **forhskōn*, but only *forskōn* without *h*. This appears clearly, if we compare Latin *po(r)scō*, Sk. *pṛchā́mi*, Zend *peresa-*. The final *k̂* of the I. E. root *prek̂* was lost in front of the inchoative suffix *-sko-* before the separation, before Germanic speech: the 'ground-form' of all these is **pṛskō*, and this never presented any opportunity to turn a *k* into *h* by Grimm's law. Worse still is the assumption of metathesis in this assumed **forh*. Even from the point of view of German alone one can understand that *forh* is the so-called weak, toneless form to *freh*, holding to it the same relation as *bud-* in *budum* to *biud-* in *biuda*, as *bund-* in *bundum* to *bind-* in *binda*, as *vaúrp-* (*vorp-*) in *vaúrpum* to *vaírp-* (*verp-*) in *vaírpa*, etc. In just such cases a modest knowledge of comparative grammar has a most clarifying and pervasive influence. *fraíhna* corresponds well with its strong root-form to Sk. *praçna*, but *forskōn* to Sk. *pṛchāmi*, and we see here that *or* is the German rendition of the I. E. ṛ-vowel, which appears as the Sk. ṛ-vowel.

Similar cases are the following: On p. 45a *banja* 'wound' is compared with *φόνος*, a very old comparison, which goes back to Pott, Etymologische Forschungen, I[1], 225. But now it is a commonplace of grammar that *φόνος* together with *θείνω* both represent in Greek the I. E. root *ghen* (Sk. *hánmi*, *ghands*), and the initial of such a root must appear in German either as (*g*)*v* or *g*. As a matter of fact Old Norse *gunnr*, Ags. *gūð*, OHG. *gundea* 'slaughter' are the representatives of this root in the German dialects. For *banja* cf. KZ. XXV 171.

The Latin phonetist will scarcely be grateful to our author for imposing upon him the duty of deriving *nūdus* from **nugdus*; the student of I. E. phonetics will find it equally hard to mediate between the *u* in **nugdus*, the *a* of Sk. *nagna-*, and Goth. *naqaps*. See p. 293a. *nūdus* for **no(g)vedos*, like *prūdens* for *providens*, establishes an almost exact equation between the Gothic and the Latin and removes the burden of accounting for the relation of a Latin *ŭ* to Sk. *a* = Goth. *a* = I. E. *o*.

A few more points of the same sort may be added. On p 371b *skēwjan* 'to go, walk' is identified with Greek *σεύεσθαι* and Sk. root *cyu*. But the two last are from an I. E. root *qi̯eu̯*, and the assumption of a 'ground-form' *σκjεύεσθαι* for *σεύεσθαι* is against all known phonetics of the language. On p. 210 *jiuka* 'strife, anger' is compared with *ὑσμίνη* in the face of every chance. *jiuka* surely contains the same root as *juk* 'yoke,' and is therefore to be compared to root *ζευγ* = I. E. *yeu̯g* with initial spirant *yod*; *ὑσμίνη* with initial rough breathing indicates a totally different root with initial *i̯* (*i* consonans), I. E. *i̯eu̯dh*. In the Greek index (p. 603) *ὑσμίνη* is referred to *jēr*, an evident misprint. On p. 217b *kilþei* 'womb' is compared with Sk. *jaṭhara*, on p. 229a an attempt is made to identify the same Sk. word with *qipus*, but it appears here in the form *gaṭhāras* (!), with two misprints. The Sk. word cannot be compared with both Gothic words: it is in fact *identical* with *-qiþrs* in *laus-qiþrs* 'empty-bellied.'

Dr. Balg does not in his work make pretence of being a Sanskrit scholar; nevertheless the demand is not an unreasonable one that the words of that language be cited correctly, and according to some single method of transcrip-

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tion. This is not the case. On p. 193b we have *çvid* 'to be white' for *çvit*; p. 219a *jñu-bādh* 'bending the knee,' where the mark ˜ designates the palatal quality of the *ñ* and the length of the *ā*. Similarly on p. 223a we have *jânami*: both *â* and *ā* are simply long *ā*. In *jajnau* the ˜ belongs to the *n*: the *a* of the second syllable is at the best entitled to a makron; similarly on p. 324b we have *ṛ-nô-mi* and *ṛ-nvā-mi*. On p. 225a *gâni* for *jāni*; 111b *pra* and *pûrna* for *prā* and *pūrṇa*; p. 16b *ayus* for *āyus*; p. 352b Sk. *syá* for *syā* as the feminine of *syas*. On p. 68a we have *dharshas* 'boldness,' on p. 108b *pruśvâ* 'drop': *sh* in the first and *ś* in the second are the same sound. On p. 515a *vâra* 'wish,' on p. 516b *wîras* 'man': the initial sounds of both words are the same. On p. 81a *piṭṛwya*, on p. 371b *cju*: *y* and *j* in these words are the identical sound. Truly a motley assemblage!

In this connection a few other points may be noted. On p. 87a *plta* instead of *pḷta* is assumed as the ground-form of Sk. *puṭa*; p. 370a κοεῖν is compared correctly with **skaws*: in the Greek index it appears incorrectly as κοιεῖν. The verb *bi-rodjan* 'to murmur' is wanting on p. 54a. I have not been able to find it anywhere in the book. The statement on p. 33a that Goth. *asts* is 'allied to Gr. ὄζος' is scarcely strong enough: ὄζος, or still more palpably Aeolic ὄσδος, is sound for sound equal to *asts*. On p. 334a ἴημι is omitted in the etymological discussion of *saian*; on p. 55 under *biuga* the related φεύγω, *fugio*, Sk. *bhuj* deserve mention, in spite of the difference in the quality of the final consonants.

There is one more serious defect, which we especially entreat the author to correct, in case his work should live to pass through a second edition. I refer to the utter absence of references to etymological literature. Etymology is at the same time the most important and the most difficult member of the sciences, which cluster about the study of language. We realize the difficulty more and more, as the study of comparative grammar becomes older. How many words are there for which two and three different etymologies are now contending, though their derivation seemed forever settled to the generation of grammarians preceding ours! They can be counted by scores and hundreds. The etymologist cannot afford to shoulder the responsibility of deciding, without at least giving his readers an opportunity for overhauling his results by giving short references to the works, in which the word has been discussed. The presence of such references lends permanent value, for instance, to the etymological labors of the late Dr. Vaniček on the field of Greek and Latin etymology, though his personal opinion is often not acceptable. The space consumed by them is comparatively small; their value is paramount. By the way, there is a somewhat pathetic analogy between the authors of the two works, Vaniček and Balg. Vaniček started life as 'kaiserlich-königlich-galizischer Cameralgefällenverwaltungsconceptspraktikant' (see Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Lateinischen Sprache², p. iv), and performed a large share of his labors in Neuhaus in Bohemia. Balg has undertaken broad philological operations in Mayville, Wisconsin. The labors of each were carried on in the teeth of adverse circumstances: lack of books, intellectual isolation, etc. The day will never come, when these studies will no longer seem to some minds the most refreshing and sustaining of all mental pursuits.

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

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Homer's Odyssey, Books I–IV; edited on the basis of the Ameis-Hentze edition by B. PERRIN, Professor in Adelbert College of Western Reserve University. Square 8vo. Greek and English indices. 229 pp. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1889.

This edition of the Odyssey *α–δ* belongs to the College Series of Greek Authors which Messrs. Ginn & Co. are publishing under the editorial supervision of Professor J. W. White of Harvard and Professor Seymour of Yale. It is the second portion of Homer in the series to appear, the first, published about two years ago, being an edition of the Iliad A–Γ by Professor Seymour. Professor Perrin, as is briefly stated in the title-page of his book, has based the commentary on the Ameis-Hentze edition of 1884, and his notes are therefore mainly exegetical. He has, however, added an appendix which, although of much less elaborate character than the extensive *Anhang* of the German edition, contains in admirably concise form much that is of value for critical purposes. The text is that of Dindorf revised by Hentze, Leipzig, Teubner, 1884, but it may be noted that Professor Perrin uses brackets in passages which are confessedly uncertain much less freely than the German editor, and that he is now and then distinctly in favor of retaining verses which are bracketed in the German edition, e. g. *α* 278 = *β* 197, *γ* 95, 199 f. (cf. Appendix).

In accordance with the statement in his preface, Professor Perrin has not simply translated the German notes, but has freely adapted them to what he believes to be the requirements of American college classes. This work has certainly been extremely well done, and with an originality and independence which makes one inclined to ask why so good a Homeric scholar as Professor Perrin should wish to "base" his edition on that of another editor. It really seems hardly worth while that he should suppress his individual judgment as he does, for example, in the notes on *α* 151, *β* 60 (cf. Appendix). The mass of Homeric commentary accumulated by a long line of scholars is now so immense and has so largely become common property that it almost seems a question whether the American editor really owes so very much more to the notes of Ameis-Hentze than those scholars owed to their immediate predecessors. The *form* of the American book agrees unquestionably quite closely with that of the German, but in general Professor Perrin might very properly say, as Ameis did in the preface to his first edition, that he had used the work of other scholars *mit selbständigem Urteil*.

If, however, the book be judged simply according to its professions, there can be no doubt that the exegetical notes are a distinct improvement upon those of the German original, always remembering of course that no attempt has been made to furnish any large amount of such supplementary material as is to be found in the Ameis-Hentze *Anhang*. Any one who will take the trouble to make a systematic comparison of the notes in the two editions will be convinced of this. Compare, for example, the notes on *α* 14–21, 53; *γ* 109, 171; *δ* 231 f., 636 etc. Many new notes too have been added. On the other hand it is not an easy matter to find corresponding notes of Ameis-Hentze which are superior; cf. *α* 45 where there is no citation of identical verses, *β* 100 where no remark on *ταυηλεγέος* is made, *δ* 477 where there is no comment on *διπετέος*. These are surely not very weighty omissions. Professor Perrin, moreover, shows markedly in his commentary the thoroughness and simplicity in syntactical explana-

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tion which is certainly a characteristic of the better class of college text-books that have been produced by American scholars; cf. β 43, and the many references to standard grammars. Most helpful also are the frequent comparisons of Attic usage. Now and then English idioms analogous to the Greek are introduced to excellent purpose; cf. β 9, where we find the "assemble and meet together" of the Prayer Book; again, β 345 the formula from Genesis I, "and it was evening and it was morning," and δ 380 "weather-bound," 540 "live and breathe," 743 "dear child," etc.

There can then be no question in regard to the admirable character of Professor Perrin's notes as a whole, but with this very certain opinion I may yet be allowed to offer a few criticisms upon particular features in them. And first of all there seems to be too much statistical information mixed in with the exegesis. Such remarks as have been most fitly placed in the appendix against α 4, 21; β 20; δ 2, 4, 342 are freely scattered through the explanatory notes. They are so numerous that it is hardly worth while to cite examples. Frequently also statistics are given without references, as γ 248, "The last five feet occur ten times in the Iliad." There ought, it seems to me, to be more than this, or else nothing at all, and I cannot think that the citing of *iterati* and *formulae* "for the eye merely" (cf. preface) is a good plan when it tends, as it does in the present case, to make the notes a little tedious. Seymour's Iliad A–Γ in this same series has less statistical information and more citation of passages from other poets which are calculated constantly to stimulate the student's interest in comparative literature, besides giving to the commentary a very charming literary flavor more or less foreign, by the way, to its German original. The notes to the Odyssey are not lacking in this quality, but it is not distinctly prominent and is obscured to some degree by statistics.

In the preface to his book Professor Perrin says in explanation of the critical notes in the appendix which contain the principal variations of the best MSS and the readings of some prominent scholars, that "these data will not seem pedantic to those whose library privileges are limited." This is excellent, and similar data touching *Realien* would, I am sure, have been very useful to students and more especially to teachers. Such references have been given in a number of cases, e. g. α 333 (appendix), γ 10 (appendix), 440, 464 (appendix), δ 627, but in connection with α 357 and β 94 Blümner's excellent discussion of spinning and weaving (Technol. d. Gr. u. Röm. S. 109 ff.) might well have been referred to. I have further noted the following passages where Helbig (Das Hom. Epos) has important and pertinent remarks: α 440, γ 399 (p. 124 anm. 5), 63 (pp. 358 ff.), 162 (pp. 158 ff.), 384, 425 f., 437 (pp. 266 f.), 408 (p. 98), 460 (pp. 353 ff.; interesting citation p. 358 of 1 Sam. II 13 ff.); δ 42 (p. 100), 71 ff. (see index s. v. Menelaos), 131 (p. 108 anm. 13), 305 (p. 205), 618 (p. 367 and in general with regard to Phoenician importations). Nearly all these references might furnish helpful suggestions to the teacher and would in no wise usurp his functions.

It remains to call attention to a few places of minor importance where perhaps some improvement might be possible or where a query suggests itself. α 64, see Butcher and Lang's interesting note on this verse. 92, a note on ἔλικας in the appendix desirable. 136, προχόῳ is called a *lokaler Dativ* by All., a dative of means by Perrin; no note in appendix on the change. 267, ἐν γούνασι

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κεῖται seems worth a note in the appendix. β 20, AH., while admitting the difficulty of so doing (*Anhang*), construe πύματον with τόν; this is not noted in the appendix. 100, a note on ταυηλεγέος desirable. γ 315, is the prohibitory character of the μὴ clause beyond a doubt? δ 195, add reference to ο 50. 489, a note on ἀδείκει desirable. In the useful bibliography which Professor Perrin has appended to his book the *latest* edition of Merry's Odyssey (1887), and that of Keep's Autenrieth (1888) should be noted. I have observed but one misprint, β 396 (note), for πλάζει read πλάζε.

The exegetical notes are printed on the same page with the text, according to the plan which the supervising editors have most wisely adopted, and the work of printer and publisher is of the same very admirable character which is to be seen in the other books of Messrs. Ginn & Co.'s College Series. Such excellent exegetical editions of Homer as these which have been begun by Professor Seymour and Professor Perrin have never before been put into the hands of younger students either in this country or, so far as I know, in England. If only we had larger portions of Homer so edited, it can hardly be doubted that they would be in great demand. As it is, teachers even of beginners want for their classes more than three books of the Iliad or four of the Odyssey.

J. R. WHEELER.

Elene; Judith; Athelstan, or the Fight at Brunanburh; and Byrhtnoth, or the Fight at Maldon: Anglo-Saxon poems. Translated by JAMES M. GARNETT, M. A., LL. D. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1889.

Much of what one might venture to say on the subject of how Anglo-Saxon poetry should be translated would, in all probability, soon become mere anachronism. There has been enough of that sort of criticism to establish this probability, if not indeed to raise it into the domain of demonstrated proof. Before we are prepared to make exact estimates of a translation, we must have the key to a thorough sympathy with the original, and such appreciation is born of accurate knowledge. Obviously then, while in the very midst of an inductive study of the art-form of the Anglo-Saxon poets, while the sifting and the resifting of collected facts is carrying us along by the gradual steps of theory to theory, it would be an act of rash precipitancy to declare the induction closed, and to fix a corresponding standard of judicial criticism. The belief that we are rapidly approaching a knowledge of the mechanical structure of Anglo-Saxon verse is surely well founded, but it is even yet perilous to predict the end. And when that end has been reached, a new discipline will doubtless be required to lead us to a quick and responsive perception of the more subtle, the more vital elements of the early poet's workmanship.

But, to be more concrete, of all recent translations of Anglo-Saxon verse, the method employed by Professor Garnett in his translation of the Béowulf is undoubtedly that which has become most familiar to the general student, while the judgment passed upon it by scholars is equally familiar to technical readers. In introducing to the public the present volume of translations, therefore, it is almost if not quite sufficient merely to say that Professor Garnett has adhered to his previous canon of literal line-for-line translation, with its disavowal of "ideal correctness of rhythm." It cannot be said that the translator

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has made any marked progress in the handling of his irregular rhythm, but he is as conscientiously literal as ever, and as conservatively correct in sense as one could desire. There is, however, one feature in this method that has gained prominence, namely, the marking of the metrical stress of pronouns, of auxiliary verbs, and of subordinate connectives. But the marks of this sort thus intended to make the rhythm eloquent to the eye are in many cases quite superfluous, in others they are either capricious or positively misplaced. For example, a mechanical adherence to the order of words in the original has occasioned such lines as are represented by the following three occurring on page 9:

"There wás on [each] earl easily seen"
"There wás to be seen treasure-gem set"
"[Then] wás the blessed Helena mindful."

Surely these stress marks are not superfluous, for no one would instinctively read in the manner required by them. But why require such distortion of the natural movement? If the additional unstressed syllable does not permit one to group these lines in a general way with such as:

"Thén it was plain that victory gave,"

that is to say, if the first stress cannot in each case be put upon the first syllable, it is easy enough to change them to an exact agreement, thus:

There on [each] earl was easily seen
There to be seen was treasure-gem set
[Then] was mindful the blessèd Helena.

The last line might also be put into this form:

[Then] the blessèd Helena was mindful,

this would retain the contiguity of "mindful" and "bold." To cite one more example, it will be agreed that it is not difficult to decide between:

"Then wás of the proud ones the force in joy"
and Then of the proud ones the force was in joy
(or, Of the proud ones then the force was in joy).

In reading Professor Garnett's lines the feeling grows upon one that he could have increased the smoothness of his version without departing from the essentials of his doctrine of line-for-line literalness, by this simplest sort of revision. The slightest change in the order of words, instead of destroying the ruggedness, as it is called, of the original, would often lead to a closer reproduction with the additional gain of smoothness—that quality which the translator has been too ready to sacrifice. Thus, for example, in translating Elene, lines 51 f.:

cyning þrēate fōr,
herge, tō hilde

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it is desirable, according to Professor Garnett's theory, to retain the effect of the apposition of *herge* to *þrēate*, which, to say the least, is as effectively accomplished by giving prominent stress to each :

the king marched with host
with army to battle,

as by the less easy movement, which also violates the simple law of the relative stress of the grammatical categories :

" the king with host marched
with army to battle."

Whatever may be thought of Anglo-Saxon poetry, it cannot be pronounced obscure. Its reiteration of substantive notions under metrical stress, its variation of epithet, the force and directness of its emphasis, and the absence of subjectivity, are prominent characteristics, and these are incompatible with obscurity. Professor Garnett has not done his utmost to keep his versions equally free from this quality ; on the contrary, he is willing to admit (see his Béowulf) " much inversion and occasional obscurity " for the sake of maintaining his canon inviolate. That the sense of the translation can at times be most quickly determined by turning to the original is, therefore, an admitted defect which we are called upon to tolerate for a reason which has apparently more weight with the translator than it can possibly have with his readers. This emboldens one to suggest a modification of the line-for-line version into a period-for-period version. A gain in effectiveness of movement and in lucidity of style would, it is believed, be thus put within easy reach.

This new volume is in every way worthy to be placed by the side of Professor Garnett's widely-known version of the Béowulf.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

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REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, Vol. XLIV.[1]

Pp. 1–24, 406–430. F. Blass. Studies in Demosthenes (continued from Vol. XLIII 268; A. J. P. X 368). II. There are cases in which the MSS cannot help us in finding the true reading. The oration against Spudias (XLI) and that for Phormio (XXXVI) show that in the speeches for court οὗτος denotes the plaintiff, οὗτος, οὗτοσί and ὅδε (ὁδί) the defendant. Exceptions occur only when there is a contrast to the party absent (Zenoth. 11 f.) For proper names οὗτοσί is the correct pronoun and regularly follows; when it precedes, a contrast is implied. The article is usually omitted before the name of plaintiff and defendant, usually employed before the names of gods except in cases like νὴ Δία and μὰ Δία (also πρὸς Διος Lept. 43). A study of the Leptinea shows that the article is omitted before other proper names except when reference is made to something previously mentioned or well known (ἀναφορά). The same is the case with βασιλεύς = *rex Persarum*. We always find οἱ Ἕλληνες, except in the predicate, and ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἡ Ἀσία, ἡ Εὐρώπη, ἡ Ἀττική, which were considered adjectives. The names of other countries are treated like the proper names; so also provinces, cities, and wards, if they are considered as a unity and not put in contrast with another place. Fixed formulae dispense with the article, e. g. οἱ ἐκ Πειραιῶς like οἱ ἐν ἄστει or ἐξ ἄστεως, εἰς Πειραιᾶ καταβαίνειν, οἱ ἐντὸς τείχους; so also Ἑλλήσποντος, but always ὁ Πόντος. The modern Greeks constantly use the article before proper names, and though this dates back many centuries, it can be said in defence of the much-abused copyists that they have seldom made a mistake, as a study of the first nine speeches shows. In the Pseudo-Demosthenean speeches it is somewhat different. A short paragraph on the articular infinitive in Demosthenes and a discussion of doubtful passages close the very interesting article.

III. Aorist and imperfect. One of the greatest difficulties in the Greek language is the relation between aorist and present-imperfect. The article is called forth by the strange remarks of O. Riemann in 'la question de l'aoriste grec' (Mélanges Graux, 1884, pp. 585–599), that there is no real difference between the two tenses. Bl. examines Demosthenes XLVII 5 ff., XXIX 11 ff. and arrives at the following results: (1) In the case of offers, where the answer of the opponent is expected, the infinitive of the incomplete action is used to express actions for which one offers himself, as the completion cannot be taken into consideration before the consent of the opponent is obtained. (2) The forms of incomplete action, inclusive of present indic., express not only a conative action, but also the action with reference to its quality and motives; the aorist expresses only completion and result. (3) A number of verbs expressing actions which have their aim and completion in the action of another, may, in

[1] See A. J. P. X 365.

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a large measure, be treated as imperfects, i. e. may be put in the imperfect instead of in the aorist, as soon as this incompleteness and dependence on the completing action of another is emphasized. Such verbs are *κελεύειν*, *ἀξιοῦν*, *παρακελεύεσθαι*, *ἐρωτᾶν*, *λέγειν*, *πέμπειν*, *ἀποστέλλειν*, etc. (4) The imperfect is also used of verbs of independent meaning to emphasize the fact that this action is not lasting and definite, but only inceptive and lasting up to a certain point. (5) If the modality of an action, i. e. the particular circumstances of its completion, is expressed by a separate verb the imperfect is used. Bl. then discusses the following verbs, presenting usually some difficulties, e. g. *ἐκέλευον* and *ἐκέλευσα*, *καλεῖν* and *καλέσαι*, *ἀνάβηθι* and *ἀνάβητε*, *μαρτύρησον*, *ἀκούσατε*, *λαβέ* (*τὴν μαρτυρίαν*), *ἀναγίγνωσκε*, *ἀνάγνωθι* and *λέγε*.

Pp. 25–51. In his notes on the Latin grammarians L. Jeep discusses the relation of the 'Excerpta codicis Bobiensis' to the Grammar of Dositheus. In certain portions they agree admirably, and a study of the chapter on the noun shows that the differences are not so great as has been believed, consisting as they do either in lacunae in Dositheus or interpolations in the Excerpta; also mistakes of the scribes result in divergencies. The traditional readings of the Excerpta represent another class of MSS than the Codex Sangallensis of the grammar of Dositheus. The similarity between the Excerpta and Charisius points to a common source which was wilfully changed by the latter. It is, however, not to be identified with the grammar of Dositheus, but with a book compiled from the grammar of Dositheus and another. Diomedes made use of Charisius and at the same time of the source common to Charisius and the Excerpta.

Pp. 52–64. S. Sudhaus dates the Euthydemus between 388–87: (1) because of the graphic description of Isocrates in 305 D; and (2) because the Panegyricus of the latter was not yet published. The Gorgias is directed against Isocrates, and shows that philosophy, not political rhetoric, is the true calling of a man, is true virtue. Callicles is the representative of Isocrates, and *πλεονεξία* and *πείθειν* are attacked by Socrates as vehemently as they are defended by Isocrates in *Πρὸς Νικοκλέα* (377 B. C.); cf. especially §48 and Gorg. 500, and §39 and Gorg. 486 C. Isocrates defends himself against this attack in his *Νικοκλῆς* (375 B. C.); consequently the Gorgias was composed about 376 B. C. Isocrates XV 250 and 259–269 corresponds almost literally to Panath. 26 and is directed against Plato. Isocrates will deal more leniently with Plato than he has been dealt with by the latter (in Rep. VI 500 B.) Thus follows that this latest portion of the Republic was published before 354 B. C.

Pp. 65–103. O. Rossbach's article on the manuscript tradition of the Periochae of Livius is based on a collation of the two MSS Cod. Pal. Lat. 894 N(azarianus) in Heidelberg, and Cod. Lat. 7701 (P) of the Paris Nat. Library, formerly belonging to Claudius Puteanus. P, though inferior to N, goes back to the same archetypal codex, of which N, however, is not a direct copy. Very similar to it, yet not the same, as Jahn thought, was the MS, the collation of which P. Pithou (1539–1596) inserted into his copy of the second edition of Livy by Sigonio, now in the Bodleian Library; it may have been an apographon of N, dating earlier than the renaissance, since the MS does not show the interpolations characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth cen-

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turies; the careful orthography points to the twelfth. The readings of N and P, differing from Jahn's edition, are given, together with critical remarks and emendations of corrupt passages.

Pp. 104–126, 161–193. E. Schwartz examines the discrepancies between Xenophon and Lysias in respect to Theramenes and the Agoratus conspiracy. The account of the events from the battle at Aegospotami to the rule of the thirty at Athens, given by Xenophon in Hellenica II 2, 10–3, 11, is short, yet to the point and consistent, II 3, 3. Of course we have to change *Δεκελείας* into *'Ακαδημείας* (cf. 2, 8). Lysias' account (in his c. Eratosth. and Agor.) is that of a partisan misrepresenting the facts. The contradictions between Lysias and Xenophon are of such a nature that the orator for the most part deserves less credit. It is to be regretted that Xenophon is silent on many points of the greatest importance. To explain this we have to study the personal element in Xenophon, which predominates throughout the Hellenica. Such a study will yield a number of data for his biography. Schwartz examines Xenophon's share in the expedition of Thrasyllus and his military service under the rule of the thirty. I 2, 1–10; ib. 9 we have a lacuna between *πόλεως* and *ἐβοήθησαν*, and at the end of the same paragraph read *Σελινούσιοι < οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν > δυοῖν*; I 3, 9 dele *Καλχηδονίοις*. Books V–VII show the desire of the author to enlighten the Athenians on the mild and friendly behavior of the Lacedaemonians as contrasted with that of the Thebans. The same blending of the man and the teacher pervades the first four books, establishes the essential unity of the whole work, and proves that it was not written at different periods, but was composed at Corinth, about the year 369 B. C., without interruption from other literary work.

Pp. 127–150, 240–258. A. Gercke. Alexandrian studies. Continued from XLII 626 (A. J. P. X 245). The quarrel with Apollonius. Among the Alexandrian poets Callimachus was especially opposed to Cyclic poetry; cf. Ep. 28, 1, *ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθῳ | χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει*; also Call. II 107 ff., Theocr. 7, 45 ff. Theocritus, even more than Callimachus, wrote with a definite intention to satirize Apollonius' epic poetry. In the criticism of Callimachus we meet, for the first time in ancient poetry, with a poet repeating the words of his adversary with the purpose of satirizing and injuring him. The feud ended with the Ibis of Callimachus. Apollonius shows independence and great learning in his Argonautica, which he composed while yet a youth. A later insertion of many portions of the poem cannot be proved. The chief objection to Apollonius is that he lacks poetic unity in his writings. It is very likely that all his later works were composed at a time when Apollonius was ridiculed on all sides. An interesting delineation of the contrast in character and erudition of Apollonius and his adversaries Callimachus and Theocritus, and of the traits common to them, together with some chronological results, closes the article.

Pp. 151–160. C. Wachsmuth accepts Crusius' interpretation of the second acrostic of Dionysius Periegetes, ll. 513–532, against Unger (A. J. P. IX 373 and X 373); of the first acrostic (ll. 109–129 according to their discoverer, Leue) ll. 109–111 do not belong to the acrostic; ll. 112–129 give the author's name: *Διονυσίου τῶν ἐντὸς Φάρου* (= *τοῦ 'Αλεξανδρέως*).—The *κύκλοι* of Demon,

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mentioned by Hesychius and Zenobius V 20, are the γῦροι or circular trenches round the vines and olive trees. This explains, according to Wachsmuth, the name of the Attic torrent Κυκλοβόρος in the deme Oenoë as the destroyer of such trenches.—J. E. Kirchner gives sufficient proof that the strategy of Cleon, mentioned in Ar. Clouds 581 ff., refers to the year 424–423 B. C.—The Byzantine and modern Greek νυμφίτζα, weasel, leads Th. Zielinski to the conjecture that one word for weasel in classic Greek may have been νύμφη, and hence arose the legend of the weasel as a bride.[1]—F. Schöll raises objections against Vahlen's theory of the chronology of the Annals of Ennius. Varro ap. Gell. XVII 21, 42 must refer to the last book of the annals, as Cic. pro Archia IX 22 and Plaut. Truc. 929 prove that the first six books had been published before 284 B. C.; also books VII–XII must date earlier than 272 B. C.

Pp. 194–206. A. Ludwich. Johannes of Gaza flourished under the Emperor Anastasius I (491–518 A. D.), before Paulus Silentiarius, and not later, as E. Abel, in his edition of the ἐκφρασις, is inclined to believe. This ἐκφρασις τοῦ κοσμικοῦ πίνακος was delivered—not at Antioch, as Petersen and others maintained—but at Gaza, where we also find the picture which gave rise to the poem.

Pp. 207–239. J. Ilberg. On the writings of Claudius Galenus of Pergamum. I. Biographical and chronological arrangement of his works. Galen was a very prolific writer (Athen. I 1 e). The books περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων πρὸς Εὐγενιανόν, περὶ τῶν ἰδίων βιβλίων γραφή, the catalogues appended to several of his works, especially to the τέχνη ἰατρική, and many quotations from his own writings help us to an approximate date of his works. The author began with studies in philosophy, anatomy, and physiology; in later years he devoted his attention more to the practical subjects of pathology and therapeutics. The works written under Commodus (180–192 A. D.) must have been destroyed in the great fire, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Εἰρήνης τέμενος ἅμα καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκαύθη (XIX 19). This accounts for the fact that none of the extant works can be assigned to this period.

Pp. 259–266. L. von Urlichs. Pliny, praef. 26, Apelles faciebat aut Polyclitus is ἐποίει as well as ἐποίησεν, while fecit in §27 is equal to πεποίηκεν. Pliny alluded to three instances without going into details; these are supplied by Paus. VI 4, 5; 14, 5, and 16, 5. Against Furtwängler (Fleckeis. Jahrb., 1876, p. 509), Overbeck, and others, the traditional reading of 34, 59, vicit eum —sagittis configi, is defended.

Pp. 267–272. Years ago A. von Gutschmid sent his copy of Georgius Syncellus to H. Gelzer. Every page was covered with corrections and emendations by the learned historian. Gelzer publishes now the corrected list of the Egyptian kings by Eratosthenes contained in Georg. Syncell., pp. 171, 3; 180, 7; 190, 6; 195, 6; 204, 19; 233, 5, and 278, 22. Every correction shows anew the great critical genius of the late Gutschmid.

Pp. 273–279. E. Klebs. A sober examination of Plin. Ep. II 1–6 proves that the princeps mentioned is always the same, viz. Nerva (cf. §5); Asbach

[1] Zielinski ought to have considered Ar. Ach. 255.—B. L. G.

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(Analecta historica et epigraphica latina, p. 16 ff.) is therefore wrong in assigning the consulate year of Tacitus to 98 A. D. instead of 97.

Pp. 280–285. F. Schöll. Terentii Adelphi, l. 117, read scortatur instead of obsonat, and omit ll. 118 and 119; l. 199, read domo mi eripuit against Sauppe's domi me arripuit; l. 162 f., omit, with Klette, hanc—esse, and read tu quod te posterius purges, huius non faciam. crede < mi > hoc, Ego meum ius persequar; ll. 217–8, omit atque adulescenti esses morigeratus, and put l. 219a before 218b; other conjectural omissions and interpolations are found in l. 264 and l. 267; Prolog. 4 ff., read indicio < falso factam ex vetere quom arguont: index > . . .; between ll. 224–225 insert Dum cum ero, leno, litis facias: aliquid saltem tu auferas.

Pp. 286–298. P. Krumbholz. The repetitions in Diodorus are intentional and the work of the author, and not due to later corruption and interpolations, as Schneider, de Diod., lib. I–IV font. Berol. 1880, supposes. Several repetitions on Arabia, Assyria, and the *Γανδαρίδαι* are discussed.

Pp. 299–304. O. Immisch. The *νεῖκος Ὀδυσσῆος καὶ Πηλεΐδεω Ἀχιλῆος* referred to in Od. VIII 73–82 was narrated in the Cypria. This quarrel of the two heroes took place at the time when the Greek fleet was at Delos with King Anius, and dates, therefore, earlier than the events recorded in the Iliad.

Pp. 305–320. M. Schanz reads, Soph. O. R. 1267, *δὴν* (= *δὴ ἦν*) instead of *δ' ἦν* (= *δὲ ἦν*).—O. Ribbeck defends his view of the Characters of Theophrastus against H. v. Gomperz; he maintains, with Jebb, three distinct revisions or editions of the text. Gomperz sends an answer to this defence, on pp. 472–3, and R. adds a final reply on pp. 473–4.—H. Weber, in a note on the death of Pheidias, reads Philochorus ap. Schol. on Ar. Pax 605, *τοῦτο δὲ ἐξεργασάμενος ἀποθανεῖν λέγεται ὑπὸ εἰλεῶν* (or perhaps even *εἰλειῶν*) for *Ἠλείων*; the *εἰλεός* was a grievous disease of the intestines.—O. Crusius. The *κυνὸς αὐτοφωνία* of Oenomaus is to be explained on the analogy of *αὐτόφωνος* as sayings from the dog's own lips.—W. H. Roscher. The form *ἐνδεδιωκότα*, on the latter half of the first tablet of Heracleia, CIG. III, p. 700, l. 95, is equal to Attic *ἐμβεβιωκότα*; *ἐνδιοῦν* is the Doric equivalent for Attic *ἐμβιοῦν*, and therefore means 'having taken root'; cf. Doric *ὀδελός* = Attic *ὀβελός*, Doric *δήλομαι* = *βέλλομαι* = *βούλομαι*. Doric *διόω*, phonetically, stands between *ζάω* = *διάω*, cf. *δίαιτα* and *βιόω*.—G. Kaibel. The Tau Gallicum in the epigramma catalepton, Verg. II 4, refers to the cruelty of Annius Cimber.—F. B. On Iullus (not Iulus) in Hor. Od. IV 2 and the writings attributed to him; ll. 33 and 41, read 'concines' maiore poeta plectro. This and the lordly sacrifice mentioned at the end of the ode refer to this Iullus as an epic poet.—H. J. Müller reads, Seneca rhetor, contr. I 1, 3, qui illum vidit, quid timendum felicibus putat! < qui te,> quid desperandum infelicibus, and X 2, 1 maiorum quoque suorum < gloriam > et virtutes referebat.—H. B. Darbishire emends Tac. Annales I 32, prostratos verberibus mulcant sexageni*s* (for sexageni) singulos. Wölfflin, on p. 488, adds that this emendation had been made by several writers before D.—C. Wachsmuth reprints a Latin hendecasyllabic inscription found in Athens by Kumanudis and published in *Ἐφημ. ἀρχ.*, 1887, col. 218. It is a eulogy on an illustrious Roman citizen under the Flavian Emperors.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

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JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. Jahrgang 1889.

Fascicle 1.

1. Indogermanische Mythen. II. Achilleis. E. H. Meyer, Berlin, 1887; viii and 710 pp. Review by W. Schwartz, Berlin. This volume is a supplement to and largely an outgrowth of the author's Gandharven-Kentauren (1883), and is the result of investigations rich in material. Its method proceeds upon an examination of the material contained in Homer, then of that furnished otherwise, a comparison of these with each other, the determining of the popular form of the myth, and finally an account of similar myths among kindred peoples. Its purpose is to establish the original nucleus of the myth, and thus the origin of the whole tradition. This is the true method for any tradition within the historic period, but not sound in case of prehistoric tradition, which requires a truly inductive method that rests upon a certain homogeneity in the elements and aspects of a myth, and seeks to demonstrate, by proper grouping, etc., a process of evolution.

The author wastes space and time on the "idea of an Achilles"; he introduces with it a new problem into his work, and gives it too much of a speculative character; 404 pages are thus consumed. The book reaches the conclusion that Achilles personificates the lightning. Yet it is a question whether mythology has to do with personifications of natural phenomena, partaking of a quasi-abstract character, rather than with an animated world of nature, whose characters were conceived of as realities in an age of superstition. Man needed and invented such characters to explain for him the otherwise incomprehensible phenomena which beset him whether awake or asleep. It is in such conceptions of an enchanted, supernatural world, leading to the invention of such creations, that it seems possible to trace the origin of mythical and religious beliefs.

2. *Παιπαλόεις*. F. Vollbrecht, Hannover. The author seeks by starting from the strictly literal sense of *πάλλω* (from which *παιπαλόεις* seems to be a derivative) to classify the meanings of this vexatious adjective under two heads: (1) as active, (2) as passive. In its active sense it occurs as an epithet of islands, viz. Imbros, Samos, Chios, Ithaca; in its passive sense as an epithet of localities, e. g. *ὄρος, σκοπιή, Μίμας, Κύνθος, ὁδός, ἀταρπός*. V. seeks to establish its active sense by starting from its use with Ithaca, since this island is so well described in Homer that we are spared the blunder of a rendering of *παιπαλόεις* incompatible with the description of the island. By numerous citations (Od. IX 20, XIII 242 et al.) V. throws discredit on its rendering "craggy," "mountainous," notes that in all places where it is used of islands, the poet conceives of motion towards the island, and says, "any one standing in a boat which is rocking on the waves will notice that it is very easy to transfer the motion of the boat to the objects which he may see standing out from the water; and if he is like the Greeks, who had a predilection for judging by appearances, he will say that the *island* swings or rocks itself." To prove that this transfer is Homeric, V. quotes Od. XV 299, *ἐνθεν δ' αὖ νήσοισι ἐπιπροέηκε θοῇσι*, where *θοῇσι*, elsewhere used of ships, is used of islands. The passive sense of *παιπαλόεις* is illustrated in its use, e. g. with *ὄρος*, the mountain being that which causes the climber to swing and sway as he ascends its precipitous sides; this swinging or swaying is then transferred to the mountain (cf. the

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similar use of *dizzy* in English). The article concludes with an excursus on Il. XII 167–172.

3. Ad Hipponactis Fragmenta. A note on frag. 85 (Bergk) by O. Immisch, Leipzig.

4. Zu den epischen fragmenten der Griechen. A note on Kinkel's edition of Lykophron (Leipzig, 1880), by Max Schneider, Gotha.

5. Der thesauros der Egestaier auf dem Eryx und der bericht des Thukydides. W. H. Roscher, Wurzen. On Thuk. VI 46: *ἃ ὄντα ἀργυρᾶ πολλῷ πλείω τὴν ὄψιν ἀπ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως χρημάτων παρείχετο.* The difficulty of this passage was first noted by Meineke (Hermes III 372). How, if the good people of Egesta displayed vast stores of actual silver to the Athenian envoys, can Thuk. say that they *ἐξετεχνήσαντο* any deception with which to delude them? That verb seems to imply that they managed the silver in some shrewd way; how then may we change *ἀργυρᾶ* so as to avoid inconsistency and make it clear that the people of Egesta were cunning, but also that the envoys were not so completely deceived as to imply that they had no understanding? By reading *ἐπαργυρᾶ* for *ἀργυρᾶ*, says Meineke, and with him Stahl agrees. Against this, Roscher offers four objections and proposes *ὑπαργυρᾶ*, implying silver beneath a surface or layer of gold. He offers arguments in conclusion as to good Attic use of this word in this sense.

6. Observationes criticae in Polyaeni Strategemata, by F. Reuss.

7. A note on Plutarch's Eumenes, by Max Schneider, Gotha, in connection with the name *Βαρσίνη* in Pape's Wörterbuch der griechischen eigennamen.

8. Zur erklärung der Arvalakten. J. Weisweiler, Köln. On the sense and syntactical use of Latin verbals in *-ndus*. *Adolendae*, *commolendae*, *deferendae*, *coinquendae* are discussed, as they appear in the Arval acts of the years 183 and 224 (C. I. L. VI 1, pp. 559–571). In the second of these are used the abbreviations *adolend.*, *coinq.*, which W. holds to be dat. pl. His conclusion is that these quoted words are the future passive participles of the verbs which describe the necessary procedure in the removing of trees. They give the requisite description of those tree-deities which are thus named and designated as "to be removed" or "to be destroyed."

9. Zu Cicero's Laelius. K. Schliack, Cottbus. Critical notes on §§37 and 41. In §37 S. would read *a Tuberone Aelio aliisque amicis*. In §41 he rewrites the sentences in different order.

10. Die Alamannenschlacht bei Straszburg. H. Hecker. In support of W. Wiegland's Die Alamannenschlacht vor Straszburg, and against H. Nissen (Westdeutscher Zeitschrift VI 320 ff.)

11. Zu Horatius Epoden. O. Keller, Prag. On his edition of Horace, epode 17, 1. He now proposes to read *iamiam* instead of *iam iam*, for a rather unsatisfactory reason.

Fascicles 2 and 3.

12. Alexander Reichardt, in the leading article, of which he promises a continuation, treats exhaustively the forms found in the Annals of Ennius, "which were in later times lost from common use." These have not before been separately and carefully treated. Lucian Müller notices many such

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forms, but follows a different plan. Reichardt aims "to explain those forms which in the Annals, in words and lines, seem to be peculiar to Ennius himself or to his period." His order of treatment is: (*a*) words not adopted into later literature, (*b*) those words which are employed by Ennius in some special sense, (*c*) word-forms foreign to the usage of later times. His subdivision is the natural one of substantives, adjectives, verbs, etc. Especially interesting are the examples cited under (*b*): in Ann. v. 237 and v. 419 occurs *quadrupes eques* in the sense of *quadrupes equus*. In support of the retention of the reading *eques* R. quotes Gellius, who heard from Antonius Julianus, rhetorician: pleraque veterum aetas et hominem equo insidentem et equum, qui insideretur equitem dixerunt; also the very old edition of Lampadio, in which equitare is derived from eques, 'both the man using the horse, and the horse stepping beneath the man,' being denoted by the word. It is claimed by two grammarians that Vergil once (Georg. III 116) imitated Ennius in the use of *equitem* for *equum*. The form of the pronoun of the third person (vv. 102 and 165), *sam* for *eam*, *sos* for *eos*, are noted as very ancient forms, even for Ennius. The prep. *endo*, *indu* (Müller rejects *indo*) for *in* are of such rare occurrence that "we know these longer forms, already in the time of Ennius, not to have been of frequent use in common speech."

13. E. Bussler, Greifswald, compares the "Excerpta ex Timothei Gazaei libris de animalibus" with Oppianos Kynegetikos, and finds that both have probably drawn from the same source, some learned naturalist. Oppian adorned his matter with poetic embellishment; Timotheus diligently stripped off everything superfluous, with evident effort to specialize rather than generalize.

14. Zu den Ilias scholien. A. Ludwich, Königsberg. In this article Ludwich publishes a communication from Adolf Torstrik on the parchment codex Matritensis LXXI, with a comparison of Scorialensis γ I 1 and Ω I 12. His conclusion is that this collection of Escurial scholia shows strong likenesses to the so-called Didymos scholia (D)—enough for further research.

15. Polybii historiae, recensuit apparatu critico instruxit F. Hultsch. Vol. I editio altera. Berolini apud Weidmannos. lxxiii and 339 pp. An exhaustive review of this edition of Hultsch by Büttner-Wobst, devoted mainly to an enumeration of the passages in which H. in this second edition deviates from the first, and to a discussion of those passages wherein he maintains his own view against the understanding of others.

16. Rottenabstände in der phalanx und der manipular legion und die grösze der intervalle. F. Giesing, Dresden. A discussion of Polyb. XVIII 29 ff., a passage misunderstood by Rüstow and Köchly, and rejected by H. Delbrück (Hermes XXI 83 ff.) as corrupt. Giesing holds (1) that the distance from man to man in the *phalanx* was 1½ ft; (2) in the *acies* there are two arrangements to be distinguished from each other even after the march to position, (*a*) the position in readiness for action, with intervals for the advance and retreat of the light-armed, (*b*) the actual position in action; (3) the interval in the *acies* for (*a*) is 1½ ft., for (*b*) 3 ft.; (4) the intervals in the start gave to each man a space of 1½ ft., while in the second position each man had 1½ ft. more than in the first; the total of the intervals therefore corresponds to one-half the length of the front line at the first position, or one-third of it at the second.

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17. Critical note on Thuk. VII 75, 4, proposing for *ἄνευ ὀλίγων* the reading *ἄνευ λιγέων*, by H. Kothe, Breslau.

18. Zu Caesar de bello civili. A. E. Schoene. On I 3, 3, after *completur* he reads *turbulētius* (*turbulentius*) for *urbs et ius*.

19. Zu Plautus. A. E. Anspach, J. Lange, E. Redslob. Critical notes on Rudens, Mercator, Truculentus, Poenulus.

20. Studien zu den Griechischen ortsnamen, von Dr. L. Grasberger. 1888. ix und 391 S. Review by C. Angermann, who says "it is unfortunately evident that the work reviewed does not belong to those which bring credit to German thoroughness." The number of typographical errors is large, and the register not copious enough; since, also, the book deals so largely with Greek names, there certainly should have been a respectable Greek index, a thing which the book does not have.

21. Caesar's zweiter zug nach Brittanien. J. Lange. A study on B. G. V 8–19, leading to the result that Lange suggests the chapters be read in this order: 8, 12, 13, 14, 9, 10, 11, 18, 15, 16, 17, 19. The argument is altogether esoteric, and is based upon no discussion of folios.

22. Zu Ciceros Pompeiana. A. Deuerling. The article is on §18; for *postea victoria recuperare* it proposes *nostra victoria recuperare*, on the strength of a strikingly similar passage in Cic. in Verrem II, §86.

23. Zu Manilius. Original and critical studies by Th. Breiter, Hannover. The article covers 14 pages and a continuation is promised.

24. Zu Ciceros rede für den dichter Archias. K. Koch, Düsseldorf. Some very sensible emendations on §§5, 9, 10. For *iam absentibus notus*, §5, he proposes *iam absens nobis*.

25. Cn. Flavius und das weihungsjahr seines Concordiatempels. L. Triemel, Kreutznach. This places the year of dedication in the Varronian year 451, and shows incidentally that Livy in his account in Bk. IX 46, as is so often the case with Diodoros, has narrated the events of several years under the one year 450. To the same year 451 belongs also the administration of the censor Q. Fabius, of whom Livy makes mention at the conclusion of the chapter.

26. Das datum des Pannonischen triumphes des Tiberius. K. Schrader, Düren. This article begins with a statement of the authorities at hand for determining this date, and of the various results different scholars have reached in employing them. Most recently H. Schulz, pp. 15–24, quaestiones Ovidianae (Greifswald, 1883), has settled on the year 13, in which the triumph was celebrated, and has won Mommsen to his view, who has (C. I. L. I 384 and R. St. R. I², p. 133, note 2) declared in favor of the year 13. Schrader combats both critics, and argues for the 16th of January, 12 A. D. He would therefore read in Velleius II 104, 3, *per annos continuos VIII* instead of *per . . . VIIII*.

27. Zu Cicero de officiis. A critical note on III 1, by K. Schliack, Cottbus, favoring the omission of *interdum*.

Fascicle 4.

28. Zur geschichte und composition der Ilias. VII. K. Brandt. The original form of the *μῆνις* has been asserted by B. to be "A 1–348, lücke, *β* 42–H 312, kleinere lücke, *β* 1–41, Λ 1 ff." He now defends his position, against

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the criticism of Rothe, by showing that the contradictions detected by R. in B.'s *μῆνις* are only apparent, and of precisely the nature to induce the tasteless later editor to attempt to remove them. B. then takes up in detail the description of the arming of Achilles and his entrance into the battle. By a minute analysis he shows that T 42–356, and 34–36 (*εἰς—μάλα*) are by a later hand, the author of I.

29. Zu Tacitus. F. Walter. Textual notes on Hist. I 71 and IV 23, and Ann. XI 35 and XV 58.

30. Zur Homerischen frage. C. Rothe. A reply to the criticisms of Brandt (Jahrb. 1888, 513). R. advises B. "genauer zu lesen und zuzusehen was die wirkliche ansicht des gegners und seine gründe sind."

31. Oileus und Ileus. A. Ludwich. L. calls attention to the fact that some ancient authorities give the name of Ileus to the father of the Lokrian Aias, reading, for example, in *β* 527, for *Ὀιλῆος, ὁ Ἰλῆος*.

32. Zu Sophokles Elektra. F. Weck. 466 f. translate "ich werde es thun: denn das hat keinen rechten sinn, gegen (euch) zwei (die schwester und den chor) anzukämpfen, wohl aber (hat es rechten sinn) die that zu beschleunigen." 1485 f. translate "denn inwiefern könnte, wenn sterbliche sich in schlechtigkeiten eingelassen haben, dass sie sterben müssen, die zukünftige (dh. hier ein längeres warten) von nutzen sein."

33. Das neue Wiener fragment des Epicharmos. F. Blass. B. agrees with Gomperz that the recently discovered fragment of ten lines is from the *Ὀδυσσεὺς αὐτόμολος* of Epicharmos, but his interpretation of it differs from G.'s.

(17). Zu Thukydides. H. v. Kleist. II 89, 5, for *ἄξιον* read *ἀντάξιον*. II 89, 9, *τά τε παραγγελλόμενα*, omit *τε*, and take *παρὰ ταῖς τε ναυσὶ μένοντες* together, as contrasted with *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ*. II 87, 3, translate *τὸ μὲν κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν* "das dem obsiegen, dh. dem äuszern erfolge nach überwundene."

34. Die bezeichnung des reciproken verhältnisses bei Caesar. R. Menge, Halle. The conclusions reached at the end of this discussion are: I. Those are strictly reciprocal relations wherein there is contained a reciprocity between parts (*a*) of the subject, (*b*) of the object. II. This reciprocity lies either in the relation of objects to one another, or in an adverbial relation. III. From lack of a reciprocal pronoun, the Latins handled the reciprocal relation as follows: (1) by leaving the relation unexpressed, if it was readily understood from the context; (2) by employing the following devices: (*a*) the repeating of a pronoun, especially *alter, alius, uterque, omnis, quisque;* (*b*) by (rarely) repeating a substantive, not only when there are two, but even more objects of reciprocity; (*c*) by repeating the substantive modified by *uterque;* (*d*) by the use of *uterque alterum, neuter alterum;* (*e*) frequently by the use of *inter se* (*nos, eos, ipsos*) employed of two or more objects of reciprocity; (*f*) *uterque inter se, ipsi inter se;* (*g*) *se*, when there is no confusion in the reciprocity, and the subject is emphasized by *ipse*.

35. Zu Ciceros Reden. Th. Matthias, Zittau. This has very much the nature of an independent supplement to Schöll's Interpolationen, lücken und sonstige verderbnisse in Ciceros rede *de domo sua* (Rhein. Mus. XLIII 419 ff.) The article is a discussion of five cases of interpolations, three of lacunae, and six of other corrupt passages.

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36. Zu Caesars bellum gallicum. H. Deiter, Aurich. I, on V 19, 3, D. places the *in* before *agris* later in the sentence, viz. after *quantum*. II, on VII 64, 1, read *itemque* for *diemque*.

37. A careful critical study of Cicero's Topica, by W. Friedrich, Mühlhausen.

Fascicle 5.

38. Diodors verhältniss zum Stoicismus. G. Busolt. Diodoros shows in many places the influence of the Stoic philosophy, especially of Posidonios, though his special interest is in the ethical and religious doctrines. But he has no hesitation in bringing forward the Epikurean theories of the universe.

(4). Zu den epischen fragmenten der Griechen. R. Peppmüller. A brief note.

39. Theokritos von Chios. F. Schröder. A biographical sketch of the bucolic poet, Theokritos of Chios, who lived at about the same time as his more famous namesake of Syracuse.

40. Zu Hypereides. H. Meuss. A brief textual note.

41. Ein beitrag zur kentniss des volkstümlichen rechnens bei den Römern. F. Hultsch. H. treats of the expressions "partes centum dicere" in Petronius, and "assem in centum partes diducere" in Horace. These have both the same meaning, and probably have to do with the reckoning of interest.

42. Zu Archilochos. E. Hiller. A textual note on fragment 32.

43. Diodors bericht über die censur des Appius Claudius Caecus: ein beitrag zur zeitrechnung des Fabius und Piso. L. Triemel, Kreuznach. The peculiarity of the time-reckoning of Diodorus is due to the fact that he intended to follow the Catonian system, but employed Piso as his authority, who followed the Fabian system. So true is this that even in the lists of fasti Diodoros deviates from the Catonian to the Fabian system. This deviation commences with the beginning of D.'s history of Rome, from the 11th book on, where the consulship of Virginius and Cassius is placed in ol. 75, 1; all the following years are dated—as far as the end of the 12th book—ol. 91, 1, following Fabius. But with book 13 D. begins with the Catonian reckoning, in order to bring the battle at the Allia, as Polybios does, in ol. 98, 2. To do this he leaves out five terms of magistrates, but brings them in after the battle, so as to agree with his authority, which reckons according to Fabius. Finally, in order to give the Catonian date of the first plebeian consulate, he was obliged to reduce to three years the preceding interregnum, which is given as four years by Piso and Fabius. After the first plebeian consulate D. gives the Catonian lists of fasti, and with Cato holds to the consuls of 447, 448, rejected by Fabius, and comes in this way into contradiction with his own narrative, which follows the Fabian reckoning of Piso.

44. Die abfassungszeit der Plautinischen Bacchides. A. E. Anspach, Cleve. Anspach decides for the year 187.

45. Vergilius und Timaios. H. Kothe, Breslau. If Vergil made use of Timaios, a thing not impossible, he so disposed of his material that there now remain but very faint traces of such use.

46. Zu Juvenalis. C. Häberlin, Halle. In Sat. XII 55 read *ac se explicat angusto*.

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47. Der bericht des Florus über die Varusschlacht. F. Knoke. Ranke (Weltgesch. III 25) gives credit to the story that the Roman camp in its condition of rest was attacked at a moment when Varus sat on his tribunal in judgment; but Mommsen ridicules this latter statement. The article analyses the evidence of Tacitus and Cassius Dion, and concludes that the words of Florus (itaque improvidum et nihil tale metuentem ex improviso adorti, cum ille—o securitas—ad tribunal citaret, undique invadunt) cannot be taken as Ranke understands them so literally. Florus is also in agreement with other authorities on the march of Varus through the Teutoburg forest.

48. Zu Sallustius. A. Kunze, Planen. Justification of *cum* in *cum infestis signis*, Cat. 60, 2.

Fascicle 6.

49. Variae lectionis specimen primum. I–XL. H. Usener. An interesting series of critical discussions, on both Greek and Roman writers, covering 19 pages.

50. Zum Homerischen Selenehymnos. W. H. Roscher. In v. 6, for *ἐνδιάονται* read *ἐνδαίονται*.

51. Zu Platons Kriton. C. Häberlin. In 49a, for *τηλικοίδε γέροντες ἀνδρες*, read *τηλικοίδε γ' ὄντες ἀνδρες*.

52. Des Protagoras satz über das masz aller dinge. P. Seliger. H. Heussler, in a review of the 14th edition of Schwegler's History of Philosophy (Zs. f. Phil. u. Phil. Krit. XCII, heft 1), has asserted that the famous dictum of Protagoras, *πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ὄντων, ὡς ἔστι, τῶν δὲ μὴ ὄντων, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν*, has been misinterpreted from the time of Plato until to-day. H. held that the subject of *ἔστι(ν)* in both cases is not *χρήματα*, but *ἄνθρωπος*, and translates the sentence "aller dinge maszstab ist der mensch, der seienden, wie er ist, der nichtseienden, wie er nicht ist." Seliger overthrows this opinion by a thorough discussion of all the authorities, not only Plato, but also Cicero, Sextos Empeirikos, Laertios Diogenes, Aristokles, and Hermias.

53. Zum Homerischen Hermeshymnos. A. Ludwich. Five textual emendations.

54. Die bedeutung der Regulusode des Horatius. A. Teuber, Eberswald. On the fifth ode of the third book, proceeding to discuss, first, the analysis of it made by Kiessling, which Teuber declares to be far from correct. The ode is then analyzed and interpreted as T. understands it.

55. De Phaedri Senario. H. Draheim, Berlin. An investigation of the fact that Phaedrus wrote verse in accordance with the law that no accented penult of a word of more than two syllables is admitted into the thesis of the second, fourth, and sixth feet. Draheim has discussed this law in reference to the iambics of Terence in Hermes XV 238.

56. Zu Florus. K. Schrader, Düren. On II 34, *dictator perpetuus et pater patriae*. For the first word Mommsen reads *dictus imperator*. S. reads the five words as they stand, and supplies in translation *dictus* after *patriae*.

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PHILOLOGUS, XLVII.
Heft 1.

I.—TREATISES.

I. Pp. 1–12. Concerning the history of ancient metric. W. Hoerschelmann discusses the *διαφοραί* of the hexameter and the various versions in which they have been handed down.

II. Pp. 13–24. On the Homeric hymns. R. Peppmüller proposes emendations in 8 verses of the hymn to Aphrodite, and 4 in the lesser hymns.

Pp. 24 and 52. Emendationum ad Dionem Chrysostomum Specimen (I, II).

III. Pp. 25–32. A reform of Aristophanes. Th. Zielinski. The comic poet, imitating Euripides, made the *agon* the theatre for *γνῶμαι* and *γνωμίδια* instead of for *λοιδορίαι*. This is what is meant by Cratinus's reproach, preserved by an old grammarian:

τίς δὲ σύ; κομψὸς < πᾶς ἂν > τις ἔροιτο θεατής·
ὑπολεπτολόγος, γνωμιδιώκτης, εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων.

We get an idea of the Cratinean agon in the Knights, where Aristophanes returned to the old fashion. In other plays the Cratinean *ἀγὼν λοιδοριῶν* is transferred to the proagon. The character of the pre-Cratinean agon may be inferred from the parabasis of the Lysistrata. Imagine (as to the matter) the *γνῶμαι*, and (as to the form) the *ἀγωνισταί* eliminated from the agon, and this somewhat reduced in extent, and we have the parabasis of the Lysistrata.

IV. Pp. 32–44. Coniectanea ad Comoediae antiquae fragmenta. O. Crusius offers conjectures with regard to the restoration or interpretation of numerous fragments of Cratinus, Crates, and Pherecrates.

P. 44. Ad inscriptiones Phrygias notulae. O. Crusius vs. W. Ramsay.

V. Pp. 45–52. A contribution to Vulgar-Latin. O. Weise. Not only does the Latin of the street show many Greek idioms, but it has also a special fondness for hybrid formations, fastening Greek suffixes on to Latin words, or making compounds out of two heterogeneous elements. Plautus affords many examples, sometimes joining Greek patronymic suffixes to Latin names, as Tedigniloquides, Numquampostreddonides, etc.; sometimes Latinizing the ending, as in cruricrepida, plagipatida, rapacida, etc. Like *στρατιώτης* and similar forms he makes hamiota from hamus; navita must be regarded, too, as developed out of nauta, itself simply a borrowed form of *ναύτης*, under the influence of navis. So Plautus uses a number of compounds made on the model of the Greek, but which have no real existence in that language, as tragicomoedia, hapalopsis, pentethronicus, etc. In the authors succeeding Plautus but few such formations are found. Cato has apiacon and scutriscum, if this latter word can be regarded as a diminutive of scutra. Cicero shows once (ad Att. I 16, 13) facteon = *ποιητέον*. After Vitruvius these hybrid formations become quite frequent and give rise to several classes of endings that are still very vital: so verbs in *-izo*, as singularizo, sollemnizo, auctorizo; nouns in *-ismus*, as cerebrismus, denarismus; *-ista*, first in tablista and computista; *-issa*, as fratrissa, sacerdotissa, diaconissa; *-icus*, as tussicus, strumaticus, lunaticus, etc.

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VI. Pp. 52–80. The Valesian fragment on the history of Constantine. E. Klebs. At the end of his edition of Ammianus (1636) H. Valois (Valesius) published two historical fragments which have since borne the title Excerpta Valesiana. They have nothing in common save that they are preserved to us in the same MS (cod. Philipp. No. 1885). The first fragment treats of the history of Constantine, and shows in some passages remarkable coincidence with Orosius. Valois assumed that in such cases the author of the fragment simply borrowed from Orosius, an assumption followed by Gardthausen. On the other hand, Görres (Fleckeisen, Jhb., 1875, III, p. 201 ff.) reverses matters, and asserts the dependence of Orosius on the anonymous author. In this he is followed by Schwabe, Teuffel[4], p. 1013. Neither of these theories is accepted by Klebs. The passages which show such accurate correspondence with Orosius he thinks are taken directly from that author, but not by the author of the fragments. They are rather the work of an interpolator, a Christian, who sought to give a more Christian coloring to the history of Constantine. The original author of the piece was not a Christian, though he was, possibly from personal relations to the emperor, an admirer of Constantine. The language of the work points to the fourth century, and its author was probably contemporaneous with Constantine.

P. 80. Manilius V 546 emended by R. Unger, who reads Hic Hammon superat for Hic Hymenaeus erat.

VII. Pp. 81–91. The marriage of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus with Arsinoe II. A. Wiedemann. The point of chief importance in fixing the much discussed date of Theocritus's seventeenth idyl is the date of this marriage, mentioned in the poem as already accomplished, The conclusion reached is that the marriage took place in or before 273 B. C. And as the poem nowhere refers to the co-regent appointed probably 271 (at latest 266), the poem must have been composed between 273 and 271 (or 266).

P. 91. Ad Alcaeum (frg. 41 [31] Bgk.). Robinson Ellis proposes for *αἰ τά* to read *αἰρέ τε*.

VIII. Pp. 92–107. Aethiopian myths. O. Gruppe. In the sixteenth supplement-volume of the Jahrbb. für Philol. u. Paedag. Karl Tümpel attempts to prove that the Andromeda-myth was of Greek, not Oriental origin, and was carried by the Greeks to Phoenicia. Against these conclusions Gruppe brings some strong arguments to bear. It is interesting to note his identification of the Biblical story of Jonah with the Phoenician form of the Andromeda-myth, and in a similar vein his comments on Gen. 6, 1 ff.

IX. Pp. 108–162. Research in the domain of Greek history. Hugo Landwehr. The treatises discussed are classed under the following heads: Age of Pericles; Peloponnesian war; Period of national decline; Alexander the Great; Hellenism.

P. 162. Eussner emends Aegritudo Perdicae v. 254 in Poet. Lat. min. V, p. 123 Bhr., by reading vesca for famem.

II.—Miscellaneous.

1. Pp. 163–165. Metrical inscription of Metapontum (Cauer, 277), discussed by R. Peppmüller.

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2. Pp. 165–168. The original place of the Pentecontaetia in the history of Thucydides. L. Holzapfel. After the Archaeology, which was apparently intended only to make clear the importance of the Peloponnesian war, it was proper to pass immediately to the direct causes of the war. On the other hand, the events of the Pentecontaetia could be very appropriately inserted after the representation of these immediate causes, in order to make good the assertion of the historian, that not these complications, but the growing power of Athens was the true cause of the war. Still as the chief object of the Pentecontaetia was to describe Athenian and Spartan affairs between the retreat of Xerxes and the Pelop. war, its natural place was immediately after the Archaeology, and that indeed was the original disposition, which was changed for the artistic reasons above mentioned.

3. P. 169. Death of the poet Helvius Cinna. L. Schwabe. Ribbeck (Gesch. d. röm. Dicht. I 343) says, "It is probable that Plutarch erred in his statement that the Cinna put to death on the occasion of Caesar's funeral by the enraged populace was the poet. He is the only author calling him by this name, and the more natural supposition is that it was the conspirator Cornelius Cinna." Against this view Schwabe shows from Valerius Maximus, Dio Cassius, and Appian, that it was the trib. pl. C. Helvius Cinna who was murdered, and L. Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, who escaped. Plutarch's statement is probably correct.

4. Cic. de Inventione. E. Stroebel. In a MS of Nicolaus of Cues (codex Cusanus) there is a fragment of this youthful work of Cicero which has not received the attention it merits. In four passages Stroebel thinks that it alone shows the correct reading: 160. Prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum et neutrarum (PHS. utrarum, editors since Lambinus neutrarum) scientia. 161. Pietas, per quam sanguine coniunctis patriaeque benevolens (C. benivolis, editors since Orelli benivolum) officium et diligens tribuitur cultus. 164. Clementia, per quam animi temere in odium alicuius illecti concitatique (C. iniectionis concitati; ω invectio concitata) comitate retinentur. 167. Quid verissime constituatur, alius locus erit considerandi (C. considerandus), thus verifying the conjecture of Lambinus.

5. P. 171. In the same MS is an excerpt of Cornificius ad Herennium, valuable especially for §3, 4. The MS clearly belongs to the same class as HPπ.

P. 172. While engaged in examining Italian MSS for Cicero's Orationes in Pisonem and pro Flacco, Stroebel has also kept an eye open for MSS of de Inventione. In Florence he compared four of the eleventh century, viz. Laur. plut. 50 cod. XII (A), cod. XX (D), cod. XLV (C), and Acquisti 120 (B). Of these A is closely related to S. C and D stand between PHS and the younger MSS. B seems to be somewhat independent and deserves study. In the Vaticana he found 3 MSS of the eleventh or twelfth century, Nos. 3234, 3235, 3236. Of these 3235 seems to be the best.

6. Pp. 173–176. S. Linde emends a number of passages in Sen. Controv. (cf. Philol. XLVI, p. 760).

7. P. 176. Juv. 5, 146–8 discussed by A. Häckermann.

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8. Pp. 177–183. The prime of Alexander Polyhistor. G. F. Unger. Suidas's ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Σύλλα χρόνων καὶ ἐπὶ τάδε is to be understood to mean only that Alexander first appears under Sulla, but not as writer, his literary prime indeed, so far as it can be determined, falling *more than a generation after Sulla's rule.*

9. Pp. 183–4. Reign of Hieronymus of Syracuse. G. F. Unger. The statement of Polyb. VII 7, 3, παῖς παραλαβὼν τὴν ἀρχήν, εἶτα μῆνας οὐ πλείους τριῶν καὶ δέκα βιώσας μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, must be emended so as, for τριῶν καὶ δέκα, to read τριῶν καὶ ἡμίσεος. The sign for ½, on account of similarity to Δ (δέκα), being often confused therewith. Hieronymus may have reigned from Aug. or Sept. till Dec. 215.

10. Pp. 185–6. Beast fables on ancient sculptures. O. Crusius. On a relief discussed in the Archaeol. Zeitung XXXIII (1876), p. 18 ff., is a group consisting of a swamp bird, a tortoise, and an eagle. This group has reference to the fable of the tortoise that wished to learn to fly, Babr. 115 (Phaedr. II 6).

11. P. 186. Macedonian in Lasos of Hermione. Y. This surprising discovery, made in the latest representation of the hist. of Gr. lit., is due to carelessly reading two totally disconnected excerpts in Athen. (X 455d) as if they were one.

12. Pp. 187–189. Ὄντως in comedy. O. Bachmann. The value of special dictionaries is shown by tracing the fortunes of this word through various editions of Aristophanes, dictionaries, and special treatises. The word seems to occur in Aristophanes (in all 15 times) first in the Knights, in Euripides in Ion. Who introduced it into Gr. literature? Probably Euripides first into poetry, and Aristophanes first used it in parody.

P. 190. Reports of journals. Revue Arch., 1888, Nr. 1, 2, Jan., Feb.—Academy 1888, Jan. 7, 14; Feb. 4, 11, 25; March 3, 10, 17.—Am. J. of Ph. VIII 4 (32).

Heft 2.

I.—TREATISES.

X. Pp. 193–208. Greek proverbs. M. Treu and O. Crusius. M. Treu publishes some excerpts from collections of Greek proverbs which he discovered in Cod. Pal. gr. 129, a Heidelberg excerpt MS of the latter part of the fourteenth century, and Crusius adds some remarks as to the worth of the collection and its relation to others of the same kind.

P. 208. On the Homeric hymns. It has been conjectured already by Schwenck and Bergk that the hymns to Helios and Selene (XXX and XXXI) are to be ascribed to one author, and Crusius argues that XXIX belongs with these.

XI. Pp. 209–234. On Heraclitus. Christian Cron.

P. 234. In Aesch. Suppl. 55 C. Haeberlin proposes ἔγγαιος <ἐπ'> οἶκτον αἰῶν; 256, χρανθεῖσ' ἀνῆκε γαῖα νηλέα δάκη (for μηνεῖται ἀκή).

XII. Pp. 235–241. On the Anakreontea. O. Crusius discusses (1) the long ultima in Anaklomenos and Anakr. 2a and 50; (2) the date of composition of Anakr. 21–32, against F. Hanssen's attempt to prove (Philol. XLVI, p. 446 ff.) that the author of these verses was probably a Jewish poet of the Alexandrine period (Aristobulus).

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XIII. Pp. 242–273. Poseidonios and Plutarch on Roman proper names. Adolf Bauer attempts (1) out of scattered extracts taken mainly from Plut. to reconstruct a bit of the work of Poseidonios, (2) to get therefrom some hints as to Plut.'s mode of using his sources.

What Plutarch teaches about Roman names falls, in the main, into two parts: the statements as to the nature of the cognomina and their late application, as well as with regard to the threefold designation, were taken, so far as can be determined, from Poseidonios; the other statements come from Roman antiquarians. Poseidonios seems to have treated rather fully of Roman name-giving, comparing with the Greek, and especially treating the cognomen. This treatment of Poseidonios belonged doubtless not to a special treatise, but the evidence seems to point to the first of his 52 books μετὰ Πολύβιον.

Bauer concludes from the manner in which Plut. seems to have used Pos., that in his Lives he does not make some source his foundation, or a mosaic from several, but cites for the most part from memory, and draws in general in the composition of his Lives freely and independently from an extensive knowledge.

P. 273. M. Petschenig proposes emendations in Apuleius Met. XI 9 and 19.

XIV. Pp. 274–290. Active adjectives in *-bilis* in Archaic Latin. Fr. Hanssen. This paper contains a list of all the adjs. in *-bilis* before the year 100 B. C. and an examination of their signification. Truly active meaning he nowhere finds. They are either pass. or stand in a sort of intermediate state between act. and pass., which he characterizes as instrumental or causative. Thus, we never find *homo adiutabilis*, "a man who can aid," though we do find *causa vincibilis*, "a cause with which we can triumph," corresponding to *causa vincitur*, as the pass. of a possible *vincere causam*. Towards the close the author goes into a careful analysis of the grammatical categories, subject and object, active and passive.

P. 290. M. Petschenig emends Apuleius, Apol. cap. II, pp. 4, 6 (Krueg), by substituting subiit tacere in for subito tacerem, and descriptione for descriptionem.

XV. Pp. 290–309. Cicero, Partitiones Oratoriae. W. Friedrich. A valuable critical discussion based on the following MSS: two Parisini, 7231 and 7696, both of the tenth century; three Erlangenses, 848, 858, 863, Redigeranus and Vitebergensis, all of these being of the fifteenth century.

XVI. Pp. 310–319. Quaestiones Vergilianae. C. Haeberlin. Suetonius, in his life of Vergil, preserved to us by Donatus, says that the poet recited three books of the Aeneid, viz. II, IV, VI, in the presence of the Emperor Augustus. Accepting these then as the first books that were finished, there may still be found proof that they were reworked after the others were written, since a good many passages in these three books refer to incidents in the other books, and were evidently added after they had been written. For instance, II 65, 66 seem to have been added in view of I 753, 754; so too IV 21, which Peerlkamp rejected as spurious, is rather to be explained as an afterthought added by Vergil himself in remembrance of I 343 ff. Following out all the suggestions of this kind, the writer lays down the following order of composition for the Aeneid: II, IV, VI, V, III, I, VIII–XII, VII.

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P. 319. Apuleius, Apol. Three passages emended by M. Petschenig.

XVII. Pp. 320–327. Wit and humor in Juvenal. Jul. Jessen. Under this title are discussed some ten passages of Juv., in some of which Jessen contents himself with special interpretations, while in others he suggests emendations of the text.

P. 327. Apuleius, Apol. LXXIV. M. Petschenig follows the MS reading commentator against Krüger's commentor.

XVIII. Pp. 328–343. Aethiopian myths. O. Gruppe. This is a continuation of the same subjects as were treated in a former article (No. VIII), and contains an examination of the narrative of Hyginus in reference to Phaethon, and Deucalion and Pyrrha, and a defence of the genuineness of the same against the attacks especially of Knaack in the Wochenschrift f. Class. Philol. 1886, S. 859, and Hermes XXII, S. 640.

P. 343. Aristophanes, Av. 1080, discussed by O. Bachmann.

XIX. Pp. 344–369. Report on researches concerning the Orient. A. Wiedemann (cf. Philol. XLV 689).

II.—Miscellaneous.

13. Pp. 370–374. O. Bachmann proposes emendations in Aristophanes Av. 1212, 375, 1579, and Vesp. 941.

14. Pp. 374–5. Theophr. Char. 28a med. G. F. Unger proposes for *αἰκία τις* to read *Σκύλλα τις*.

15. Pp. 375–378. Emendationum ad Aristidem specimen. W. Schmid proposes numerous emendations or omissions.

16. Pp. 378–382. Tibullus II 4. H. Belling. Critical discussion of several passages. In v. 5 he approves seu nil peccavimus instead of seu quid; v. 12 omnia nunc for omnia nam; v. 27–31 and 35–38 there is considerable alteration and corruption; v. 43 for nec erit we should read nec sit.

17. Pp. 382–384. ΔΗΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΤΗΣ mentioned in the Apophthegm of Socrates, preserved by Diog. Laert. II 22, Crusius thinks may have been the Glaucus referred to by Aristotle (apud Athen. VII, p. 296 C), who before he was turned into a sea-god had been a skilful fisherman and diver.

P. 384. S. Linde changes an emendation made in the preceding Heft (p. 173) in Sen. Controv. II 12, p. 159, 5 sqq., suggesting now quamvis timetis spuere in hoc pavimentum levatum et infusum tectis aurum.

P. 384. Reports of journals. Journal of Philology (92).—Am. J. of Phil. IX 1 (33).

C. H. Kirkland. Charles Forster Smith.

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BRIEF MENTION.

In a prelection entitled *Die Entstehung der griechischen Literatursprachen* (Leipzig, Weigel, 1890) Prof. EDUARD ZARNCKE has emphasized the difference between the literary and the spoken language of Greece—a difference which is denied by some and restricted within narrow limits by others. It will be seen by this statement of the theme that Zarncke comes into sharp collision with those who would restore the local dialect to such masters of lyric poetry as Pindar, and in restoring the local dialect destroy the peace of mind of the unfortunate editors who have seen in the iridescence of Pindar's language an especial charm. Why a mixed dialect, a poetic dialect, should be impossible for Greece in view of all that we know in regard to modern dialects, in view of all that we know and feel as to our own composite language, in which we consciously use antiquated and obsolescent words and forms for the purpose of producing a special artistic effect—that is a matter which will probably continue to be a puzzle to the older generation of philologians; and it is a comfort in the midst of our bewilderment to learn that there is so much to be said in favor of the traditional view. That this literary language is not a purely artificial language, that it grows and is not made, that it has its organic limits as well as an organic origin, is most true, but the whole matter is one of extreme delicacy, and is not to be settled by the assumption of arbitrary variation on the one hand, or of mechanical μεταγραφή on the other.

It is possible to look upon Plato simply as a great artist, and those who regard a philosopher as a *poëte manqué* will dwell with especial pleasure on those of Plato's dialogues in which the master has attained the greatest perfection of form. And yet, whoever takes Plato in hand for the purpose of making an edition of this or that dialogue, if he neglects the form in the Timaeus or the matter in the Symposium, will wake up to find that he has not been just, I will not say to the ideal conditions of his task, but to any decent conception of it. A teacher, aware of his own limitations in either direction, may satisfy his conscience by referring his pupils to works from which they may get the light that is denied him, but an editor has no woe upon him to edit as the teacher has to teach, and while no one can object to Mr. WARREN'S talking in a familiar and not altogether uninstructive way to his students at Magdalen, and waiving questions now of language, now of thought, every one who has to deal seriously with Plato must object to the perpetuation of that leisurely chat in an edition of the *Republic of Plato, Books I–V* (London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1888). Bows to the right of him, bows to the left of him, compliments in season and out of season to Dr. Jowett, friendly salutations to Mr. Mahaffy, all manner of personal courtesies, all manner of irrelevancies and lecture-room 'skits,' these are things that those who are not hanging on the words of the President of St. Mary Magdalen could well dispense with. 'We do not care to be told,' to quote the admirable language

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of a Saturday Reviewer *à propos* of American divagations, 'we do not care to be told' about a 'fine, fruity comment' of Muretus, we resent having a long extract from Boswell's Johnson lugged in for the sake of an utterly useless parallel with *ἔτι λέγειν αὐτὸν ἐκίνουν* (329 D), and we could readily give up some of the President's picturesque English in exchange for less picturesque Greek accentuation. But as we are to have a serious edition of the Republic before long, it is hardly worth while to go minutely through a book which is almost confessedly a stop-gap, in order to point out its many carelessnesses and flippancies. And yet 'one Aristoxenus' (p. xxvii) is good. Who would dream that 'one Aristoxenus' is the great Aristoxenus of Tarentum, to whose theories of art Westphal has consecrated an entire volume? And one specimen of literary 'kowtowing' may be cited as an illustration of the excessive reverence paid to great names—a failing in which Mr. Warren has only too much company. '"Conduct," Mr. Warren remarks (p. xxvi), 'as we now all know, "is three-fourths of life."' 'As we *now* all know'—and so this text from the gospel according to Matthew Arnold is gravely cited, as if the world had waited for the advent of Mr. Matthew Arnold to be told that *βίος* is *βίος*! Every time that sentence is quoted I think of Mr. Arnold as the unjust steward who said 'Take thy bill and write fourscore' save five.

Dr. ALBERT JAHN, the venerable explorer of patristic literature, has given in his Dionysiaca (Altona u. Leipzig, Roher, 1889) another proof of the way in which Christian Greek literature is interpenetrated by Platonic diction and Platonic thought. In this 'Platonic anthology from Dionysius the so-called Areopagite' he has shown—in reinforcement of his previous studies—that no proper appreciation of the religious literature of that period is possible without constant reference to Plato, and the student of Christianity as well as the student of Plato will find much that is suggestive in Dr. Jahn's researches.

CORRECTION.

In the last number of the Journal (X 4, Whole No. 40), p. 467, l. 14, for *νυσταλογερόντων* read *νυσταλογερόντιον*; p. 468, l. 3, for *ναύπλοι* read *ναύτιλοι*.

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Caesar, Caius Jul. De bello gallico; commentariorum 6; ed. by C. Colbeck. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1890. 34 + 91 pp. 16mo, cl. 40 cents.

Century Dictionary (The). Prepared under the superintendence of W. D. Whitney. In 6 v. V. 2. New York, *The Century Co.*, 1890. 4 + 1201–2422 pp., il. 4to, full shp. Subs. $15.

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I.—SUGGESTIONS ON THE THIRD VOLUME OF KOCK'S FRAGMENTA COMICORUM GRAECORUM.

Menander, fr. 161.

May not the meaning be this? '*quae audaciora sunt, aegre quidem se probant iudiciis uulgi; at simul atque in effectum prouehuntur, modo occasione feliciter utantur, solent praeter spem arte adiuuari.*' An adventurous undertaking may fail to convince listeners of its wisdom or feasibility, but for all that in the moment of action sometimes succeeds; only grasp the right opportunity, and you will find expedients will suggest themselves spontaneously in the moment of execution.

Fr. 330. Ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ βίου νῷν ἴσως δεῖ φροντίσαι.

Perhaps γὰρ has fallen out after βίου. Such a word would naturally be omitted where, as in the present passage of Priscian (18, 305), a verse is cited merely to illustrate a construction; here the accus. after φροντίζειν.

Fr. 355. οὐ χρῆται νόμοις καθ' οὓς κρίνει τὰ πράγματα.

Possibly νόμοις μὲν οὐ χρῆθ' οἷς κρινεῖ τὰ πράγματα.

Fr. 362.

Suidas ἀλφάνει· εὑρίσκει· Μένανδρος Ὁμοπατρίοις
ἦν (ἦν) δῆλον οὔτι (οὔνι) νυμφίος τε ἀλφάνει.

Bentley conj. ἦν δηλονοτιὴ νυμφίος τότ' ἀλφάνει.

Perhaps ἦν δῆλον οὔτις νυμφίος ὅστις ἀλφάνει.

Fr. 462. τὰς δ' ὀνθυλεύσεις καὶ τὰ κεκαρυκευμένα
μᾶλλον προσεδέξατο χεται Ἀρκαδικὸς τούναντίον
ἀθάλασσος ἐν τοῖς λοπαδίοις ἁλίσκεται.

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So A, the best MS of Athenaeus. VL give προσεδέξατ' εἰ δέ τις ἔρχεται 'Αρκαδικός. I cannot believe that this χεται or ἔρχεται did not form part of the original tradition of the verse, and would read:

μᾶλλον προσεδέξατ'· 'Αρκαδικός τις ἔρχεται
ἀθάλαττος· ἐν τοῖς λοπαδίοις ἁλίσκεται.

It is obvious that τοὐναντίον is not necessary to the sense of the passage, and, if anything, rather spoils its effect.

Fr. 481. ὁ προσδιατρίβων δὲ σκοπιάσας ἀπώλεσε.

Possibly ὁ δὲ προσδιατρίβων σκορπίσας ἀπώλεσε.

'He who lingers on only squanders and loses what he has.' There seems no more reason to deny that Menander might have used this word than several others not of the most approved Attic currency, e. g. εὐχαριστία fr. 693, and the list contained in Phrynichus Epit. 418 μεσοπορεῖν, γῦρος, λήθαργος, σύσσημον, πορνοκόπος, ὀψωνιασμός, ὀψώνιον, δύσριγος (Kock, fr. 1007).[1]

Fr. 531. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων, ἄνθρωπος εἶ,
οὗ μεταβολὴν θᾶττον πρὸς ὕψος καὶ πάλιν
ταπεινότητα ζῷον οὐδὲν λαμβάνει.
καὶ μάλα δικαίως· ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὂν
φύσει μεγίστοις οἰκονομεῖται πράγμασιν.

Is there not here an *astrological* reference? Man is by nature a very infirm creature, whose horoscope is directed by the greatest powers, i. e. the stars and planets. Anth. Pal. XI 383, 1, 2 Ἦν ἄρα καὶ κάνθωσι (pack-asses) τύχη χαλεπή τε καὶ ἐσθλὴ Καὶ Κρόνος ὡρονομεῖ τετραπόδων γένεσιν. οἰκειότητα is thought by Kock to be a corruption of ὡραιότητα in the verse quoted by Plutarch, Mor. 769b (Kock, p. 451), οἰκειότητα δ' ἐμβλέπων ὠλίσθανον.

Fr. 532. τὸν δὲ τρόπον αὐτῆς τῆς γαμουμένης μεθ' ἧς
βιώσεται μήτ' ἐξετάσαι μήτ' ἰδεῖν.

Probably οὖν has fallen out between μήτ' and ἰδεῖν.

Fr. 538.
When you wish to know what you really are, look at the tombs.

[1] If it should be thought unlikely that δὲ has got into its position after προσδιατρίβων by an error in the copyist, it would seem possible that the right reading is ὁ προσδιατρίβων δὲ κοπάσας ἀπήλασε, 'the man who stays longer tires himself out before he starts on his outward journey (takes his departure).' But ἀπώλεσε seems to agree better with the next verse κακῶς τε γηρῶν ἐνδεής που γίγνεται.

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In them lie the dust and bones of the great and wise, men proud of their birth, wealth, or reputation.

κᾆτ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς τῶνδ' ἐπήρκεσεν χρόνος.

For χρόνος perhaps we should write ἐπήρκεσ' ἐν χρόνῳ: 'and after all, none of these advantages was of any avail to them at the last.'

Fr. 563. σφάττει με, λεπτὸς γίνομ' εὐωχούμενος
τὰ σκώμματθ' οἷα τὰ σοφά τε καὶ στρατηγικά,
οἷος δ' ἀλαζών ἐστιν ἀλιτήριος.

Read τὰ σκώμματθ', οἳ' ἄσοφά τε κἀστρατηγικά.

'The man bores me to death, I am growing lean with the poor jokes he serves up as my meal, so vile, so shallow are they, such utter ignorance of all generalship they betray.' Cic. Att. VIII 16, 1 *Nec uero ille me ducit qui uidetur; quem ego hominem* ἀπολιτικώτατον *omnium iam ante cognoram, nunc uero etiam* ἀστρατηγικώτατον. The person described in the fragm. would appear to be a sort of Pyrgopolinices or Miles Gloriosus. Such a braggart is described as 'showing his cuts and scars' in fr. 562, where the words ἐγὼ μὲν δεικνύω Ἐσποινδακὼς must, I think, be spoken by the soldier who 'points to his scars in good earnest,' not to a parasite who is describing how he 'showed a serious face' while the braggart was recounting his imaginary exploits (Cobet).

Fr. 688. ἀδικείτω με πλούσιος καὶ μὴ πένης·
ῥᾷον φέρειν γὰρ κρειττόνων τυραννίδα.

I suggest that the right reading is ἀδικεῖν ἴτω με, a Latinism, *ultinam mihi diues, non pauper, iniuriam oblatum eat.*

Fr. 693. ἀπόντι μᾶλλον εὐχαριστίαν ποίει·
τῷ γὰρ παρόντι γίνετ' εὐτονώτερον.

Read either ἐντονώτερον 'too emphatic,' and therefore disagreeable as overdone, or ἐπιπονώτερον. But this latter is somewhat far from the letters of the MSS.

Fr. 709. εἰ γάμος ἦν ὁ σῴζων τὴν ἄλλου νόσον
νόσον σῴζων αὐτὸς ἀποθνῄσκει νοσῶν.

Read ἰταμὸς ὁ σῴζων ἦσθα τὴν ἄλλου νόσον.
νόσον σὺ σῴζων αὐτὸς ἀποθνῄσκεις νοσῶν.

ἰταμός = too forward: ἰταμῶς is found in Alexis and Euphron (fr. I 25).

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Fr. 720. *παίδων ἐπ' ἀρότῳ γνησίωνε* HICNOPEI
δίδωμι σοὺγὼ τῆν ἐμαυτοῦ θυγατέρα.

The word after *γνησίων* is certainly *ἐπὶ σπόρῳ* or *ἐπὶ σπορᾷ*, as Meineke conjectured. And why should this not be added as an explanation of *ἐπ' ἀρότῳ*? 'for ploughing the soil, for sowing the seed of lawfully-begotten children,' or 'for production of lawfully-begotten children, and engendering of the same.' I see no reason for omitting them as a gloss; they belong to the language of legal formalities, and such forms have a time-honored right of verbiage.

Fr. 939. *λυτρωσάμενος τὸν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς ὁ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ Δημέας τὴν κράτειαν, ἀπῆλθεν.*

The name may have been *Echecratia*. In the MSS of Ibis 293 *Echecratides*, amongst other curious corruptions, assumes the form of *Ecratides;* and such losses of one or more syllables in proper names are familiar to every one versed in MSS of Latin and Greek authors.

Fr. 942. Aristides II 73 Dind.: *παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ μυρία ἂν εὕροις τοιαῦτα, καὶ γυναῖκας λεγούσας καὶ νεανίσκους.*

Kock suggests *λοχευούσας* for *λεγούσας*; *λεγαινούσας* or *λαγνευούσας* are also possible.

Fr. 1098. *ὁ γέλως ἂν μὴ ᾖ τοῦ γέλωτος ἄξιος*
αὐτὸς πέφυκε τοῦ γέλωτος κατάγελως.

Read *ὁ γέλως ἂν ᾖ μὴ τοῦ γέλωτος ἄξιος,*

'if the laugh does not deserve to raise a laugh (does not deserve its name in consequence of its absurd or weak character), it is by its own nature a mockery of laughter.'

Apollod. Caryst. fr. 5.

οἶμαί γε· πῶς γὰρ μᾶλλον ἂν προείλετο
Ἕλλην ἀληθῶς οὖσα λεπομένους ὁρᾶν
αὐτοὺς ὑφ' αὑτῶν καὶ καταπίπτοντας νεκρούς,
ἐξὸν ἱλαροὺς παίζοντας ὑποπεπωκότας
αὐλουμένους ᾠδεῖ;

For *ᾠδεῖ* Kock suggests *σποδεῖν*, A. Palmer *ἰδεῖν*. May it not be *ᾠδί*? The construction is *ἐξὸν* (*ὁρᾶν*) *ἱλαροὺς . . . αὐλουμένους ᾠδί*, 'listening to flute-players (*αὐλουμένους* passive) O so jollily.' The *ᾠδί* would be accompanied by a gesture.

Anaxipp. fr. 6.

ζωμήρυσιν φέροις· ὀβελίσκους δώδεκα·
κρεάγραν· θυΐαν· τυρόκνηστιν †παιδικήν·
στελεόν· σκαφίδας τρεῖς· δορίδα· κοπίδας τέτταρας.

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I suggest either τυροκνήστις (= τυροκνήστεις) παῖ, δέκα, or τυροκνήστεις ἔνδεκα.

Euphron. fr. 6.

καινοὺς πορίζου †πρός με θεῶν θεούς,
ἵνα τοὺς παλαιοὺς μὴ 'πιορκῇς πολλάκις.

Possibly προσθεωρήσας θεούς.

Machon, fr. 1.

τοῦτ' εἴτε πρῶτοι Μακεδόνες τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
κατέδειξαν ἡμῖν, εἴτε πάντες οἱ θεοί,
οὐκ οἶδα· πλὴν ἐστίν γε μουσικωτάτου τινός.

πλήν ἐστίν γε the best MS of Athenaeus. Kock follows Schweighaeuser in writing οὐκ οἶδα· πλὴν γ' ὅτι μ. τινός. Yet πλήν ἐστίν γε has a ring of genuineness not to be gainsaid; either, therefore, it would seem, τινὸς should be omitted, or μουσικοῦ take the place of μουσικωτάτου.

Fr. 2. εἶθ' ὁπόταν ἤδη πάντα συμφωνεῖν δοκῇς,
εἴσαγε διὰ πασῶν Νικολάδας Μυκόνιος.

I explain this of the *dates* called by Pliny *Nicolai*. H. N. XIII 45 *sicciores ex hoc genere nicolai, sed amplitudinis praecipuae, quaterni cubitorum longitudinem efficiunt.* The *nicolai* were a dry kind of the class known as *caryota*, and of unusual size. The form νικολαΐδες would correspond to ἀδελφίδες, another name for a species of date, whose flavor had a *sisterly* resemblance to *caryotae* (Plin. u. s.) They might be called Myconian, as having a *bald* patch; for Strabo tells us, X 487, that τοὺς φαλακροὺς δέ τινες Μυκονίους καλοῦσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ πάθος τοῦτο ἐπιχωριάζειν τῇ νήσῳ. Hence I would change Μυκόνιος to Μυκονίας. Whether this explanation has been made before I do not know, but it seems at least a plausible one.

Baton, fr. 4.

εὖ γ' ὦ Σιβύνη τὰς νύκτας οὐ καθεύδομεν
οὐδ' ἀναγεγράμμεθ' ἀλλὰ καίεται λύχνος
καὶ βιβλίον ἐν ταῖς χερσί, καὶ φροντίζομεν
τί Σόφων καταλέλοιπ' ἢ τί Σημωνακτίδης.

Bothe has already corrected ἀναγεγράμμεθ' into ἀνατετράμμεθ'. I would complete his emendation by altering εὖ γ' into εἴ γ': 'si non dormimus, at nec pessum dati sumus; sed lucubramus.' ἀνατετράμμεθ' is illustrated by Kock, p. 365: in what sense the cook here uses the

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word is doubtful: whether of being ruined and therefore unable to sleep, or 'upset' mentally, or (professionally) worsted by an abler artist. For the construction, cf. Dexicrates fr. 1 (Kock, p. 374), *εἰ δὲ μεθύω καὶ χιόνα πίνω καὶ μύρον 'Επίσταμ' ὅτι κράτιστον Αἴγυπτος ποιεῖ*, where, however, the sentence breaks off and the apodosis is wanting.

Baton, fr. 5.

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ζῆν παγκάλως
ευσωσιαπαντητυχον δώσεις ἐμοί.

So A in Athen. 203; in 279 A gives

εὖ σῶσ ἅπαντας ἢ τυχὸν δ. ἐμοί.

I am dissatisfied with the existing emendations, and venture to believe that *ἢ τυχὸν* is not likely to have been a corruption of *ἀτυχεῖν*. At any cost I would retain *τυχόν*. Possibly the poet wrote

ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ζῆν παγκάλως
εὐκτῶς τε πανταχῆ τυχὸν δώσεις ἐμοί,

sc. *εἶναι ἔχειν τὴν ἡδονὴν* 'but from a life of complete happiness and complete satisfaction you will perhaps concede to me we *may* secure pleasure.' Observe that *παγκάλως* and *πανταχῆ* repeat and emphasize the same idea, a life which is happy *all round* and desirable (*εὐκτόν*) *in every way*.

Epinicus fr. 2.

καὶ τῶν ῥυτῶν τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ὄντων τρία
πίνειν δεήσει τήμερον πρὸς κλεψύδραν
κρουνιζόμενον. ἀμφότερα δ' οἰωνίζομαι.

Dobree translated *οἰωνίζομαι* 'I will bet,' too concisely to be intelligible. Judging from the ordinary use of *οἰωνίζεσθαι*, the meaning, I suppose, is 'I draw an omen from each of the two acts: (1) from the actual drinking; (2) from the way in which the liquor spurts from the *ῥυτὸν* into the mouth.' If not this, the sense would seem to be 'I make a *forecast* of both acts,' i. e. I give a guess in advance as to the success each toper will have (1) in drinking, e. g. whether he will drink the whole; (2) in the liquor streaming dextrously into his throat or awkwardly.

Damoxenus, fr. 2.

21 *αἱ μεταβολαὶ γὰρ αἵ τε κινήσεις κακὸν*
ἠλίβατον †ἐστ' ἀνθρώποις ἀλλοιώματα
ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς ποιοῦσι, μανθάνεις; τὸ δὲ
ληφθὲν καθ' ὥραν ἀποδίδωσι τὴν χάριν.

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In 22 *ἐστ'* is given by A, *ἔν τ'* by C and Eustathius 1623, 8. Both appear to me to point in the same direction, i. e. to the separation of the clause ending with *ἠλίβατον* from the clause which follows. For *ἐστ'* might represent the omitted verb substantive, *ἔν τ'* might equally express the connexion of *ἀνθρώποις* with what *follows*, not with what precedes. 'Changes and variations (in the weather and seasons) *are* a tremendous trouble, *and* cause alterations in the foods of mankind, do you see?' That is

> *αἱ μεταβολαὶ γὰρ αἵ τε κινήσεις κακὸν*
> *ἠλίβατον, ἀνθρώποισί τ' ἀλλοιώματα*
> *ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς ποιοῦσι.*

31, 32 should perhaps be divided thus:

> A. *χυμός, λέγει Δημόκριτος*—B. *οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα τὰ*
> *γιγνόμενα.* A. *ποιεῖ τὸν φαγόντ' ἀρθριτικόν.*

The first speaker is proceeding to enlarge on Democritus' views of the nature of *χυμός*, when the other interrupts him, 'never mind what comes of it.' Then the first speaker leaves his high philosophizing and descends to the plain matter-of-fact statement that it is the *χυμὸς* of foods which produces gout in the limbs of the epicure.

Nicomachus, fr. 1.

> *πολλὰς τέχνας λάβοις ἂν ἐνδόξους πάνυ*
> *ὧν τὸν μαθεῖν βουλόμενον ὀρθῶς οὐκ ἔνι*
> *ταύταις προσελθεῖν εὐθύς· ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθε δεῖ*
> *ζωγραφίας ἥφθαι. ταὐτὰ καὶ μιγειρικῆς*
> *πρότερον μαθεῖν δεῖ τῆς τέχνης ἑτέρας τέχνας.*

Kock considers *ὧν* to depend on *μαθεῖν*. To me it seems to depend on *ἔμπροσθε*, the clause *ὀρθῶς οὐκ ἔνι ταύταις προσελθεῖν εὐθὺς* interrupting the construction, and *ἀλλ'* returning to it. Of such interrupted constructions there are not a few instances, one of the most famous of which is Thuc. III 82 *ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἑκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει*, where the genitive *ξυμμαχίας* hardly admits of any tolerable construction unless it depends on *προσποιήσει*. Besides, in the passage of Nicomachus, the verse which follows, *πρότερον μαθεῖν δεῖ τῆς τέχνης ἑτέρας τέχνας* is surely an exact parallel to *ὧν ἔμπροσθε δεῖ μαθεῖν*.

What underlies the corrupt *ζωγραφίας ἥφθαι* it is now impossible to guess. Probably a considerable number of verses are lost. At least it seems difficult to imagine how either painting could be

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introduced as a single representative of all the requisite accessory arts, or how ἄλλων (ἑτέρων) προῆφθαι (Kock) could have assumed so remote a modification as ζωγραφίας ἧφθαι.

34–39. τοῖς δὴ τοιούτοις βρώμασιν τὰ φάρμακα
εὕρητ' ἐκεῖθεν, μεταφορὰ δ' ἐστὶν τέχνης
ἤδη τὸ μετὰ νοῦ καὶ τὸ συμμέτρως ἐμὸν
περὶ τακτικῆς ἕκαστα ποῦ τεθήσεται
ἀριθμῷ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδέναι μαγειρικῆς
οὐδεὶς ἕτερός σοι πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ γραφήσεται.

One thing in this passage seems to me certain, that ἐμὸν is a corruption of ἐμεῖν 'the art of *vomiting* in an intelligent and graceful way,' which to the Greeks, and far more to the gluttonous Romans, was one of the most essential accomplishments in a diner-out. See the *Satirae* of Petronius. It is, I think, not absolutely beyond doubt that the rest of the passage is wrongly transmitted, or that a lacuna need be assumed after 36. Suppose it punctuated thus:

τοῖς δὴ τοιούτοις βρώμασιν τὰ φάρμακα
εὕρητ' ἐκεῖθεν, μεταφορὰ δ' ἐστὶν τέχνης.
ἤδη τὸ μετὰ νοῦ καὶ τὸ συμμέτρως ἐμεῖν.
περὶ τακτικῆς—ἕκαστα ποῦ τεθήσεται.
ἀριθμῷ τὸ πλῆθος εἰδέναι· μαγειρικῆς
οὐδεὶς ἕτερός σοι πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ γραφήσεται.

Huiusmodi cibis remedia inuenta sunt ex medicina, mutatione facta artium (sc. ex arte coquinaria ad artem medici). *Continuo ut ratione quis uomat et decenter* (*medicorum artis est*): *arti* περὶ τακτικῆς *proprium est scire ubi singula ponenda sint: ab numeris uenit scire quantum cuiuscumque rei sumendum sit: ut uno uerbo omnia exsequar, prae me nemo alius a te in albo inscribetur peritorum rei coquinariae.*

Adespot. 662.

οἱ κλεαγόπται λέγεται δὲ καὶ κλέπται. The corrupt κλεαγόπται may have been κληδοκόπται, or possibly κληδαγροκόπται, if we may assume a form κληδάγρα like βαλανάγρα.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

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II.—THE SENTENCE-QUESTION IN PLAUTUS AND TERENCE.

Concluding Paper.

G. Questions without a Particle having the Verb near the Beginning.

In the preceding divisions have been given all the varieties of question which are marked by a distinct relation to the preceding sentence or by the presence of some single word having interrogative or partially interrogative functions. The questions which remain can be distinguished only by peculiarities of order.

For an exhaustive classification it would no doubt be necessary to consider all possible variations from the so-called normal order, especially in the case of pronouns, personal and demonstrative. But the instances would be few in number and the results slight, and I have thought it sufficient to make two divisions according as the verb does or does not retain its normal position at the end of the sentence. A third division might be made of those sentences which consist only of the verb, but most of these have already been given under IV C, *rogas*, *negas*, etc.

Under the head of sentences in which the verb is near the beginning are included all with *at*, *sed*, etc., and those in which a subordinate clause precedes the main clause, if it seems clear that the questioning begins only with the main clause. Absolute precision is impossible, e. g. Eun. 705 and 951 are classed here.

As these sentences are similar, except for the absence of the particle, to those in which *ne* is appended to the verb, a comparison of the two kinds may be expected to shed light upon the uses of *ne*, and perhaps upon the origin of the interrogative sentence.

Indic. pres., 1st pers. Andr. 423, *sum verus?* is the only case of *sum*. Eugraph. seems to take it as a declarative sentence (id est 'vera dico'), like the Engl. "I told you so!" As a question it is parallel to Rud. 865, *sumne ibi?* with strong *nonne* effect. Eun. 532, *dico ego mi insidias fieri?* refers back to 507 ff. and means "Am I not right in saying that they are plotting against me?" That is, it has a distinct *nonne* effect; cf. Amph. 433, *vincon*

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argumentis, te non esse Sosiam? In other passages the pres. has fut. sense: Most. 774, *eon? voco huc hominem?* || *i voca*, is really only one question, *eon, voco;* Poen. 1224, *pergo etiam temptare?* is confused in the MSS and the text is entirely uncertain; Most. 848, *ergo eo igitur sine perductore?* || *i, licet*, is also confused and is generally printed with a period; Ph. 737, *quid ago?* || . . . || *adeo, maneo, dum haec quae loquitur magis cognosco?* (MSS exc. A have *adeon an*). With *ne* there are six cases parallel to these. Cist. 288 Uss., And. 500 Speng. I should print with a period. Pl. [3], Ter. 2 [3].

Indic. pres., 2d pers., in alphabetical order. Hec. 458, *advenis modo?* "Just come?" is a questioning comment, not a question; cf. Heaut. 883. Amph. 561, *audes mihi praedicare id, domi te esse nunc, qui hic ades?* is similar to *rogas*. Pers. 214, *sed quid tu? confitere, ut te autumo?* is a genuine question, "But what about you? Do you confess . . .?" Also Heaut. 1015 Dz. Eun. 705, *age nunc, bellua, credis huic quod dicat?* is precisely like the cases of *credin*, with the same suggestion of *num* effect. Hec. 803, *adulescens, dic dum quaeso, es tu Myconius?* would be similar to *esne* Men. 1109, but the vs. is imperfect; *tun es*, an early conjecture, is generally adopted. Trin. 318, *exprobras, bene quod fecisti?* would be parallel to *rogas*, but I should read *quid exprobras* with Bx. and MSS. Ps. 488, *fatere? dic*, is similar to Capt. 317, *sed faterin . . .?* but there is no necessity for changing to *faterin*, as proposed by Becker, 132; cf. *confitere* above. Heaut. 765, *vah, gloriare evenisse ex sententia?* is not a question, but like *rogas*. Also Heaut. 982, *inrides in re tanta neque me consilio quicquam adiuvas?* Poen. 1103, *intellegis?* at the end of a long explanation, cf. *tenesne, iam tenes, tenes*, is a question, but with some slight impv. effect. Heaut. 537, *eho, quaeso, laudas, qui eros fallunt?* is like *rogas*. Pers. 357, *quid? metuis ne te vendam?* Heaut. 1017, *quid? metuis ne . . .?* are influenced by *quid?* and are exclamatory rather than interrogative. So also Aul. 720, *nescis?* (though this may be a repetition), And. 791, *eho inepta, nescis quid sit actum?* and Andr. 348, *obtundis, tam etsi intellego?* (Speng. uses period). Ps. 85, *sed potes nunc mutuam drachumam mihi unam dare, . . .?* is precisely parallel to *potin* with the infin. Pers. 733, *redis tu tandem?* is like *advenis modo?* above. Pers. 379, *scis nam tibi quae praecepi?* Eun. 952, 1035, 1036 (twice), Heaut. 529 and Ad. 215 are all parallel to corresponding forms with *scin*. In Heaut. 529,

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scis esse factum ut dico? the *nonne* effect is produced by *ut dico.* Ps. 216 (Lor. Goetz, period), Heaut. 700, Ph. 214, *tenes?* are like *tenesne*, Heaut. 778. Ps. 1157, *vides, iam die* (*diem* Lor.) *multum esse?* is parallel to *viden* with infin. having *nonne* effect. Most. 1105, *aspicedum contra me.* || *aspexi.* || *vides?* || *video* is not quite clear without the stage "business," but is apparently exclamatory. Andr. 898, *impera. vis me uxorem ducere? hanc vis mittere? ut potero, feram;* the corresponding forms with *vin* imply an offer of service, these are more nearly neutral, and so have the effect of a protasis with *feram* for apodosis.

Pl. 12 [13], Ter. 19 [20].

Indic. pres. 3d pers. Ad. 924, *iubet frater?* These are the first words of a scene and are probably meant as a repetition of words supposed to have been spoken off the stage. Ph. 352, *negat Phanium esse hanc sibi cognatam Demipho? hanc Demipho negat esse cognatam?* These are both exclamatory and similar to repetitions. Men. 923, *dic mihi hoc: solent tibi umquam oculi duri fieri?* and Poen. 755, *valent apud te quos volo?* are unemotional questions for information, as are two cases of *licet*, Curc. 621 and Mil. 1329, and one of *placet*, Ad. 736. Rud. 803, *licet sallem istas mi appellare?* I should punctuate with period because of *saltem.*

In Amph. 995, *amat? sapit*, Eun. 252, *negat quis? nego: ait? aio*, the questions stand for protases and may be punctuated *amat: sapit.* The usage is well known.

Instances of *est* (*sunt*) are Aul. 357, Men. 1107 (twice), Merc. 563, Poen. 165, 253 (*adsunt*), Ad. 556, 778, And. 789. In St. 186, *promitte vero: ne gravare: est commodum?* (so Rit. Goetz) I should prefer a period. All these are regular questions, absolutely the same as similar forms with *estne;* cf. e. g. Heaut. 454, *estne ea intus?* with And. 789, *est Simo intus?*

Pl. 11 [13], Ter. 8.

Indic. impf. Ad. 693, *quid? credebas dormienti haec tibi confecturos deos?* Ph. 902, *verebamini ne id non facerem quod recepissem semel?* (Dz. *an rebamini*, v. Krit. Anh.) Both are exclamatory.

Ter. 2.

Indic. fut. Truc. 206, *ibo igitur intro?* || *quippini?* is parallel to Mil. 1242, *adibon;* both are unusual because of the tense. Hec. 672, *quid dixti? eho, an non alemus, Pamphile? prodemus, quaeso, potius?* is exclamatory, as if repeated from a previous

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speech. Curc. 73, Ad. 192 are exclamatory and properly future. On *obtundes?* or *obtundis?* Ph. 515, see under IV C.

Pl. 2, Ter. 2 [3].

Indic. perf. In the 1st person only Cas. V 4, 18, beside those already given under IV B. In the 2d pers. the only clear cases are Mil. 829, *prompsisti tu vinum?* Poen. 723, *vidistis leno quom aurum accepit?* and Rud. 378, *cavistis ergo tu atque erus ne abiret, . . .?* In other cases the MSS vary. Most. 594, Epid. 539, 554, Cist. III 15 are entirely uncertain. In Aul. 171, And. 975, Eun. 692, Heaut. 684, 731 the metrical probabilities favor the forms without *ne;* in Mil. 556 A has *vidisti*, and so Bx. Lor. In spite of the uncertainty (see above I. A, *ne* with the perf. indic.), it is clear that the forms without *ne* are regular questions; indeed, the uncertainty itself shows that there is no difference in sense between the questions with *ne* and those without *ne*. In the 3d pers. Heaut. 978, *abiit?* is exclamatory, recognizing a fact, not asking a question. Hec. 527, *peperit filia? hem, taces?* is usually printed with colon; I can see no reason why a question mark should not be used. Some other cases have been given under IV B.

Pl. 6, Ter. 6.

Plupf. Eun. 429 is exclamatory.

Periphrastic forms are Ad. 796, *dictum hoc inter nos fuit . . .? responde*, And. 665, *factum hoc est, Dave? || factum;* these are regular questions, though the first has *nonne* effect. And. 751, *dictura es quod rogo?* has impv. force, but see above I. A, *ne* with fut. ptc. Rud. 982, *quid ais, . . .? ausu's etiam conparare vidulum cum piscibus?* (Seyffert, Sch., *ausis*). Pl. 1, Ter. 3.

Subjunctive pres. Men. 539, *dicam curare?* Bacch. 65 ff., *adulescens homo penetrem me huiusmodi in palaestram, . . .?* Ad. 625, *nunc quid faciam? dicam fratris esse hanc?* And. 640, Eun. 49, Ph. 186, *quid remedium inveniam . . .? loquarne? incendam: taceam? instigem: purgem me? laterem lavem.* This last has the force of a condition. In the 2d pers. Asin. 878, *possis, si forte . . . videas, cognoscere?* cf. Merc. 518, *possin*, with the same sense. Asin. 814, 815. Impf. Ad. 395; Wag. Fleck. Dz. insert *num.* All these have precise parallels with *ne.*

Pl. 5, Ter. 5 [6].

Summing these up it appears, in the first place, that about one-third, including most of the sentences which consist of the verb alone, are not properly interrogative, but exclamatory, and closely related to repetitions and to *rogas?* and *negas?* So *advenis*

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modo? means "Just come, have you?" not "Have you just come?" *abiit?* means "He's gone?" cf. *satin abiit?* and *quid? metuis . . .?* is "What! you're afraid that . . .?" The large preponderance of cases from Ter. is partly due to the fact that he uses exclamations (cf. *rogas*, *rogitas*) more frequently than Pl. These exclamations have few parallels among questions with *ne* appended to the verb.

In the second place, of the cases which have parallels in questions with *ne*, nearly all are unemotional questions, asked for information. These comprise about half of the whole number, and the correspondence between them and forms with *ne* is so close as to make it plain that *ne* is not at all necessary to an unemotional question. Pl. could say *est* or *estne* without difference of meaning. Nor is *ne* essential in all idiomatic and emotional forms of question; the effect of *num* is given without it (*credis = credin*), and the effect of *nonne* in about half a dozen cases. Of impv. questions, however, there are no clear cases, and there are comparatively few idioms, like those with *ain*, *audin*, *scin*, *viden;* the few cases that do occur are of the simplest sort. While, therefore, *ne* is not essential to the genuine question nor even to some kinds of idiom, it appears that the widest development of idiomatic questions is to be found only in connection with *ne*. But because of the small number of questions without *ne* this conclusion should not be pushed too far.

H. Sentences having the Verb near the End.

Under this head are placed also the few cases in which the verb is neither at the beginning nor at the end, for which it has not seemed necessary to make separate classes.

So far as these sentences correspond to questions with *ne*, given in the various sub-classes I. B–K, the parallels will be pointed out. Of the sentences which have no parallels with *ne*, which are too numerous to be given in full, sufficient illustrations will be given.

Indic. pres. 1st pers. And. 906, *Andrium ego Critonem video? certe is est*, corresponds in sense to *videon* in soliloquy. Heaut. 579, *Clitipho, haec ego praecipio tibi?* is parallel to *haecine*, e. g. Most. 25 f., with rejecting effect. There is no case parallel to Ph. 812, *hanc igitur mittimus?* And. 921, *ego istaec moveo aut curo?* Eun. 179 (and Hec. 875 without verb) are exactly like Ph. 999, *egon timeo?* i. e. they repeat and reject an idea already suggested. Merc. 172, *tandem indignus videor?* if the text is correct, is

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exclamatory, as is Andr. 500, *inrideor?* which only Speng. prints as question. Amph. 391, Cas. V 4, 28, *tuae fidei credo? || meae*, are hesitating declarative sentences, "I trust to your honor?" not as Uss. says, equivalent to *credamne*, and entirely different from And. 497. Pl. 3, Ter. 6.

Pres. indic., 2d pers. Ad. 596, *id quia non est a me factum, agis gratias?* has some questioning effect, due perhaps to the fact that the verb stands first in the main clause. Ph. 985, *rape hunc. || sic agitis?* is exclamatory and rejecting, but has many parallels with *ne*, e. g. Ad. 128, Eun. 99, *sicine agis?* Men. 1108, *patrem fuisse Moschum tibi ais?* and And. 908 do not differ greatly from *ain* with infin. Men. 741 (*attines*) is exclamatory. Asin. 485 (see above under *ain*), Men. 514, 924, Rud. 1099, Trin. 695, Hec. 675, And. 545, all with *censes*, are like *censen* in having a rejecting force which comes partly from the sense of *censeo*, but differ from *censen* in being less distinctly interrogative; cf. also And. 505. Eun. 897 (*cogitas*) is like *censes*. Capt. 556, Trin. 649, Ad. 748, Eun. 245, Heaut. 729, all with *credis*, have an infin. and exclamatory effect, except Capt. 556, which corresponds pretty closely to Eun. 812, *credin?* with interrogative force. Ps. 1315, *at negabas daturum esse te mihi: tamen das?* is really declarative, with slight interrogative inflection. All cases of *dan* have impv. effect. Hec. 524, . . . *mi vir || vir ego tuos sim? tu virum me aut hominem deputas adeo esse?* is exclamatory and has parallels with *tun*. Men. 1139, *hanc tu dicis, fraler, pallam, . . .?* (Fleck. Rit. *hancine*, which would be equally correct in sense), Merc. 912, Trin. 466, Heaut. 596, 888, all with *dicis*, are declarative with slight questioning or exclamatory inflection; *dicisne*, used only twice, is impv. Ad. 104, *tu nunc tibi id laudi ducis, quod tum fecisti inopia?* is exclamatory, like *rogas*. And. 321, *hodie uxorem ducis? || aiunt*, is almost declarative, with faint questioning inflection. With *es*, Men. 1078, *quae haec fabulast? tu's Menaechmus?* is an exclamatory repetition; Trin. 987, *ipsus es?* and Poen. 866, *malus es?* are questioning; Rud. 1305 is so nearly declarative that it might equally well be printed with a period; Trin. 635, *tu mihi es melior quam egomet mihi?* (Rit.² *tun*) has been given under *tun*, but in either case it would be exclamatory. I should read *tu* with Bx., but without accepting his reason (Krit. Anh.), "da die energische Frage ohne *ne* für den Ausdruck des Unwillens viel angemessener ist." Ad. 167, *ceterum hoc nili facis?* is exclamatory. Umpf. uses a period.

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Ad. 769, *ohe iam : tu verba fundis hic sapientia ?* is exclamatory. Heaut. 718, *tantum sat habes ?* is exclamatory, not questioning like *satin habes, si.* Asin. 579, *hoc quod rogo responde.* || *rogita quod vis.* || *argenti viginti minas habes nunc ?* (so Müll., Goetz. MSS *habesne*). The position of *habesne* is without a parallel in Pl., but Müller's reading is not at all satisfying ; *habes nunc* would be almost a declarative sentence, while the context calls for a formal and unemotional question, like those with *haben.* Pers. 850, *inrides,* and Ad. 135, *irascere,* are like *rogas.* Heaut. 315, *hoc vide : in mea vita tu tibi is quaesitum, scelus ?* is exclamatory ; *in* (*isne*) has impv. force. Asin. 593, *salve.* || *salvere me iubes, quoi tu abiens adfers morbum ?* usually printed with period, is like *rogas,* as is Eun. 1053, *laudas.* Merc. 160, *dormientis spectatores metuis ne ex somno excites ?* is half-declarative. Ps. 442, *mirare,* And. 764, *nescis,* Most. 16, *obiectas,* Rud. 876, *opsecras* (Vulg. Sch. with period), Asin. 189, Cist. Frag. IX, Ben., *postulas,* Truc. 413, *procuras* (Sch. prints as exclamation) are all either exclamatory or declarative. Merc. 654, *cedo . . . amorem te hic relicturum putas ?* has considerable questioning force, due probably to *cedo.* Heaut. 741, *dignam me putas . . . ?* Amph. 284, are like *censes.* Eun. 426, *lepus tute es : pulpamentum quaeris ?* might as well be declarative ; cf. Wagner's note. Amph. 816, *quaeris,* is exactly like *rogas.* Asin. 398, *tu id nunc refers ?* is like cases with *tun,* expressing rejection. Hec. 706, Ph. 684, *respondes,* are like *taces, rogas.* Aul. 214, Poen. 724, Heaut. 181, *scis* (*scilis*), differ from *scin* in that they take the knowledge for granted and are only slightly interrogative. In Merc. 719, *sic tu me temptas sciens ?* there is less emphasis upon *sic* than in questions with *sicine,* but the rejecting force is the same. Cist. Frag. II Ben., *quid ? tuam times amicam . . . ?* and Heaut. 910, *quid ? istuc times . . . ?* are exclamatory. Ad. 233, *nunc demum venis ?* is partially declarative. Ph. 60, *verere,* is like *metuis, times* and other verbs of emotion. With *vis* the case is less clear. Men. 1155, *ergo nunc iam vis conclamari auctionem fore ?* Rud. 1074, And. 708 all have questioning force, and in all *vis* precedes the dependent verb, infin. or subjunct. So also in Hec. 787, where A has . . . *ob eam rem.* || *vin ergo intro eam ?* the other MSS || *ob eam rem vis ergo intro eam ?* which latter I believe to be correct. Heaut. 87, *scire hoc vis ?* takes up *fac me ut sciam* of 84, and has very little questioning force. Pers. 681, *quod te dignumst, me dignum esse vis ?* is exclamatory and rejecting. Most. 262, *scita's tu qui-*

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dem. nova pictura interpolare vis opus lepidissumum? is so clearly declarative that it might better have a period. Mil. 68 (I 1, 38) and Ps. 47 have been given above. Men. 848, *votas*, is like *rogas*, and Ritschl's conj. *men* is unnecessary. Ps. 826, *utere*, is repudiating, with some slight questioning force from *quid tu?*

In 2d pers. Pl. 40, Ter. 32.

In the cases which follow it is not necessary to do more than indicate the general group, questioning, exclamatory or declarative, to which the sentence seems most nearly allied, and even this general grouping cannot be precise, since these three tendencies may all appear in a single sentence.

In the 3d pers. pres. indic. Ad. 246, *omnes dentes labefecit, . . .: etiam insuper defraudat?* is the nearest representative of the interrogation. Five with *videtur*, Ba. 854, Ps. 472, Rud. 983, 1230, Ph. 1033, and Ad. 736, *placet*, are exclamatory and rejecting. Curc. 572, Aul. 720, Hec. 500 (Wag. with period), and Merc. 714 are declarative with slight questioning or exclamatory force. In Merc. 714 a period would express the sense equally well. Merc. 948, Truc. 585, Cas. 353 Gepp. are entirely uncertain. Eun. 733 is given under *mullon*, Ps. 1002, And. 949 under *non*.

Cases with *est* are more frequent, and about half have an introductory phrase or semi-parenthetic verb like *quaeso, opsecro*. Interrogative are Amph. 774, *salvom signumst?* || *inspice.* || *recte*, Ba. 718, *nulla*, Epid. 643, Rud. 284, 1054. The exclamatory sentences are mainly repetitions, Ad. 950, . . . *paulum* . . . || *paulum id autemst?* Merc. 534, 974, Most. 628, Pers. 491, Rud. 740, 1399, And. 875; these are repetitions with *est* added. Ad. 707 is like *hocine;* Hec. 527 like *istucine;* Bacch. 616, Rud. 960, Heaut. 607 have slight interrogative force, and so resemble adjectives with *ne*. Ps. 294 (2), Rud. 1113, Ad. 388, Heaut. 583 are rejecting exclamations. Most. 444, *sed quid hoc? occlusa ianuast interdius?* is usually printed with period, but is like other partially declarative sentences. So also Eun. 1040.

Pl. 24, Ter. 12.

Indic impf. Eun. 155, *aut ego nescibam quorsum tu ires?* (So Umpf. *at*, with period, Bent. Wag. Dz.) This is an ironical declarative sentence, and approaches a question, though not closely enough to warrant the interrogative sign. Men. 1122, *dic mihi: uno nomine ambo eratis?* is clearly interrogative. Men. 625, Pers. 686, Ad. 901, Ph. 858 are exclamatory. Heaut. 907, *hem, Clinia haec fieri videbat?* is a hesitating assertion. Pl. 3, Ter. 3 [4].

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Indic. fut. Mil. 1021, *quid ego? hic astabo . . .?* Rud. 658, Curc. 204 are rejecting exclamations. Rud. 1270 has more questioning force. In 2d pers. Capt. 892, Merc. 649, Eun. 690, Hec. 232 are strongly repudiating. Aul. 773, 774 are in a series of questions which demand a promise rather than ask for a reply. They are imperative futures with slight interrogative inflection. In Eun. 536 the MSS favor *malam rem hinc ibis?* with impv. effect; this is without parallel, but Ter. shows considerable variety in impv. questions. In the 3d pers. Poen. 729, *quid si . . . pultem? || censeo. || si pultem, non recludet?* is equivalent to *quid si pultem atque ille non recludet?* Merc. 458, 459, Eun. 638 are exclamatory. In Cas. III 5, 38 *ne* is called for by the metre. Men. 792, *. . . ibi potat. || tua quidem ille causa potabit minus, . . .?* is exactly like Capt. 845, Pers. 747, and Rit. has *tuan* here also; but *ne* is not at all necessary to the sense.

Pl. 12, Ter. 4.

Indic. perf. Men. 394 is exclamatory and is in sense a repetition; Cas. V 4, 16, *ego istuc feci?* is an exclamation with precisely the same sense as *egon.* Asin. 410, *hodie salvere iussi Libanum libertum? iam manu emissust?* is an ironical assertion with slight interrogative force. Eun. 420, *quid illud, Gnatho, quo pacto Rhodium tetigerim in convivio, numquam tibi dixi?* involves an anacoluthon, and the strong interrogative force is due to that fact.

Indic. perf. 2d pers. Interrogative effect is somewhat distinct in Epid. 596 (with *quid*), Mil. 1219 (with *opsecro*), Poen. 759, Heaut. 884 (both with *dic mihi*), Heaut. 830. On Andr. 742 see *tun;* for Ph. 577 see perf. with *ne.* The following are repudiating exclamations: Amph. 725 (cf. 717), Asin. 926, Capt. 717, Pers. 798, Rud. 993, Trin. 138, Eun. 241, Heaut. 685, Ph. 467. The declarative force is prominent in Asin. 252 f. (only Uss. prints as question), Asin. 416, Most. 1010 (both of these might as well have a period, since the interrogative effect is barely perceptible), Poen. 591, And. 586. Cist. II 3, 39 is entirely confused.

In the 3d pers. Asin. 432, *eho, Coriscus pro vectura olivi rem soluit? || soluit,* 441, *Dromo mercedem rettulit?* are interrogative, but they have an intentionally peremptory tone, as from a superior to an inferior; cf. 444, where *rettulitne* is at the end of the sentence.[1] Bacch. 502 is equivalent to a condition. Mil. 1043, And.

[1] Other cases where the omission of *ne* appears to be associated with an urgent and peremptory tone are And. 665, *factum hoc est, Dave?* 751, *dic-*

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241 are exclamations. Most. 977, 978, Pers. 131 are assertions which get a slight interrogative tone from the context.

Pl. 23, Ter. 8.

Indic. plupf. only in Ad. 465, *noras*, with declarative force.

Ter. 1.

Indic. fut. pf. Truc. 547, where Speng. uses period. Pl. 1.

Compound forms are all in the perfect. Rud. 187 is exclamatory, but the text is somewhat uncertain. St. 372, *hem, quid? Epignomum elocutu's?* is like *ais*, referring to what has just been said. Heaut. 522, *faceta haec meretrix.* || *sane.* || *idem visast tibi?* "You think so too?" has as much questioning force as any; the rest are clearly exclamatory or declarative, Cist. II 1, 16, Epid. 650 (*quid?*), Heaut. 580, Merc. 976, Asin. 330, Men. 611, Capt. 568, Ps. 631; in the last four I should use a period.

Pl. 9, Ter. 2.

With the subjunctive a dependent infin. is rarely used, and the sentences are for the most part so short that the position of the verb cannot be expected to have much influence upon the meaning.

Subj. pres., 1st pers. Bacch. 903, *hodie exigam aurum hoc?* || *exige*, and Trin. 59, *vin commutemus? tuam ego ducam et tu meam?* are the only cases which have any questioning force. The rest are all exclamatory and rejecting, like *egone* with the pres. subj. They are Asin. 506 (Goetz *ubi*), Aul. 45, Capt. 139 (Sch. *egone*), Pers. 26, Poen. 352, 730, Ps. 318, St. 297, And. 231, Eun. 798, Heaut. 131, 413, Hec. 434, Ph. 419, 1022.

With the 2d pers. all cases are exclamatory and correspond to *tun* with subjunct. They are Asin. 489, 812 (?), Merc. 575, And. 619, Eun. 460, Hec. 589.

With the 3d pers., all exclamatory, Curc. 193, Truc. 754, Heaut. 128 ff., Ph. 813. Also Hec. 878, Dz.; Um. *an.*

In the impf. all are exclamatory, and repeat with more or less of distinctness a suggestion already expressed: Most. 183, Rud. 842 (Sch. *quid ego*, etc., without any mark after *quid*), Truc. 625. Truc. 501 is utterly confused; Aul. 286 should have a period; Trin. 957, where the MSS have *mihi*, Rit. Bx. *mihin concrederet*, has been placed under *mihin*, I. B, because there is no precise

tura es quod rogo? Mil. 829, *prompsisti tu illi vinum?* 833, *neque tu bibisti?* I have noted no cases exactly like those in the Asin., and this suggestion may be fanciful, but an assertive form of question might easily be rudely and harshly employed.

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parallel without *ne*, yet I greatly doubt whether *ne* is at all necessary. A few of these cases have been given above, IV B and D.

Pl. 17, Ter. 13.

As has been remarked, these sentences exhibit three tendencies. They are (*a*) declarative sentences with slight interrogative inflection, (*b*) exclamations, mostly with repudiating effect, or (*c*) questions like those in the preceding class. These are not different kinds of questions, but merely different uses to which this one kind of sentence may be put. Of the declarative sentences there are about 40 cases. They are nothing more than ordinary declarations, made with some hesitation, which was no doubt expressed by the voice, but was not sufficiently strong or not sufficiently concentrated upon any single word to bring about a change from the normal position of the verb in a declarative sentence. In fact, as in sentences with *scilicet*, *fortasse* or a parenthetic *credo* (see IV A), the hesitation was not about any single word, but about the correctness of the statement as a whole. The exclamations, which include about 140 of the 200 cases, are like the other kinds of exclamatory sentence already given and express doubt or wonder or absolute incredulity by repeating with exclamatory inflection the statement which has excited the emotion. In most cases they repudiate the statement. Even in the third use, in the 20 or 25 cases which most nearly approach a real interrogation, something of declarative or exclamatory effect generally appears, indicating that these are essentially like the other uses, and differ from them less widely than they do from sentences in which the inflection has been strong enough to bring the verb to the first place in the sentence. In most cases, also, the interrogation is partly expressed by *quaeso*, *dic*, *opsecro* and similar words, making the question semi-indirect.

In general, therefore, there is in questions which have the verb at or near the end a correspondence between form and function; they are declarative sentences with exclamatory inflection, or with a questioning inflection too slight to bring about a departure from the declarative order.

V.—Questions with *ut* and with the Infinitive.

Questions with *ut* interrogative and the indic. are merely a variety of the *quis*-question, and of these I have made no lists. Apparently, in passing over these, I have omitted also cases of *ut* with the subjunct., which should have been noted for the sake

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of comparison with *egon ut* sentences, and I fear that the following list is imperfect. Amph. 694, *quid enim censes? te ut deludam contra, . . .?* Trin. 750, *ut ego nunc adulescenti thensaurum indicem . . .?* Cist. IV 1, 10, And. 618, *oh, tibi ego ut credam, furcifer?* Heaut. 1050, *mea bona ut dem Bacchidi dono sciens?* In 2d pers. pres., Poen. 316, perf. Men. 683, 3d pers. pres. Ad. 238, Ph. 669, perf. Most. 14 (L^3), 1017, Ad. 530, Heaut. 954, Hec. 138 f. Most. 1172 is purely conjectural. Ad. 655 repeats 654.

Questions or exclamations with the infin. have been partly given under *hicine, itane* and other words, but are repeated here in order to bring all infin. questions together.

With *adeon* followed by an *ut*-clause, Bacch. 283, *adeon me fuisse fungum ut qui illi crederem . . .?* And. 245, Eun. 225, Heaut. 980, Hec. 532, Ph. 153, 497, 499. In And. 879 all MSS have *adeon* against the metre, generally corrected to *adeo*; it will be seen from cases below that there is nothing remarkable in the omission of *ne*.

With *itane*, Ph. 810, *itan parvam mihi fidem esse apud te?* Ph. 466. With *ita*, Heaut. 503.

With *sicine*, Curc. 589, Pers. 42, And. 689; with *sic*, Ph. 528 U.

With some form of *hicine*, Asin. 226, *haecine te esse oblitum . . .?* Curc. 694 (for Curc. 200 see I. H. *e*), Mil. 626, Ps. 202, Truc. 537, 933, Ad. 237, 390, 408, 611, Eun. 644, Heaut. 401. The only cases without *ne* which at all correspond to these are Ph. 503, . . . *tum hoc esse mihi obiectum malum?* and Hec. 613, *hinc abire matrem? minume.* (There is no case of *hincine*.)

Other pronominal forms are *istacine* Aul. 746, *illan* (abl.) Ad. 448, *quemquamne* Ad. 38, Heaut. 912, *neminemne* Eun. 553, *nosne* Hec. 645, *ten* Ph. 339 (cf. Ps. 371), *meamne* Mil. 488, *nullane* And. 425, *tantamne* And. 253, *tantane* Ph. 977. Also *numquamne* (adv.) Eun. 360. Without *ne*, Capt. 783, *ad illum modum sublitum os esse mi hodie?* Also with *tantum, tantam*, And. 870, Heaut. 630, Ph. 884; in Heaut. 92, *hui, tam gravis hos, quaeso?* the infin. is to be supplied.

With *nilne*, And. 716; with *nil*, Ph. 1042.

With *non* (*nonne* does not occur with the infin.), Trin. 1046, *non hoc puplice animadvorti?* Cas. I 1, 1, Hec. 227, Ph. 231, 232, 978, Ad. 562, 629, Dz.

With *magistron* Bacch. 151, *servon* And. 609.

The other cases without *ne* are Asin. 127, which may be a

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continuation of the preceding question, Aul. 338, *tibi recte facere?* Curc. 623, *servom antestari?* Eun. 391, *magnas vero agere gratias Thais mihi?* This appears to be a repetition of a preceding infin. which Gnatho had used just before the speakers came upon the stage. Heaut. 94 is a repetition in infin.

With *ne*, Pl. 12, Ter. 28.
Without *ne*, Pl. 6, Ter. 18.

The use of the infin. in exclamations calls for no comment, but it may be noted that the greater number of these exclamations are associated with special words, *adeo*, *ita*, *sic*, *hic* and other demonstratives and the negative. This points to a close relationship to the forms given under I. B. Also, while *ne* is more often used than omitted, there is no form of question, except that with *non*, which has not a moderately close parallel without *ne*.

VI.—*An* AND DISJUNCTIVE QUESTIONS.[1]

The received doctrine concerning *an* is thus summarized by Schmalz, Syntax, p. 299: "Unstreitig die wichtigste Fragepartikel ist *an*; im vollständig ausgesprochenen disjunktiven Fragesatze leitet es, wie wir gesehen, den zweiten Teil der Frage ein. Aber wie wir nicht in vollständigen Syllogismen sprechen, sondern eine oder die andere Prämisse unterdrücken, so genügt oft auch—wie oben bei *utrum* bemerkt—ein Teil der disjunktiven Frage, in der Regel der zweite. Und so steht *an* scheinbar in einer einfachen Frage. Dieser Gebrauch findet sich schon bei den Komikern, hat aber seine höchste Ausbildung in der Sprache Ciceros erreicht."

For reasons which will be given later, and especially because a prejudgment of the case may be thus avoided, I shall give first the simple questions with *an*, those which are commonly regarded as the second part of an incomplete disjunctive question, and afterward the complete questions with *utrum—an*. The connection between *an* and ἄν, and the derivation of both from a pronomi-

[1] It was not until after the following pages were in the hands of the Editor of this Journal that I obtained the dissertation of P. Hinze, de *an* partic. ap. prisc. script. Lat. vi et usu, Halle, 1887, also as program, Brandenburg, 1887. Hinze classifies the examples according to the presence or absence of *eho*, *autem*, etc., and includes the indirect questions, thereby adding considerably to the weight of the argument. But in the main his classification and results anticipate what is given here. I have left my own work as it was written, with the addition of a note or two, partly for the sake of completeness, partly in the hope of reaching a different circle of readers.

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nal stem *an*, "that" or "the other, the second," seems to be generally accepted, and, in accordance with this etymology and with the actual usage in Latin, the relation between the *an*-question and the preceding sentence is made the basis of the classification.

(*a*). The question with *an* is at the beginning of a speech and refers back to what has been said by the previous speaker.

In these cases the leading verb of the preceding sentence is never repeated without change in the *an*-question. (For Bacch. 1162 see below.) If the idea of the leading verb is repeated, it is always with some change of phrase, and this change seems to be intentional and to be essential in a question with *an*. Generally, however, the idea which is taken up and questioned is a subordinate one in the preceding sentence.

The idea of the main verb is repeated with change of phrase in Mil. 822, *sorbet dormiens . . . || quid 'sorbet'? || illud stertit volui dicere . . . || eho, an dormit Sceledrus intus?* Most. 454, *paene confregi . . . foris. || eho, an tu tetigisti has aedis?*

In most cases some secondary idea is questioned. Asin. 837, *credam . . ., si te hilarum videro. || an tu me tristem putas?* Mil. 419, . . . *si quidem east. || an dubium id tibist eam esse hanc?* Ps. 309, *te vivom vellem. || eho, an iam mortuost?*

The other cases, differing in no essential particular from these, are Amph. 745, 773, 964, Bacch. 120, 143, 200, Epid. 506, Merc. 393, Mil. 840, Most. 1083, Pers. 855, Poen. 334, 991, 1067, 1136, 1227, Ps. 314, 851, 853, 872, 1161, 1172, Rud. 578 (1274 given below), St. 34, 246, Trin. 371, 637, 934, 942, 943, Truc. 141, 165, Ad. 128, 389, 672, And. 500, 784 [possibly *ain tu haec omnia?*], Eun. 382, 604, 679, 733, Heaut. 81, 911, 990, 1057, Ph. 235, 259, 626, 902, 1009.

Also *an quid*, Asin. 717, Merc. 145, Ps. 29, Ad. 468, *an quippiam*, Cas. III 5, 38. In Trin. 1018 ff., because of the long intervening clauses, a question beginning with *an* is renewed with *eosne*.

The following are semi-indirect, i. e. they depend upon or contain *dic*, *opsecro*, *quaeso*: Asin. 894, Cist. I 1, 70, II 3, 22, Merc. 145, 538, Most. 519, Poen. 475, Ps. 29, Rud. 351, Trin. 986, Eun. 963.

With *non*, Bacch. 121, *an deus est ullus Suavisaviatio? || an non putasti esse umquam?* Mil. 301, Poen. 490, Ps. 969, Ad. 136, And. 766, 781, 807, Eun. 959, Hec. 100. In Poen. 490 *non* is separated from *an*, and there is no resemblance in any of the

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passages from Pl. to *an non* in the second half of a disjunctive question; in the more numerous Ter. passages the verb is sometimes repeated and the questions are like the common *an non* use.

All the conditions of the use of *an* are satisfied in Most. 178 (MSS omit), Poen. 533 (MSS *at, ad*); in Mil. 217 the text is confused and *an* is unlikely; in Trin. 922 Spengel's emendation (v. Bx.[3]) is at least as good as anything. In Ps. 472 I should retain *iam* of the MSS, but *an* (Lor.) would give an excellent sense. *An* is especially liable to confusion with *ain?* both in form and in use. The distinction is this, that *ain?* introduces a repetition, generally an exact repetition, while *an* introduces an interpretation with changed phraseology. The two cases in which the reading of the MSS is opposed to this rule are Bacch. 1162, *quid multa? ego amo.* || *an amas?* where I should read *ain? amas?* and Asin. 812, *ain tu?* which Uss., Langen, Beitr. 199, change to *an.* In Aul. 538, *edi sermonem tuom.* || *an audivisti?* Goetz follows Gruter and Bentley in changing to *ain? audivisti?* I should follow the MSS, with hiatus in the change of speakers, because of the change from a more involved to a plainer phrase; cf. esp. Mil. 822 and St. 246, *eho, an audivisti?*

At the beginning of a speech, Pl. 58 [61], Ter. 25.

Looking at these questions by themselves, without reference to the complete disjunctive sentence, the sequence of thought is this: one speaker implies, in the course of what he says, an opinion which excites the surprise or incredulity of the other, who in the *an* sentence questions the correctness of the suggested opinion. This he may do in such a way as to imply that he himself was mistaken, or that the other speaker was mistaken, or he may leave the matter entirely in doubt. In Most. 519, *an quaeso tu appellaveras? ita me di amabunt, mortuom illum credidi expostulare,* Tranio at first pretends to believe that the ghost had called him (*heus, Tranio,* 515), but when Theopropides says *quicum istaec loquere?* he is convinced of his error. So Amph. 964, *me . . . dixisse per iocum.* || *an id ioco dixisti? equidem hercle serio ac vero ratus.* In Poen. 334, . . . *ut Venerem propitiem.* || *eho, an iratast? propitia herclest,* in Trin. 371, 637, and elsewhere, the speaker implies that the idea taken up in the *an*-question was mistaken. But in the great majority of the cases the question with *an* expresses no opinion, but only asks for confirmation and direct assertion of that which has been indirectly implied.

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If now we hold to the common doctrine that *an* by its nature always expresses an alternative, it must be acknowledged that in many of these cases it is not difficult to supply a first member like "have I understood you rightly?" "is that the case or . . .?" Perhaps there is no case in which some form of first member could not be thought out which would at once suit the context and be an antithesis to the *an*-question. But, on the other hand, there is hardly a single one of these questions which naturally and easily suggests a complete disjunctive question; there is in most cases something forced and artificial in the ellipsis, and in some cases, e. g. Ps. 1161, 1172, Mil. 822, 840, Trin. 934, 942, 943, Eun. 733, the awkwardness and artificiality are very clear. The full force of this can be felt only by making an examination of all the cases in the foregoing list. From such an examination, which I have no space to give here in detail, it is clear to me, in the first place, that it would be equally easy to supply a first member for all the questions having *ne* appended to the verb, and, in the second place, that it would be easier to supply a second member to the *an*-questions than to supply a first member, if it were not for the feeling, which comes from the classical Latin, that *an* must necessarily mean "or." In other words, it is logic, not language, which requires the completion of every *an*-question, and the disjunctive question thus formed is simply the logically complete question into which any kind of sentence question may be expanded.

(*b*). The question with *an*, though not at the beginning of the speech, refers back to the words of the other speaker and the intervening sentence is parenthetic.

The interposed sentence may be a mere remark. Poen. 1194, *sicut nos . . . praestitimus pulcritudine.* || *stulta . . . es. an tu eo pulcra videre, opsecro, si . . .?* So Capt. 680, Hec. 878, Trin. 954. Or a question may come between. Hec. 671, . . . *ego alam?* || *quid dixti? eho, an non alemus, Parmeno?* So with *quid ais?* Hec. 346, with some form of repetition Aul. 82, Ad. 661, Eun. 857, Hec. 209. Ps. 305 belongs in this general class, whether we read *credere autem?* or with Bugge, Langen, p. 315, *aude*. In Trin. 954 ff. the question with *an* refers either to the preceding speech or to the interposed words, and, in general, the clause is not wholly parenthetic, but is rather a preparation for the *an*-question. This usage therefore forms a kind of connecting link between the preceding class (*a*) and those which follow.

Pl. 5, Ter. 6.

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(*c*). The question with *an* refers to something which the speaker has himself said. Under this head fall all the remaining questions with *an*, both complete and incomplete, and in order to trace their connection with each other I have subdivided them according to the form of the preceding sentence.

(1). The preceding sentence is declarative. Amph. 1027, *paene ecfregisti . . . cardines. an foris censebas nobis publicitus praeberier?* Amph. 688, Asin. 528, Capt. 257, Men. 962, Most. 334 (the arrangement of speakers is not certain), 596, Poen. 265, St. 294, Truc. 88, And. 621, Hec. 215, Ph. 279 (the intervening speech is an aside), 1024. Pl. 10, Ter. 4.

These occur mostly in the midst of a long speech. They do not express an antithesis or an alternative to what precedes, but rather a possible interpretation of it which suddenly arises in the mind of the speaker and causes him to change his previous opinion, to look upon the matter from a new point of view. So in Men. 962, Menaechmus hardly knows whether he is in his senses or not, and is thinking over the reasons for hoping that he is sane, when suddenly a new explanation of the strange events occurs to him: *an illi, perperam insanire qui aiunt me, ipsi insaniunt?* The awkwardness of supplying a clause with *utrum* is even greater here than in the cases given above, though it is perhaps not possible to exclude the hypothesis of an ellipsis altogether.

(2). A *quis*-question precedes the sentence with *an*. Amph. 661, *quid ille revortitur . . .? an ille me temptat sciens, . . .?* Most. 7, *quid tibi . . . clamitatiost? an ruri censes te esse?* Eun. 907, *quamobrem? an quia pudet?* Amph. 457, Asin. 524, Bacch. 676, Capt. 629, Cist. IV 1, 17, Men. 231, 496, 722, Most. 35, Ps. 92, Rud. 111, And. 888, Eun. 1017, Heaut. 334, 543, Hec. 293, 356, 436, 784, Ph. 602. Without verb, Most. 489, St. 549, 552. In Rud. 1274 the speaker pays no attention to the meaningless answer *censeo*. Pl. 17, Ter. 10.

In all these cases the sequence of thought is the same. In the *quis*-question the speaker asks in the most general way about some preceding act; then his mind, reviewing all possible answers, suddenly settles upon one as most probable or most interesting, and he inquires about it in the *an*-sentence. So in Amph. 661 the ideas come up in this way: "He has returned. Why? Which of all possible reasons has caused his return? To try me! Is that it? Is he trying to find out how I bear his absence?" These questions therefore resemble those already given in expressing

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the sudden turning of the mind to some new thought. It is possible to supply a first clause, but the sequence of thought indicated above, one of every-day occurrence, is complete enough in itself.

(3). A question with *num* precedes. The only cases are Poen. 1315, Ph. 412, and by conjecture Merc. 981; cf. Madvig, Opusc. Acad. II, p. 230 ff., Kühner, II, p. 1017. As Kühner holds that *num* always expects a negative answer, his remarks do not apply to Poen. 1315. The small number of cases is due to the fact that *num* frequently calls attention to an evident fact about which there could be no further question. Pl. 1 [2], Ter. 1.

(4). A question with *ne* or without a particle precedes the *an*-question. (The illustrations given here will be included in the full list at the end of this division.)

(*i*). In some cases the preceding question is subordinate and *an* refers back over it, as in the cases under *b*. Ad. 337, . . . *narremus quoipiam?* || *au, au, mi homo, sanun es? an hoc proferendum tibi videtur usquam?* So Aul. 424, Mil. 499.

(*ii*). In certain passages the question with *an* is, if reduced to its essential idea, nothing more than a repetition in different form of the preceding question. Asin. 504, *nequeon ego ted interdictis facere mansuetem meis? an ita tu's animata ut qui expers matris imperio sies?* These two questions amount to the same thing in the end, but the variation of phrase, the emphasis laid in the one case upon the mother's power, in the other upon the daughter's disposition, introduce a kind of adversative or disjunctive idea; cf. also Poen. 1315, Asin. 509, Eun. 47, 1013, Heaut. 505, Hec. 663, Ad. 782, Ph. 415, the last coming nearest to a complete disjunctive question.

Complete Disjunctive Questions.

Although we pass at this point across the line which is commonly held to separate the complete disjunctive question from the so-called incomplete form with *an*, the distinction is so slight that the preceding classification is continued.

(*iii*). The question with *an* is almost a perfect antithesis to the previous question, but has a different verb.

Mil. 1424, *verberone etiam an iam mittis?* The perfect disjunctive would be *an non verbero?* and the question *an iam mittis?* is not *the* alternative, but the suggestion of a new third possibility which occurs to the slave as he speaks. As in Most.

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7, *quid tibi . . . clamitatiost? an ruri censes te esse?* the question with *an* selects one of the possibilities of the *quid*-question, so here *an* selects for expression, not the perfect alternative, but merely a kind of second thought. So Ad. 336, Men. 319, Bacch. 1168, Curc. 589, Merc. 902. In Trin. 468 ff. the antithesis is almost perfect.

(*iv*). Even where the verb is the same for both clauses the disjunctive idea is sometimes only partially complete. Mil. 783, *ingenuamne an libertinam?* does not include the possibility of a slave; cf. Mil. 965 and 966.

(*v*). The use of *an—an* must also be regarded as a survival of the independent *an*-question; cf. Draeg. I 347. Ps. 1247, *pedes, statin an non? an id voltis, ut me hinc iacentem aliquis tollat?* shows clearly how, after the complete alternative of the first sentence, a third possibility, explanatory of the *an non*, occurs to the speaker. Other cases are Amph. 690, Epid. 223, Eun. 386, 986, 1044 (*ne—an—an—an*). Cf. Aul. 730.

The illustrations thus far given show how indistinct is the line which separates the independent *an*-question, following another question, from what would properly be punctuated as a single disjunctive question. The next step is the perfect disjunctive with *an non*.

The passages in which *an* follows a question with *ne*, with *an*, or without a particle, whether punctuated as one sentence or as two, are as follows:

ne—an, Amph. 343, Asin. 504, 509, 687, Bacch. 31 (*anne*), Capt. 270, Cas. II 6, 53, Epid. 634, Men. 198, 319, Merc. 130, 150, 602, Mil. 499, 783, 961, 965, 1020, 1424, Ps. 610, Trin. 331, 332, 468 ff., Ad. 185, 336, 337, Eun. 1013, Heaut. 203, Hec. 663, Ph. 275, 415. Pl. 23, Ter. 8.

(—) — *an*, Aul. 424, Bacch. 162, 1168, Capt. 334, Curc. 589, Merc. 902, Men. 915, Rud. 853, Trin. 349, Ad. 782, Eun. 47, Heaut. 505. Pl. 9, Ter. 3.

ne — an non, Aul. 643, 660, Capt. 74, 846, Curc. 566, Epid. 538, Mil. 416, 449, Pers. 533, Ps. 254, 616, 1246, Rud. 1399, Trin. 1071, Truc. 4, 755, 825, And. 186, 201, Heaut. 405, Ph. 852. Pl. 16, Ter. 4.

These have impv. force in 2d sing. pres. except Aul. 643 and Ps. 616. The rest are mostly *estne*.

(—) — *an non*, Mil. 787, Pers. 378, St. 264, Trin. 983, And. 762, Eun. 546, 968, Heaut. 595, Ph. 147. Pl. 4, Ter. 5.

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an — *an*, Amph. 690, Epid. 223, Ps. 1247, Eun. 386, 986, 1044 ff. Pl. 3, Ter. 3.

The other forms of the complete disjunctive occur as follows:

ne — *necne*, Capt. 713.

utrum — *ne* — *an*, Bacch. 75, Men. 1119, Ps. 709, Rud. 104, St. 118, 703, Ad. 382, Eun. 721. Pl. 5, Ter. 2.

utrum — *an*, Amph. prol. 56 (cf. Mil. 787), Cas. II 4, 10, Cist. 247 Uss. (Frag. 23, Ben.) III 10, Pers. 341, Ps. 878, Rud. 780, Trin. 175. Pl. 8.

On *anne* see Draeg. I 351, Kühn. II 1016.[1] It is found Bacch. 31, Cist. II 1, 42, Rud. 1140, 1275, Truc. 666, And. 851. Truc. 695 should be *iamne*. These are of course independent uses of *an*. Pl. 3, Ter. 1.

In the following *an* has been added by conjecture: Cas. III 5, 53, Curc. 129, Poen. 1130, Rud. 233, St. 330, Truc. 135, 723. Found in the MSS, but omitted for metrical reasons, Pers. 483, Ph. 737. Truc. 272 is somewhat doubtful, but has *an* in an independent question. In Trin. 922 I have followed Speng. Bx. Ps. 124 is confused in the MSS, but *utrum oculum anne aurem?* (Bx. Lor.) is probably correct.

This classification of *an* and disjunctive questions is not given with the belief that it corresponds in detail to the order of development, but it is meant to illustrate in a general way the fact that the independent *an*-sentence preceded the complete disjunctive question.

1. In language simplicity comes before complexity. The proofs of this are multiplying in all fields of philology, and it is *a priori* extremely improbable that the disjunctive question arose at once in complete form. To reverse the order and derive the simple question from the compound is to confuse language with logic.

2. While in classical Latin the complete disjunctive question is more common (so, at least, Draeger appears to state) than *an* alone, especially in the forms with *utrum*, in Pl. and Ter. the proportion is reversed. In simple sentences *an* is used about 150 times, in compound sentences without *utrum* about 70 times, with *utrum* 15 or 16 times. This proportion is explicable only on the hypothesis that the *utrum* — *an* form was either a new type in

[1] Hinze regards *anne* as the original form. The connection with ἀν and Gothic *an* is, I think, a fatal objection to this view. I take *an-ne* to be a further illustration of the extension of *ne* to sentences where it was not strictly necessary.

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the time of Pl. and Ter. or was just dying out. Its later history contradicts the second alternative, since it can hardly be held that the dialogue nature of comedy, favorable as it is to ellipses, can account for a disproportion so great.

3. The difficulty of framing a first member to fill the supposed ellipsis has been already pointed out, and with any one who will make the actual test it will have great weight.

The history of the *an*-sentence I suppose to have been something like this: From its pronominal origin *an* must have derived a strong demonstrative force, whether it meant simply "that" or "the other, the second," and this demonstrative emphasis fitted it for use in questions which began with the sudden perception, either in the speaker's own mind or in the words of another, of some new and interesting suggestion. So *an* selects a single point in the stream of thought—"that! do you mean *that?*" —for emphatic comment or question. Therefore when *an* followed a *quis*-question it contrasted some single possibility with all the others, when it followed a question with *ne* it contrasted some second possibility with the first, and so passed from emphasis to antithesis and to alternation, and finally to the forms in which the verb would be the same in both members and to the perfect disjunctive with *an non*.

To the double question thus formed by mere juxtaposition, as the indirect question was formed out of the direct, and all hypotactic forms out of paratactic, *utrum* was prefixed as a clearer expression of the alternative; cf. the introductory *quid?* As Draeger remarks, I 346, *utrum* retains much of its original pronominal force, e. g. in Men. 1119, *uter eratis, tun an ille, maior?* Bacch. 75, *simulato me amare.* || *utrum ego istuc iocon adsimulem an serio?*

With the growth of logical habits of thought and expression the use of the complete disjunctive question became more general, and it is quite likely that the analogy of the independent *an*-sentence, which was never entirely suppressed, may have led to the use of *an*-questions, especially in rhetorical styles, e. g. in Cicero, with a partially felt ellipsis of a first member; cf. the statistics for Persius and Ovid given by Dr. Morris H. Morgan, Class. Rev., Feb. 1889 (III 1), p. 10. Persius has 5 cases of complete disjunctive question, 2 in which the first member is "easily supplied" and 7 independent; Ovid has 35 complete, 24 with first member "omitted but easily supplied," 21 independent. Dr. Morgan has

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kindly sent me the references for these, and the cases in which a first member is supplied from the context seem to me to be of a kind not found in Pl. and Ter. I should say the same of the rhetorical uses so fully studied in Seyffert's Scholae Latinae.

Imperative Questions.

Questions having something of the force of a command have been noted as they occurred in the foregoing lists. They are *abin*, *accipin*, *audin* when it refers to what is about to be said, *dan datin*, *dicisne*, *fugin*, *in* (*isne*), *iuben* with infin., *manen*, *praeben*, *properatin*, *recedin*, *reddin* (text not sure), *viden ut* (not distinct), *daturne* (text improbable), *ibin* (text?), *eximesne* (MSS *eximes*), fut. ptc. with *esse* except Eun. 462, *etiamne* (five cases), *potin ut* or *potin* with subjunct., *ecquid agis*, *audis*, etc., *ecquis currit*, *aperit*, etc., *non taces*, *abis*, *respondes*, etc. (27 cases), *etiam taces*, *respondetis*, etc. (19 cases), possibly a few times with *iam*. In sentences without a particle having the verb late there is no impv. force, and there are no clear cases with the verb early (IV G.); *an* does not give impv. effect in any case, but in complete disjunctive questions with *an non* some of these forms recur, e. g. *abin an non?*

These fall into a few general classes, verbs with *ne*, *ecquis ecquid*, *non*, *potin ut*, *etiam(ne)*, and fut. ptcc., and it is at once apparent that these are so various as to exclude the hypothesis that the impv. effect is produced by any single word or single form of question. The only common element is the present tense (omitting the half dozen futures), and it seemed to me possible that the explanation might be found in a vaguely future use of the pres.; cf. *quid ago? eon?* and the 2d pers. fut. for the impv. in assertions. But upon this hypothesis the future itself should be frequently used with impv. force (cf. *quid ago?* with the much more frequent *quid agam?*), whereas it occurs only six or eight times. Also the 2d pers. fut. has impv. force because its use expresses a confident expectation, and this would correspond to the use of the 1st pers. in questions; cf. the uses of *iam*. It is easy to translate *abin?* "will you get out?" but the Engl. *will* simply confuses the precise sense of the Latin. I conclude, therefore, that the impv. questions cannot belong to the class of idioms which preserve a meaning originally inherent in a word or phrase, but must be explained as later deviations from the original and proper meanings of questions. In other words, they may be strictly called "questions

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used instead of commands," and it remains only to discover, if possible, the psychological motives which led to the use of the interrogative sentence in imperative functions.

In the majority of cases, especially with *ne*, the impv. use lies close to the *ne* = *nonne* usage, that is, it results from the employment of a formal question where only one answer is possible. Thus *abin*, addressed as it usually is by a superior to an inferior, is a hint so strong as to amount to a command; *accipin*, in immediate connection with *tene* and *accipe*, is like Engl. "Are you going to take this?" So the other verbs, *audin*, *dan*, *dicisne*, *fugin*, *praeben* and the rest, all refer to some act which was plainly not being performed, and about which the speaker could not ask for information: "Are you running away? are you giving me water?" The circumstances supplied the answer, so that there could not be any real interrogation; only the urgency remained and gave a partial impv. effect.

In a few cases certainly, perhaps in most, there is also an ironical tone, produced or expressed by asking a very formal question where the answer is obvious. So with *potin ut*, which almost always has a verb of passivity depending upon it, *quiescas*, *molestus ne sis*, etc., like the Engl. "Will you be so kind as to attend to your own business?"

With *non taces? non abis? etiam tu taces?* about 50 cases in all, there is no formal questioning; the sentences are exclamatory, and the impv. effect, which is not very strong, is only a slight extension of the exclamation. *non taces?* means "You don't keep still! (I am surprised; I had supposed you would)." *etiam tu taces?* means "Quiet at last! (I expected you to keep still long ago)."

While these questions may properly be said to be used "instead of the impv." and may in some cases seem to be really equivalent to it, they nevertheless retain a close connection with their original use. Thus *abin an non?* || *abeo*; thus *dicisne* is answered once by *dicam*, once by *dico*, *fugin* by *ego vero ac lubens*, *viden* by *video*, *potin ut* by *potest*, *non taces* by *non taceo*. These show conclusively that a sense of the interrogation was still left, as indeed must have been the case as long as *audin*, *viden* and others could still be used in a pure interrogation. On *ecquis hic est?* and *ecquis aperit?* used side by side (an especially instructive case) see III, near the end. On the other hand, of the verbs given above with *ne* having impv. force, *abin*, *accipin*, *dan*, *dicisne*, *fugin*, *in*,

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manen, *miltin*, *praeben*, *properatin*, *recedin*, *reddin* are never used without impv. force, in a pure interrogation. This is doubtless due partly to the meaning of the verbs, but it seems to me to indicate that, as they took on the impv. function, they tended to lose the interrogative function and to become fixed in the impv. sense. This is most distinct in *abin*, which became formulaic in curses.

On the History of the Interrogative Sentence.

The early history of the Latin interrogative sentence must of necessity rest largely upon inference, and the following sketch is not supposed to be a final statement, but is intended as a working hypothesis to be filled out at some future time.

It is a mistake to measure the interrogative sentence by the standard of the declarative. The earliest sentence was neither declarative, nor imperative, nor exclamatory, nor interrogative, but contained in itself the possibilities of all these, and could be all of them by turns. It had no normal order and no normal voice-inflection, but the earliest step toward differentiation must have been the association of certain successions of words and certain inflections with special meanings. So a sentence with the verb at the end and with unemotional inflection became associated with the simple declaration, and in the same way arose several forms of sentence varying in meaning from the exclamation to the comparatively unemotional question: *First*, a sentence like the declarative, but with emotional, perhaps rising, inflection, in which the voice expressed sufficiently the very slight interrogative-exclamatory character. *Second*, sentences in which some form of the pronoun stood first. These were considerably varied and included or were the source of many later forms of the interrogative sentence. Perhaps the most distinct were those in which the pronoun was the subject and had not begun to change at all into an adverb or particle. So *hic*, *ille*, *iste* and the personal pronouns *ego*, *tu*, which not only stood at the beginning, but by the very fact that they were expressed at all aided the exclamatory-interrogative character of the sentence. With these was used a sentence in which the indefinite (originally demonstrative) *quis* stood at the beginning.[1] Further, there were sentences in which words of pronominal stem

[1] It is of course possible to suppose that the interrogative function was developed in this word before the indefinite, but see Kvičala, Unters. auf dem Gebiete der Pron., p. 6 ff.; Paul, Princ.[2] p. 109.

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in the acc. or loc., perhaps already turned into adverbs, stood at the beginning. Among these (for some may have been lost) were *an*, a word of such strong demonstrative force that it had a contrasting effect, and *num* or *nunc*, of the same stem as *nam*. *Third*, the verb itself took the first place in the sentence under the influence of strongly marked interrogative inflection; this strong emphasis upon the most important word of the sentence doubtless marked the widest departure from the declarative and the nearest approach to the simple question.

Some of these forms, perhaps all, must have been very early. The last, with the verb at the beginning, appears in German, and, I am told, in Gothic also, but I have been unable to find out whether the Sanskrit has any such interrogative form, and must in any case leave to comparative philologists the question whether this was an original I. E. form of sentence. I should conjecture that it was.

At this stage there was no special form of question for the *nonne* sense, but as this sense is really very close to the neutral question it was expressed by the question with the verb early, e. g. *sum verus?* Cf. also the uses of *ecquid* above. Even for questions expecting a negative answer, though *num* was used early, the differentiation was so incomplete that this sense could be expressed by sentences which had the verb at the beginning (*credis*) or by *ecquid*.

From this second stage in the development of the interrogative sentence arose three particles, that is, of the words upon which the interrogative emphasis rested, three lost in large measure their proper meaning, and, by constant association with questions, seemed to be and therefore became mere signs of the interrogation, though retaining traces of their original use. Of these the most important was *an*, which, if not the earliest, was certainly very early, and was entirely independent in its development, that is, was not made interrogative by association with any other word, but by the fact of its having stood as a strong demonstrative at the head of the sentence. I cannot see that it makes any difference whether we say that the stem meant "that" or "the other, the second," since the latter meaning is nothing but a development of the strong contrasting demonstrative idea. The use of *an* in corrective and adversative questions and its later disjunctive force have already been discussed in detail.

The second particle which must be referred to this early stage

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is *num*. While acknowledging freely the obscurity which surrounds the origin and proper meaning of this word, I consider the connection with *nunc* more probable than that with *ne*, and suppose that the challenging use (cf. St. 297, *nunc ultro id deporiem?*) was the earlier, from which the neutral sense came by further loss of meaning. The later prevailing sense, expecting a negative answer, would then come from the challenging use, and the use in indirect questions would be descended from the neutral sense.

A third interrogative word, whose origin was apparently early, was *ec-* or *en*, associated always with the indefinites *quis* and *unquam*. Whatever may have been its original form, it was so largely used by Pl. that it can hardly have been a new word in his time, but it was a neutral word and came into competition with *ne*, so that even in Ter. its use had greatly decreased.

A third and very important step in the history of the interrogative sentence was the development of the particle *-nĕ*. From the locative *na-i* came three forms, *ne*, *nei*, *ni*, all containing already the negative idea, which came from the strong demonstrative idea ("*that*, not this"). For the negative see, among others, Ritschl, Opusc. II 622 ff., Ribbeck, Partik., 16 ff. While *ni* branched off with (negative) conditional sentences, *nē* became the earliest and most widely used negative, appearing in classical Latin in the conjunction, in *non*, etc. It did not originate a distinct form of question, but was introduced into a question already formed, the question in which the verb stood at the beginning. This was the most neutral kind of question, and every neutral question suggests a negation, is by its nature a wavering between affirmation and negation. Warren is wrong in the irony with which he says of Hand that he intrenches himself "behind the profound philosophical observation that every question implies doubt, and that all doubt borders upon negation, and that hence every question contains a negative element," p. 72; cf. Hand IV 71. No doubt Hand goes much too far in supposing that the negative was always felt in *-nĕ*, but the correctness of the general view that the interrogation and the negation are closely allied, psychologically, is placed beyond a doubt by Imme, II, p. 6 ff., and clearly recognized by Paul, p. 110. This negative element was more and more clearly felt, as the interrogative sentence swung away from the exclamation, until in the balanced, neutral question, with the verb at the beginning, it found expression in the negative word *ne*. Psychologically considered, such a question as *estne frater intus?* was almost the same thing as the later *est frater intus an non?*

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Having thus found a place in the neutral question, *ne* lost by the law of association its proper negative force and became a neutral interrogative particle. It was thus fitted for a wider use as the sign of a question than *an* or *num*, and extended its sphere from the sentence which began with a verb to all forms of question which had not already some mark of interrogation, even to those in which the interrogative tone was very slight. In this way are to be explained the various kinds of exclamatory sentence with *ne*, *tun is eras? nuncin demum? egon dicam? itan contemnor? eine ego ut advorser?* and the exclamatory infinitives *haecine te esse oblitum? mene efferre?* etc. This is also the reason why no certain line can be drawn between, e. g. *audisti* and *audistin*, between *est* and *estne*, *etiam* and *etiamne*. All these forms of sentence continued to exist alongside of the more distinct interrogation, and it was optional with the speaker in the time of Pl. to use the older form or to heighten somewhat the questioning tone of an exclamatory sentence by the use of *ne*. Yet this encroachment of the interrogation upon the exclamation was not unchecked, since of the 900 questions without a particle about nine-tenths are exclamatory. Finally, after *ne* became thoroughly neutralized, there was a further development of idioms out of the pure question, such as some of the uses of *ain*, *audin*, *viden*, *vin*, and especially the imperative questions, *abin*, *fugin*, etc.

The process by which *ne* became an interrogative particle is therefore essentially different from that which produced *an* and *num*. These were independent pronominal words which the interrogative-exclamatory inflection held at the beginning of the sentence, and which became interrogative when the sentence did; *ne* was introduced into an interrogative sentence that was already fully developed, as a fuller and, one might almost say, deliberate expression of the interrogation.

I am acquainted with only two sketches of the early history of *ne*. The first is by Probst, Beiträge zur Lateinischen Grammatik, II, pp. 135–6, given as an illustration of his general view that conjunctions get their meaning by association. After speaking of the forms *ne*, *nei*, *ni*, he says, "Wir verfolgen hier nur die Form 'ne' weiter. Diesem 'ne' assoziierte sich der Gedankeninhalt der Fragen, in denen es vorzugsweise verwendet wurde, d. h. es hatte bald *positiven*, bald *negativen* Sinn (Kühner, II, p. 1002). Beide Bedeutungen kamen dann auch offenbar durch Vermittlung der rhetorischen Fragen (d. s. Aussagen) in der *Aussage* zur Geltung.

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So ergaben sich von einem einheitlichen Stamme zwei der Bedeutung nach verschiedene 'ne,' die der Herkunft nach jedoch nicht von einander zu trennen sind (vgl. Deecke in Bursian's Jahresberichten XXVIII 226 [should be 216]). Das *positive* 'ne' (nae) tritt noch z. B. in Verbindung mit 'edepol' u. ähnl. auf; aber auch in dem Sinne von 'etiam, nempe, enim' (Priscian II 101) oder von 'ergo' (Serv. zur Aen.), vgl. Minton Warren in American Journal of Philology II 5, 32, s. 8, 1881 [II 5, pp. 50 ff.], findet es sich. Das *negative* 'ne' zeigt sich z. B. in 'neque, nec, non (neoenum), neve' u. s. f. als einfache Negation oder negative Konjunktion." Taken in connection with the whole drift of the argument I suppose this to mean that *ne, nei, ni* was originally neutral, that *ne* got both negative and affirmative meanings in and through its use in questions, that both meanings passed from questions into declarative uses, and that *nē* the negative and conjunction is thus descended from *-nĕ* the interrogative particle. Not to dwell upon some obvious difficulties—e. g., it does not account for the negative sense of *ni*—the theory is sufficiently condemned by the fact that it leaves the Latin language without any negative at all until after the interrogative sentence was fully developed. The fact, of course, is that the negative sense of *nē* arose long before the time when language began to be written down.[1]

The position taken by Professor Warren in the article referred to above is, on the other hand, perfectly clear, though it is merely suggested in the course of a paper devoted to other uses than the interrogative. He starts with the *egone si, hicine si* sentences, in which *ne* is apparently not interrogative. In this *ne* he sees the remnant of a supposed *nem*, an affirmative particle parallel to *nam* from the stem *na*, which passed over from declarative to interrogative sentences, especially exclamatory sentences like *egone ut, men* with the infin., etc. It did not come within the scope of Professor Warren's paper to fix precisely the limits of this use—"the interrogative use of the affirmative *nĕ*"—but the only form of question in which he clearly recognizes the negative *nē* is where *ne* seems to have the force of *nonne*. This theory has been accepted

[1] The third part of this essay (Leipzig, 1888) contains various remarks upon the interrogative sentence which I have not thought it worth while to refer to in detail. The history of *an*, pp. 238 ff., deserves mention for the confidence with which the author asserts that *an* was originally neutral in sense and was driven into a negative function (which it nowhere has) by the competition of *ne* and *nonne* (the latter of which did not come into existence till after the functions of *an* were fixed).

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in whole by Dahl, VT, p. 299, and as to the non-interrogative sentences by Ribbeck on Mil. Glor. 309, Brix on the same (310) and doubtless by others.[1]

I have tried to show above that the "*ne*=*nonne*" questions do not constitute a special class marked off by definite lines from other *ne*-questions; they indicate merely a use to which the neutral question was put, one of the idiomatic offshoots of the *ne*-question, like the impv. question. So *audin* "don't you hear?" *audin* "do you hear?" and *audin* "do you hear!" (impv.) are really one and the same phrase. If this is correct, then *nĕ* is no more negative in one *audin* than in the others; all contain the *ne* of negative origin, and the "*ne*=*nonne*" questions take their place with other idiomatic offshoots of the neutral question, from which they differ only by the fact that this sense is not strictly confined to *ne*-questions, and must therefore in part antedate the use of *ne*. My reasons for thinking that the *-nĕ* used in exclamations, *tun is eras? nuncin demum? men efferre . . .?* and the rest, is simply an extension of the interrogative use to partially interrogative sentences have been already given. In regard to all these forms of sentence Professor Warren seems to me to be following the scholiasts and grammarians too far. Their strength lies in statements of fact; in explanations they are weak. The statement of a grammarian that in a certain sentence he felt a shade of meaning which he expressed by *ergo* is to be received with respect; his explanation of this meaning as due to *ne* I look upon as a very natural error, especially if the same meaning appears in other sentences without *ne*. All the shades of meaning which Professor Warren illustrates by the *ne* : *ergo*, *ne* : *vero* glosses I should attribute to the order, the mood, the voice-inflection, more than to the single word *ne*; in short, this appears to me to be a case in which the sentence has influenced the meaning of the particle far more than the particle has influenced the sentence.

The question whether *ne* first entered the interrogative sentence through the "*ne*=*nonne*" question or through the neutral question

[1] Brix suggests another explanation, viz., that *-nĕ* in non-interrogative sentences may come from the affirmative *nĕ*, shortened and made enclitic. I venture to suggest a third hypothesis: as *nĕ* by association with neutral questions lost its negative force and became interrogative, so *-nĕ* by being used with an emphatic pronoun in exclamations was still further weakened into a particle of exclamatory emphasis, and could be used with *hicine*, *egone*, *tune* in sentences no longer interrogative. The word "affirmative" does not quite express the idea.

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is less important, since it must in either case have been extended at once to all sentences with the verb at the beginning. But if it began in the neutral question, it is easy to see how it lost its negative force, while in a question with the effect of *nonne* it would tend strongly to retain a distinct negative force. Further, a true *nonne*-question is a negative sentence turned into a question; it has a corresponding negative declarative sentence, *non audio, non dixi.* But *dixin* is a question into which a negative has entered, and corresponds to *dixi*, not to *non dixi.* The position, also, of *ne* after the verb seems to distinguish these sentences from the earliest form of the negative question, in which *non* comes at the beginning and the verb at the end.

The fourth step in the history of questions resulted in several minor forms of sentence, and in one which afterward had wide use. This was the *non, nonne* question. It has already been shown that the distinction between the negative exclamation and the negative question corresponds to a difference in the position of *non*, and that the question has *non* at the beginning and the verb at the end. As *non* retained its independence and its negative meaning, *ne* could not be used with it until *ne* had itself lost its negative sense. For this reason, as well as because the *non*-question was itself of late origin, *nonne* was just beginning in the time of Pl. and is infrequent in Ter. Later, when the logical forms of the literary language crushed out the free natural growths, *nonne* played a great part in the interrogative sentence.

Imme points out (II, pp. 21, 26) the considerable influence which words of precision (Fragewörter der Bestimmtheit) have upon questions. German examples are *jetzt, immer, noch, je*; the most evident case in Latin is *num*, but to this class I should assign *etiam*, especially with imperative force, and the few cases of *iam* mentioned above. Like the German *wirklich*, English *really, actually*, are the cases of *itane* in which *ita* has lost its standard of comparison; *satin* is even clearer, and is an excellent illustration on a small scale of the making of an interrogative particle. Of course these are not like *an*, since the interrogative force lay from the beginning in *ne*, but the gradual change of meaning from "enough" to "really, actually" shows that in sentences like *satin abiit? satin* was no longer felt as a compound, but had become little more than a particle.

In all these cases the same linguistic impulse is still at work that produced *an* and *num*; but in the time of Pl. this impulse

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spent its force, and from this time on no new particles were brought into use.

While the question had thus been developing various forms to express various shades of meaning, the exclamatory sentence had at no time ceased to be used, though it had, perhaps owing to its kinship with the declarative sentence, been less prolific in evolving special forms. We might perhaps regard some of the interjections as signs of the exclamation, and certainly *nempe*, *fortasse*, *videlicet*, *credo* performed at times the function of indicating a hesitating assertion. The sentence with *cesso* also maintained itself as an idiom without *ne*; possibly it is raised into unnatural prominence, as *videon* certainly is, by the recurrence of a particular dramatic situation. The examples of the exclamation will be found mostly under IV.

As the exclamation is akin to the repetition, it often suggests rejection or repudiation. In this way the pronominal questions under I. B, either with or without *ne*, retain much of the exclamatory force, because they take up for question some single idea already suggested. They pass over the main idea as correct, and settle down with all the force of contrast upon one thing, questioning that alone with a severity which suggests a doubt of its correctness.

All the forms of question thus far enumerated grew out of the exclamatory-declarative sentence; from the sentence of will there came a similar but much less extended development. The mark of this kind of sentence, so far as questions are concerned, is the subjunctive.

The deliberative question, addressed by the speaker to himself, corresponds to the indicative question with the verb at the beginning, and like that may have *ne*; it is a simple question in regard to the speaker's intention or ability, and the subjunctive retains so much of its future force as to be in single cases indistinguishable from a future.

A sentence which expresses a wish, an exhortation, a command, that is, the will of another person, is not in itself questioning, but exclamatory. I have already shown that the forms in the 1st pers., which are the only ones at all noteworthy, follow all but invariably an impv. or some other expression of willing, and are closely allied to repetitions. In fact *dic.* || *dicam?* is simply an exclamatory repetition with the necessary change of person, and, except for the mood, exactly like *dixisti.* || *dixi?* That is, the

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repudiation is due to the exclamatory repetition; all that the mood does is to direct the repudiation upon the will. The simplest form, e. g., *abi.* || *abeam?* is found, but this is more frequently, and with *ne* invariably, used for deliberative questions. In repudiation it is almost instinctive to add an interrogative or a pronoun or both, as in English, though it is possible to express this idea in a single word with peculiar circumflex accent ("speak! || spêak?"), it is more natural to add some further words. All the interrogatives may be used, as with the indic. Compare Aul. 652, *certe habes.* || *habeo ego? quid habeo?* with Bacch. 406, *sequere.* || *quo sequar?* Bacch. 630, *habe bonum animum.* || *unde habeam?* Eun. 610, *muta vestem.* || *ubi mutem?* There is no real difference between *quo, ubi, unde* in these sentences, and *ut* in Amph. 694, *te ut deludam contra . . .?* But the form with *ut* alone is not frequent; generally the pronoun is added to *dicam* or *ut dicam*, either alone or with *ne*. Cf. *egon* with the indic. And as in English these sentences are expressed by a circumflex accent upon both words, so in Latin the ordinary position of *egon* before *ut* shows that it was not fully incorporated into the sentence. When *ne* is used with these forms of exclamation, it expresses the nearest approach to a real question. For an unemotional questioning of the will of another person, a leading verb in the indic. must be introduced. So Aul. 634, *redde huc sis.* || *quid tibi* vis *reddam?* Most. 578, *gere modum . . .* || *quid tibi ego* vis *geram?* are to be regarded as extensions of *quid reddam, geram?* in the direction of unemotional questioning.

What is remarkable, therefore, in these much discussed questions ("die unwilligen oder missbilligenden Fragen") is the convergence upon them of two lines of influence, the mood, by which they express will, and the exclamatory repetition, which makes them repudiating.[1]

While it is plain that *ut* is interrogative in these questions and similar to *quid, unde, ubi*, there is in questions with *utine* the difficulty that this involves the use of *-ne* with an interrogative. This anomaly is rare and late, occurring only once (Trin. 1095) in Pl., and not at all in Ter. If the *utine* questions are put by the side

[1] Kraz, die sog. unwillige oder misbilligende Frage, Stuttgart, 1862; Müller, same title, Görlitz, 1875; cf. Schnoor, zum Gebrauch von *ut* bei Pl., Neumünster, 1885, p. 3. A discussion of the mood in these questions would be profitless until the subjunctive in declarative sentences in Pl. and Ter. has been more thoroughly studied.

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of *quaene*, *quodne*, *quiane* and other relatives, it will be seen that the kinship is hardly less close than that with *ut*, both in form (except for the mood) and in repudiating effect. The explanation I take to be this: The change from parataxis to hypotaxis is the result, not so much of the putting together of two complete sentences, as of the prefixing of an introductory verb to the clause which thus became subordinate. Thus *ne id accidat* was the original portion, and *timeo* was a prefixed introduction, an expression of the total intention of the clause; so *quid negoti est* (*sit*)*?* was an exclamatory repetition to which *rogas* was prefixed. This leading verb, the expression of a greater precision, struggled slowly up from unconsciousness to consciousness and expression, and there must have been a time with every construction which passed from parataxis to hypotaxis, when the idea of the leading verb was partially felt and could be expressed or omitted. Many illustrations of this may be found in Pl. and Ter., e. g., with *ain*, *audin*, *rogas*, and cf. *vis reddam*, above. At this point stood the *ut* questions, descended evidently and immediately from *ut* interrogative, but with a faint consciousness that greater precision required an introductory verb, and therefore just on the point of changing from *ut* interrogative to *ut* relative. This is the reason why these clauses with *utine* so closely resemble *quodne*, *quiane*, *quamne*, and also the reason why Pl., to whom *ne* after an interrogative was strange, could use *ne* with *ut*. Only half the truth is expressed by classing *utine* questions with relatives, as I have done, or by calling *ut* the Interrogativum-rhetoricum (Probst, p. 150); it partakes of the nature of both.

The differences between Pl. and Ter are not as great as might be expected. The slighter differences, such as may often be found between two authors of the same period, have been noted as they came up, e. g., the greater frequency in Ter. of the 1st pers. pres. except *sum*, of *ain? pergin*, *itane*, etc. Two points only deserve special mention. In the first place, Ter. uses the exclamatory forms more frequently than Pl. So of repetitions of all kinds, including *rogas*, *rogitas*, he has almost as many cases in six plays as Pl. has in twenty, showing especial fondness for single verbs like *tenes? nostin?* etc., as well as for the infin. In the second place, Ter. employs with *ne* a much greater variety of questions than Pl., e. g., a greater number of verbs in the 1st pers. pres., more verbs in unusual tenses, a much greater variety of adjectives and nouns, more pronouns in other cases than the nominative.

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These two tendencies indicate a widening distance between the exclamation and the question, which had been originally one. The exclamatory effect was going out of the question, and therefore Ter. used distinctively exclamatory forms where Pl. would have felt a sufficient exclamatory force in the question. And, on the other hand, the question was becoming stereotyped, and the questioning force seemed more and more to reside in the particles, especially in *ne*, so that the particle could carry interrogative effect into any form of sentence. The reign of the particle was beginning. This I suppose to be the ordinary course of evolution; the tendencies to variation become fixed in species, and the intermediate forms, the connecting links, drop out of existence.

Questions Considered with Reference to their Functions.

The principle seems to be generally adopted in our manuals of Latin grammar that language is best presented to the student from the psychological side. Therefore we have conditional clauses, final clauses, even concessive clauses, rather than *si* clauses, *ut* clauses, *qui* clauses. Carrying this idea over into interrogative sentences, it has been the custom to divide them into questions for information, questions expecting a negative answer, and questions expecting an affirmative answer. This three-fold division has doubtless had some support from its general coincidence with the particles *ne*, *num*, and *nonne*, and it has also, unfortunately, reacted upon our conception of the meaning and uses of these particles, narrowing them too strictly within logical limits.

As a partial corrective of this too mechanical classification I have thought it worth while to call attention to the two excellent programs by Th. Imme, Die Fragesätze nach psychologischen Gesichtspunkten eingeteilt und erläutert, Cap. I–III, Cleve, 1879, Cap. IV–VI, 1881. In the first is given a general study of the interrogation with a discussion of the pronominal questions (Bestimmungsfragen). In the second the author classifies the varieties of sentence-question (Bestätigungsfragen), using for illustration mainly German, Greek and English examples. I give here a brief outline of the second program with illustrations from Pl. and Ter.[1]

[1] Aside from their special object these programs are worth reading as illustrating the definite and valuable results which may be obtained from the combination of psychology and philology.

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Questions differ according to the proportions in which they contain two distinct lines of thought. In the first place, when the mind conceives an idea imperfectly or dimly, or when an idea once clearly grasped is rendered uncertain by the presentation to the mind of a new idea inconsistent with the first, then the effort to attain to clearness and certainty takes the form of a question, especially if there be another person present. In the second place, there may co-exist in the mind at the same time with the uncertainty a somewhat distinct opinion in regard to the matter which is the subject of the question. According to the proportions in which these two elements are present Imme makes five grades of sentence-question.

1. Questions of awakened interest (or der aufstrebenden Erkenntniss), in which only the first element is present. These are the pure questions, questions for information, in regard to matters about which the speaker could not have any opinion. They are very rare in 1st pers., and not frequent in 2d pers. All forms of *stipulatio, habeon rem pactam? sponden, dabin*, come in this class, and such forms as *ain, audin, viden, scin, vin*, with direct object; also *cognoscin, esne, haben, ludin, valen.* Almost all 3d persons are of this kind, *est(ne) frater domi?* either with or without *ne*, and most cases of nouns, adjectives and adverbs with *ne.* So also many cases of *num, numquis adest? numquid de Dacis audisti?* (Hor.) and some few cases of *an* approach this sense.

2. Questions of doubt (Zweifelfragen) are not the dubitative or deliberative questions with the subjunctive, but questions where the speaker's previous opinion has been shaken by some sudden thought, so that he is thrown from certainty into doubt. Cases in which no trace of the previous opinion appears are infrequent; generally it shows itself in a leaning in one direction or the other, and according as the previous opinion was negative or affirmative, the question will lean toward the affirmative or the negative. From this result the two kinds of doubt-questions, those which expect an affirmative and those which expect a negative answer, or, as Imme calls them, yes-questions and no-questions. Examples of yes-questions, which should regularly contain a negative word, are cases of *non* at the beginning of the sentence with the verb at the end, *nonne, ne* with the effect of *nonne*, and the few cases without a particle which have *nonne* force. Imme's distinction between *non* and *nonne* is incorrect for Pl. and Ter. These are

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all rather clearly marked, because the previous opinion, being negative, was distinguished by some clearly negative word. But there is no single word to express affirmation, and no-questions are therefore expressed in a great variety of ways. Words which express actuality or existence may mark a strong affirmation, and therefore in a question may indicate a leaning toward negation. Such are *itane vero*, *satin* in some meanings, verbs of thinking and believing like *credin*, *censen*, words expressing a moral or aesthetic standard like *sanun*, *duasne uxores habet*, *rufamne illam virginem* (Heaut. 1061), etc. Words of restriction or definition are still more frequent; *num*, *iam* and *etiam* in some cases, perhaps *adeon* and other demonstrative words, though these pass over into more distinct rejection. Even the circumstances, without the help of any one word, may so restrict the possible answers as to leave only a negative answer open, e. g. *repeton quem dedi?* Out of all these ways of expressing doubt of an affirmative opinion only *num* clearly assumed the function of an interrogative particle, though *etiam* came very near doing so.

3. Questions of certainty. In these the second element, the opinion previously held, becomes still more prominent, and only so much of the question is left as expresses a wish for assent from the person addressed. Special forms of this are questions with *nempe*, *videlicet*, *fortasse*, *credo*, and other illustrations may be found among questions without a particle having the verb at the end (IV. H.) Imme compares οὐκοῦν. When the assent is doubtful, this kind of question may be highly emotional, and many kinds of exclamation and repetition lie in the borderland between this class and the next, and may be used in either way.

4. Questions of repudiation or rejection, in which the previous opinion is so strong that the question is asked only to be at once repudiated or rejected. Here belong most forms of question with demonstrative or personal pronouns, many cases with *an*, and many repetitions, exclamations and supplementary questions. For the most part the questioning effect is so slightly felt that *ne* is not used with them.

Imme makes also a separate division for pedagogic questions, but with these Plautus was happily unacquainted.

5. Rhetorical questions. In these the question has sunk away to a mere form; in the mind of the speaker there is no question, nor does he suppose that there will be any question in the mind of the hearer, but he uses the question form only to express with

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greater vividness the thought which instantly rises, as an answer, in the mind of the hearer. The only rhetorical questions at all frequent in the comedy are the imperative questions and the closely allied uses of *scin*, *viden*, *vin* as introductions to the main thought. Imme seems to me to go much too far in attempting to draw sharp distinctions between rhetorical questions and questions used rhetorically.

The rhetorical question should be distinguished as to origin from the emotional or exclamatory question; the exclamation is one of the oldest varieties of question, in a sense the source of all other forms, while the rhetorical question is a late offshoot from the fully developed question through degeneration and loss of meaning.

This outline of Imme's program may serve to illustrate the difficulties of a classification of questions according to function. All such classification introduces the delicate problem of determining just how much of its original sense may be still felt in a phrase which has been long in use. At the same time it shows the great variety of uses to which a single form of question may be put, and the large extension of usage which has taken place in regard to some kinds of interrogative sentence. The question having the verb with *ne*, for example, is found in all five classes, and even in both subdivisions of doubt-questions, and of the forms in general use in the time of Plautus hardly one is confined to a single function. Especially in no-questions the great variety of shadings in interrogative sentences is well illustrated (Imme treats this at great length), and the extreme difficulty of fixing the meaning of the sentence upon a single word is very apparent.

E. P. Morris.

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III.—ΣΧΗΜΑ ΠΙΝΔΑΡΙΚΟΝ.

The present investigation is thought to be necessary, owing to the unscientific treatment which the σχῆμα Πινδαρικὸν has received in many grammars and editions. The name has been used as a convenient label for more than 50 passages—examples of concord, regular and irregular, of various kinds. Whether it be a case of an old plural form of a verb mistaken for a singular, or an impersonal verb or singular copulative verb joined with a plural complement, or a change of construction to a simpler form, we get grammars old and new, and editions up to the last four years, using the name σχῆμα Πινδαρικὸν as if it were an explanation, and quoting as parallels cases that have been long cleared up or cases that show a totally distinct nature. In the following lists, for completeness, I have brought forward many passages which have been already properly explained, as well as many which have not, because scholars such as Sandys, Tyrrell, Campbell and Abbott have helped in recent years to perpetuate unscientific explanations. For example, the following bald comment is what is usually found in editions both German and English (from a recent Germ. edition of Aeschines in Ctesiph. §185): 'σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν: das Verbum geht in den meisten Fällen dem Subjekt voran.' This dictum will be seen to apply to no more than one-quarter of the examples usually grouped under this head. Again, the name should be given up when it is seen that *very* few of the examples cited are to be found in Pindar, and the passages cited from Pindar are found to be of very diverse character, admitting various explanations. But it is still more important that the phrases 'this idiom,' 'this syntactical figure,' should be no longer applied without discrimination to the various passages.

A convenient division of the passages treated is this: I. Those in which points of accidence have to be considered; and II. Those which turn on points of syntax.

I. The first set of examples which have long been quoted by grammars as containing a singular verb with a plural subject shows us what is nothing but an old plural verb-form—ἦν; v.

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Hesiod, Theog. 321, 825, 146; Simonides 165 [225]; Inscription of 475 B. C. on a Hermes, in Aeschines in Ctesiph. 185; Sophocles, Trach. 520; Eur. Ion 1146; Epicharmus 82, 52 (Ahrens 28) in Athenaeus VII 288b, Epicharmus 30, 31, 38, 49 in Athenaeus 307c; and Aristoph. Lysistr. 1260—a total of 13 examples, of which the last 7 are distinctly Doric Greek.

When Ahrens had shown in 1843 (II 326) that ἦν in some of the above examples was a 3d plural form, we should not have expected to find these passages quoted as often as they have been in support of supposed cases of the σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν to be considered later. ἦν is the natural contraction of the original Greek form ἦαν (Meyer) or ἔαν (Morph. Unters. IV, p. 293) from the I. E. e-s-g̑t, corresponding to the Skr. ásan, Boeotian παρ-εῖαν. The revived form ἦσαν does not occur in Hesiod (for Op. 111 is rejected on other grounds), Pindar and Theocritus; hence the only two examples of it in Homer are due to late rewriting of the lines Il. 3, 15 and Od. 1, 27. The rareness of ἔσαν (twice in Il., once in Od.) also leads us to conclude that the popular repetition of Homer, and to some extent of other poets, has weeded out the instances of ἦν for the 3d pers. plur. Possibly such a correction has taken place in such passages of Homer and Hesiod as Hes. Scut. Her. 246, where ἦν suits as well as ἔσαν.

In Hes. Theog. 146, an example hitherto unnoticed, we get rid of the difficulty of the *F* by reading ἦν ἐπὶ Fέργοις instead of ἦσαν ἐπ' ἔργοις, if the line be old.

In Soph. Trachin. 520 the simplest explanation is that Sophocles was consciously using an archaic or Doric form, perhaps partly for artistic reasons, for ἦν is twice used before and once afterwards at the beginning of each clause.

In Eur. Ion 1146, ἐνῆν δ' ὑφαντὰ γράμμασιν τοιαίδ' ὑφαί, we are compelled either to believe that Eur. like Sophocles chose to use what he knew to be an old plural form (for we cannot suppose him to have been ignorant of the use of ἦν in Doric or in Hesiod) or resort to the explanation that a first thought such as ἐνῆν δ' ὑφαντὰ γράμματα was changed and amplified, and that ἐνῆν was kept for metrical reasons.

In Lucian, Amores, p. 410, ἦν δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς ἄγαν παλινσκίοις ὑλαῖς ἵλαραὶ κλίσιαι τοῖς ἐνεστιᾶσθαι θέλουσιν, εἰς ἃ τῶν μὲν ἀστικῶν σπανίως ἐπεφοίτων τινές, not much doubt has been cast on the reading ἦν; all MSS have ἃ; the margin of one has ἅς. Unless this be considered a conscious imitation of previous authors on the part of either Lucian or his

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copyist, each of which hypotheses is difficult to believe, it must be a mere slip. In the former case such passages as those mentioned above, Hes. Theog. 321, 825, Soph. Trach. 520, would be the authorities for the usage of singular verb with a following plural noun. It seems impossible to look on *ἦν* = *ἦσαν* as a survival in popular speech through the *κοινὴ* times.

Analogous to the above in one respect are the foll. passages: Eur. Hipp. 1255: *αἰαῖ· κέκρανται συμφοραὶ νέων κακῶν.* Pind. Pyth. 9, 33 [57]: *φόβῳ δ' οὐ κεχείμανται φρένες.* Xen. R. Equ. 5, 5: *κέκλινται τρίχες.* Dem. 22, §66 and 24, §173 (p. 754): *πολλῶν ῥητόρων οἱ παρὰ τούτοισι κέκριναι.* In the first two passages emendations have been usually adopted in the face of complete agreement of the MSS. But is it not satisfactory to suppose that like the early grammarians and copyists, who have not varied the text in these cases, the authors used *κέκρανται* and *κεχείμανται* as third plural forms on the analogy of *λέλυνται, μέμνηνται*, etc.? It is probable that there were many such usages in early colloquial Greek. Another wrongly supposed singular verb-form is seen in (Hom.) Hymns, Ceres 280, *ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενήνοθεν ὤμους*, where no doubt the writer took the form as a plural from a similarity to such forms as *ἄνεθεν διέκριθεν ἀπέσσυθεν*; though an examination of the passages where *ἐπενήνοθεν* and *κατενήνοθεν* are used in Homer and Hesiod shows that none of them could be misread as having *-ενήνοθεν* as a plural form.

Aeschylus, Persae 49, is a case for restoration of original reading: *στεῦται δ' ἱεροῦ Τμώλου πελάται | ζύγον ἀμφιβαλεῖν δούλιον Ἑλλάδι.* Here *στεῦνται* was the original—most MSS give it—and the copyists, like the Schol., who calls it an example of the *σχ. Πινδ.*, changed it to *στεῦται*, knowing that only that 3d pers. sing. form is found in Homer. But such an extension of Homeric usage is perfectly natural to all post-Homeric writers. Paley says, 'in this case, as the metre equally admits *στεῦνται*, the singular could not have proceeded from an emendator.' Surely no emendation is more to be expected from pedantic copyists or grammarians.

Four passages with *πάρα* have been cited as examples: Eur. Med. 441: *σοὶ δ' οὔτε πατρὸς δόμοι . . . πάρα.* Aesch. Eumen. 31: *κεἰ πάρ' Ἑλλήνων τινές.* Ar. Ach. 862: *ὑμὲς δ' ὅσοι Θείβαθεν αὐλητὰι πάρα.* Ar. Ach. 1091: *αἱ πόρναι πάρα.* In these commentators have persistently denied that *πάρα* can represent *πάρεισι*, but why it cannot no one has yet explained. They must be all following some

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original who pointed out that πάρα with plural subjects is unusual, and then chose to call it impossible. Surely it was natural for Greeks to use it when required, as they used ἔνι for ἔνεισιν as well as for ἔνεστι; see Odyss. 21, 288, ἔνι τοι φρένες οὐδ' ἠβαιαί.

Archimedes, de Helic. Prop. XXIV, p. 244, l. 35 (ed. Torelli), καὶ ἀναγέγραπται ἀπὸ πασῶν ὁμοῖοι τομέες, can certainly not be classed as a conscious mannerism or imitation of previous authors. Is it not a Doric relic of an old 3d plur. form, corresponding to γεγραψάται on the Tab. Heracl. I, 121, perhaps coming in here from popular speech? It is noteworthy that 44 lines later we have καὶ ἀναγεγράφονται ἀπὸ πασᾶν ὁμοῖοι τομέες, where the original 3d plur. has been assimilated to the present tense 3d plur. formation; but our copyist's trustworthiness cannot be relied on.

Two more passages of Hesiod need a little explanation: Scut. 245: ἄνδρες δ', οἱ πρεσβῆες ἔσαν, γῆρας τε μέμαρπεν, has been cited as an example by some who have taken μέμαρπεν as singular for plural, and translate as Gaisford—'who had reached old age.' No parallel to such a sense of μάρπτω has been found. The phrase must have been modelled on Odyss. 24, 390, ἐπεὶ κατὰ γῆρας ἔμαρψεν, or a similar phrase, and the clause is an additional paratactic clause: 'and old age seized on them.' Those who take the reading μέμαρπον, which is not so good, can say in defence that the author modelled it on the line from the Odyssey above, which he misread as 'seized on old age.' In Hes. Theog. 790, ῥέει . . . Ὠκεανοῖο κέρας' . . . ἐννέα μεν . . . εἰλιγμένος εἰς ἅλα πίπτει, discarding Paley's 'simpler meaning,' we see that ἐννέα (μοῖραι) is in apposition to Ὠκεανός with which εἰλιγμένος agrees.

To Pindar are attributed 8 examples, in most of which the best authorities have changed the old reading, and other methods of clearing up the difficulty are possible. In Olymp. XI (X) 6 all MSS but one give:

μελιγάρυες ὕμνοι
ὑστέρων ἀρχαὶ λόγων
τέλλεται καὶ πιστὸν ὅρκιον μεγαλαῖς ἀρεταῖς.

A gives ἀρχὰ. Christ and Gildersleeve take the reading of A, 'and the example disappears.' It is not strange that ἀρχαὶ became the usual reading; a reciter or copyist would easily assimilate it to the neighboring plural ὕμνοι. Others who accept ἀρχαὶ have suggested that τέλλεται is due to the thought of the coming singular ὅρκιον. With either of these legitimate explanations the example is disposed of.

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In Pyth. X 71, ἐν δ' ἀγαθοῖσι κεῖται πατρώϊαι κεδναὶ πολίων κυβερνάσιες, for κεῖται, the authority of most MSS is accepted by the grammarians—down to Thompson, 1883, but rejected by Christ (1882) and Gildersleeve (1885), who read κεῖνται. It is certainly better to accept κεῖνται. Or, to suggest another explanation, is κεῖται a relic of the old plural κέαται or κείαται, both of which occur in Homer?

A fragment of Pindar, IV 3, 16 (45, 16), is supposed to contain two examples. The best reading to take is Christ's:

τότε βάλλεται, τότ' ἐπ' ἀμβρότων χθόν' ἐρατὰ
ἴων φόβαι ῥόδα τε κόμαισι μίγνυται,
ἀχεῖτ' ὀμφᾷ μελέων σὺν αὐλοῖς,
ἀχεῖτε Σεμέλαν ἑλικάμπυκα χοροί.

βάλλεται stands alone with its subject unexpressed, perhaps thought of as ἴα, and then the thought is amplified to ἴων φόβαι ῥόδα τε with a singular verb agreeing with its nearer subject ῥόδα, as is often found, v. Jebb on Soph. O. C. 7, 8. In 18, the return to the 2d person plural, ἀχεῖτε, is not unnatural for Pindar or Greek, and ἀχεῖτ' ὀμφᾷ is preferable to ἀχεῖται ὀμφαὶ; both ἀχεῖτε's satisfy the requirements of sense and rhythm; they have support from the reading of a Paris MS given by Schneidewin, οἰχνεῖτ' ὀμφᾷ.

Three more fragments of Pindar remain to be considered. In IV 6 (225) Christ reads:

κλῦθ' Ἀλαλά, πολέμου θύγατερ,
ἐγχέων προοίμιον, ᾇ θύεται
ἄνδρες ὕπερ πόλιος τὸν ἱρόθυτον θάνατον.

Kirchhoff reads αἰθύεται. With the former reading, we must suppose ἄνδρες corrupt, or else the composer used θύεται metri gratia. It is best, however, to punctuate after αἰθύεται, and take ἄνδρες as the subject to some verb in a subsequent line lost.

In 265 and 285 we find: ἰάχει βαρυφθεγκτᾶν ἀγέλαι λεόντων, and μελιρρόθων ἀνθέων ἔπεται πλόκαμοι. In the absence of the context we may be content to leave these lines in their obscurity; surely nothing ought to be built on such a poor basis as these two examples treasured up in the pages of an unscientific grammarian.

Finally, in Pindar, Pyth. IV 57, we have a passage that seems hopeless: ἦ ῥα Μηδείας ἐπέων στίχες.

a). The Schol. takes ἦ as equal to ἔφη and calls it σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν.

b). Some say ἦ is the imperf. plur. of εἰμί here.

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c). Böckh read *αἳ ῥα*, 'these (were) . . .'

d). Paley read *ἦν* (=*ἔφασαν*) plural of *ἦ* in Homer's *ἦ ῥα καὶ . . .*

e). Christ reads *ἦ ῥα*.

Gildersleeve says '*ἦ ῥα*, the Homeric asseveration, well suited to the solemn oracular passage'; and says the copula *ἐστί, εἰσί* is rare in Pindar; but here the imperfect is wanted. Pindar only uses *ἦ ῥα* in two other passages: as P. 9, 38, where it introduces a question as in Homer, and P. 11, 38, where it introduces the first of two alternatives, as in Homer also. So we are entitled to say that these words at the close of a speech: "Verily the rows of words (oracular verses) of Medea," are strange and abrupt even for Pindar. We may doubt, if not finally reject, *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* of the above explanations; but it would perhaps be presumptuous to declare any reading final.

II. In the case of Herodot. 1, 26, *ἔστι δὲ μεταξὺ τῆς τε παλαιῆς πόλιος ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι·* and 7, 34, *ἔστι δὲ ἑπτὰ στάδιοι ἐξ Ἀβύδου ἐς τὴν ἀπάντιον*, the verb comes first, and with it at the same time in the writer's mind is present a general notion as the subject, not *στάδιοι*, which is the complement, but *τὸ μῆκος* or *τὸ διάστημα*. Cp. 2, 6, *αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐστὶ μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἑξήκοντα σχοῖνοι*. The fact that the place described in 7, 34 was commonly known as *τὸ ἑπταστάδιον* can have nothing to do with the use of the singular verb. In speaking a Greek might often use such a form of expression, and when written down, if it did occur to him that the singular sounded strange with the plural following, he would allow it to stand as being countenanced by popular usage, just as it sanctioned *ἔστιν οἵ κ. τ. λ.* Parallels in modern languages are plentiful: as 'it is twelve miles to . . .'; 'il y a cent mêtres'; 'il est cent usages qui . . .'

As in Herod. 7, 34, so we find in Aristoph. Vespae 58, *ἡμῖν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστ' . . . δούλῳ διαρριπτοῦντε*, no case of a singular verb with plural subject, but there is to be supplied a subject to *ἐστί* like *τὸ δρᾶμα*, *δούλῳ* being the complement. We have more examples of *ἐστί* followed by plural complements in Plato, Rep. 5, 463 A, Euthydemus 302 C, and Gorgias 500 D.

The above usages were as natural as any form of concord to Greeks who were used to *ἔστιν οἱ, ἔστιν οὓς* (cf. *καὶ ξένους ἂν πολλοὺς εἰσενεγκεῖν, ἔστι δ' ἃς ἂν καὶ πόλεις*, in Xenophon), and even *ἔστιν ἐν οἷς*, as Thuc. 5, 25; but we should note that *εἰσὶν οἱ* occurs in Thuc. 6, 10; and rarely *ἦν οἱ* for *ἦσαν οἱ*, as Xen. Anab. 1, 5, 7, *ἦν τούτων τῶν σταθμῶν οὓς πάνυ μακροὺς ἤλαυνεν*.

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To be contrasted with Herod. 7, 34 are certain passages such as Isocr. Panegyr. p. 543, Plato, Leg. 5, p. 732 E, and Hdt. 6, 112, 3, which show real examples of disagreement of verb and subject: the verb being attracted to agree with the complement because it stands nearer than—in fact before—the subject. In Plato, Rep. 8, 562 the order is different, but it is the same case of attraction.

The passage often quoted, Thuc. 3, 36, *προσξυνεβάλετο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὁρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι*, where Kühner and many editors have gone astray, is capable of easy explanation. There is a change of construction from the expected cumbrous form *τὸ* and the infin. into a simpler and more convenient form of expression, the noun plainly put with the participle. *αἱ νῆες* stands just as occisus Caesar is used for the English abstract notion 'the death of Caesar'; the difficulty lying in the English rather than in the Greek, which was not fettered by formulated rules which would prevent naturalness of expression. The chances of a second reading causing a change in the form of the sentence to avoid the apparent collocation of singular with plural would vary with the temperament of the author. For similar cases cp. Thuc. 4, 26, *αἴτιον δ' ἦν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προεισπόντες*, and 8, 9, *αἴτιον ἦν* with a participle. From this author one more passage remains to be considered: 2, 3: *ἁμάξας καθίστασαν ἵν' ἀντὶ τείχους ᾖ*. On this Matthiae actually said, 'the author had probably *ἅρματα* in his mind'; if Thucydides thought at all about a logical subject for *ᾖ*, it would be *τὸ σταύρωμα* or *ὁ φραγμὸς* or the like.

One grammarian has said 'the *ἐστὶ* or *γίγνεται* always comes first.' Three passages showing a part of the verb *γίγνομαι* may here be taken:

Andoc. 1, 45: *ἀφ' ὧν ἐμοὶ ξενίαι καὶ φιλότητες πρὸς πολλοὺς καὶ βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἄλλους ἰδίᾳ ξένους γεγένηται.*

Plato, Sympos. 188 B: *καὶ γὰρ πάχναι καὶ χάλαζαι καὶ ἐρυσῖβαι ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ ἀκοσμίας περὶ ἄλληλα τῶν τοιούτων γίγνεται ἐρωτικῶν.*

Plato, Rep. 363 A: *ἵνα δοκοῦντι δικαίῳ εἶναι γίγνηται ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης ἀρχαί τε καὶ γάμοι καὶ ὅσαπερ Γλαύκων διῆλθεν.*

The simplest explanation of these three passages is to say that the use of the singular verb is a slip; the subjects being many, and the verb coming at a distance, the singular is used as if the whole of the names of things were taken as a neuter plural. This is satisfactory for the first two passages, where the verb comes

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after the subjects; but in the last of the three it is possible that when the verb γίγνηται was written, the subjects were thought of differently, perhaps in some neuter plural form, which was then changed into detail. With regard to the second passage, it should not be forgotten that Sauppe has ejected γίγνεται, and the whole sentence is only an amplification of the preceding, so that the two sentences have probably been tampered with.

So in Plato, Timaeus 45 A, σκέλη μὲν οὖν χεῖρές τε ταύτῃ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα προσέφυ πᾶσιν, we must take χεῖρές τε (unless it be ejected as a later addition) as a later addition in thought; or the thought of σκέλη outweighed the expected influence of the after-thought. Again, it is possible to consider the whole subject as practically the same as one concrete neuter plural. With the former explanation compare Il. 17, 386 and 23, 380, quoted later.

We next consider Eur. Bacch. 1350: αἰαῖ δέδοκται, πρέσβυ, τλήμονες φυγαί. The verb δέδοκται generally is used impersonally, or with neuter pronouns. The construction with δέδοκται here is of similar nature with the construction in Hdt. 7, 34 (above), and in δέδοκται ἐμοὶ φυγεῖν the infinitive may be called appositional or explanatory of the idea contained in δέδοκται; in the same way φυγαὶ stands here in apposition, and is not to be looked on as the subject. If any second thoughts arose in Euripides' mind on the form of the construction, he was debarred from using the plural δεδογμέναι εἰσίν. Apparently Euripides could not have written τλημόνως φυγεῖν: τλημόνως in the passages we know never means 'miserably,' but always 'patiently.' To suppose, as Kühner did, that δέδοκται = δέδοκνται, 'mit ausgefallenem ν,' is quite impossible.

Perhaps ῥᾴδιον δ' ἀπαλλαγαί, Med. 1375, helps to bear out the above remarks, and also Thuc. 3, 36 (above); but we can hardly class with them, as some have done, Phoen. 963, δῆλον οἵ γ' ἐμοὶ λόγοι.

It is impossible to believe that Euripides was ignorant of ἦν as a plural form when he wrote Ion 1146, or that he deliberately extended the usage of a singular verb with a plural subject, with the passages treated above, such as Hesiod, Theog. 321, 825, and Sophocles, Trach. 520 as justifications, or that he was aware of a condition that the singular verb must precede when so used. In Helen. 1358:

μέγα τοι δύναται νεβρῶν
παμποίκιλοι στολίδες,
κισσοῦ τε στεφθεῖσα χλόα
νάρθηκας εἰς ἱερούς . . .

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we must explain by supposing that the first thought was different, perhaps was *μέγα τοι δύναται χλόα*, this being interrupted by an amplification *νεβρῶν . . . στολίδες*, which fitted into its place well metrically, and so *δύναται* was not changed for metrical reasons. The only possible alternative is to take *δύναται* as used in an impersonal way, and take *στολίδες* and *χλόα* as complements; thus the passage would be connected with those above with *ἔστι*, Hdt. 1, 26 and 7, 34. With the former explanation, however, we can compare the looseness of grammar due to a change of expression, seen in Plato, Theaet. 173 D: *σπουδαὶ δ' ἑταιρειῶν . . . καὶ σύνοδοι καὶ δεῖπνα καὶ σὺν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι-οὐδὲ ὄναρ πράττειν προσίσταται αὐτοῖς*. The breaking off the sentence after *κῶμοι* is quite natural to the unstudied ease of Platonic dialogue; in English conversation the same interruption is quite common.

We may refer here to two passages in Homer containing similar inaccuracies of grammar; Il. 17, 386:

καμάτῳ δὲ καὶ ἰδρῷ . . .
γούνατα τε κνῆμαί τε πόδες θ' ὑπένερθεν ἑκάστου
χεῖρές τ' ὀφθαλμοί τε παλάσσετο μαρναμένοιῖν·

Il. 23, 380: *πνοιῇ δ' Εὐμήλοιο μετάφρενον εὐρέε τ' ὦμω | θέρμετο*. The verb in each case was taken by the writer as agreeing with the first subject; the later words being added as afterthoughts. It is possible too that the exigences of metre help to account for the singular, *παλάσσοντο* being inadmissible.

Again, it seems impossible to believe that Euripides deliberately joined a singular verb with a plural noun in Phoen. 349:

ἀνὰ δὲ Θηβαίαν | πόλιν ἐσιγάθη σᾶς ἔσοδοι νύμφας,

where the best MSS give *εἴσοδοι*, the next best *εἴσοδον*, and also one of the good copies; many have *εἴσοδος*, which Porson read. Taking *ἔσοδος* to be the original, we account for the change to the plural as being an early copyist's slip in the first instance, which was perpetuated by other copyists and grammarians ready to see an example of the supposed *σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν*; possibly the *ι* for *ς* was a mistake in connection with the *ι* of *εἴσοδος*, a marginal gloss. If we are not content to read *ἔσοδος*, as Dindorf and nearly all since Seidler have read, we must fall back on the somewhat weak explanation that the first thought was *ἐσιγάθη ἡ σὴ νύμφη ἐσιοῦσα*, which was changed, as being too prosy, to the plural *ἔσοδοι νύμφας*, rather than *ἔσοδος*, possibly to avoid the coming together of three

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words ending in *s*. In this case the passage would be classed with Thucyd. 3, 36 (above).

A difficult passage is seen in Hipponax 29 [12]:

δύ' ἡμέραι γυναικός ἐστιν ἥδισται | ὅταν γαμῇ τις, κἀκφέρῃ τεθνηκυῖαν.

All MSS have ἐστιν except one, which has εἰσίν; Gaisford, Bergk (1st ed. and 3d ed., 1883) read εἰσίν. There is no special reason why ἔστιν should have arisen if εἰσίν had been the author's word, unless all the MSS have one original, which have a copyist's slip, perpetuated by grammarians, glad to find support for their σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν. If this explanation be inadequate, it remains a mystery why popular recitation of the lines should not have altered the word; and if Hipponax really consciously put ἐστι after a plural subject, it is strange that it should never occur again in his writings or those of any other lyric poet. The better way out of the difficulty is to follow the best editors and read εἰσιν, rather than allow this passage to be put down as one of the irreducible minimum.

It will now have been seen how various is the nature of the examples set down as instances of the σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν. To draw a few conclusions: the case of ἦν with plural subject is perfectly clear. Many, too, of the passages quoted in Section I of this paper need no further remark; some of them have been mentioned for no intrinsic difficulty, but merely because they have so often been cited to bolster up other passages. If in one or two the explanations given are not fully satisfactory, they can at least be said to hold the field at present, with the consent of many authorities. Again, we may at once set aside, as needing no further mention in connection with this subject, all the numerous disjunctive examples (as Pindar, Pyth. 10, 41, νόσοι δ' οὔτε γῆρας οὐλόμενον κέκραται), which are only referred to here because they have been so frequently quoted, though well classed apart by Kühner. We may set aside, too, all such passages as Soph. O. C. 7, 8, αἱ πάθαι με χὠ χρόνος ξυνὼν μακρὸς διδάσκει, where the singular verb agrees with the nearer of two subjects, a plural and a singular, on which Professor Jebb's note is adequate.

While many of the passages mentioned in Section II of this paper can be dismissed as admitting of simple explanations, such as by restoration of the original reading, or those given on Thuc. 3, 36, Herod. 1, 26, of others we can only say that, if the addition of words by an afterthought is not held to be satisfactory, we must take refuge in the fact that the singular is the

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generic and the plural is the particular; but the number of passages that need to be explained thus is very small. And be it noticed, the oft-repeated dictum that the verb comes first has been shown above to be wrong. Enough has been said above of the attraction of a verb to its complement, and the conjunction of ἔστι and a plural complement; and no longer ought we to find in grammars this use of the copulative verb joined to the examples with ordinary verbs, treated above. The connection, too, of the γίγνεται examples with this use of ἔστι should cease. The few hopeless passages, such as Pindar, Pyth. 4, 57 and [Pindar] Fragments 225, 265 will perhaps never be cleared up; but in themselves they are slight foundations on which to build in the grammars a paragraph of examples of quasi-false concords of multitudinous forms.

Finally, the name σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν should be given up when it is seen that it is unjust to the memory of Pindar, and unsuitable to what comes under the head of many different σχήματα; and grammars should note the extended use of ἦν as a plural form, and omitting the doubtful examples, merely refer to the use of ἐστί with a plural complement, and the attraction of verbs to agree with complements.

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IV.—STYLE AND CHRONOLOGY IN CORNEILLE.

I.

The method of determining the chronology of an author's works—and also their genuineness—by their style has become a favorite one with students of the literatures of antiquity. In a recent number of this Journal (Vol. X, pp. 470–480), the editor, discussing Ritter's Untersuchungen über Plato, recommends to American scholars especially, as suited both to the national temperament and to the means at their disposal, the application of this method to Greek and Roman writers. Before engaging, however, in the mechanical pastime of counting gerunds and comparing connectives, the courage of the investigator would be materially increased could he be assured that such labor would lead in the majority of cases to definite results. Assurance on this point will, in the ordinary course of events, proceed but slowly from the field hitherto under inspection. The uncertainty of texts, the meagreness of biographical details—often indeed entirely wanting—the lack of contemporaneous records, both social and grammatical, combine to retard a concensus of opinion in even the most favorable case. If, on the other hand, the investigation can be transferred to more recent times, to a literature surrounded by abundant historical documents, and to a writer whose works are accurately dated, the qualities of the statistical method can be quickly gauged.

Of modern literatures that of France has experienced changes, the periods of which are unusually well defined. Both literature and language have shared in these transitions. The breaking up of the mediaeval inflections in the first part of the fourteenth century was followed by the introduction of Latinisms in the last part. The reform of the Pléiade in the sixteenth century, to be succeeded by that of the classicists in the seventeenth, occasioned not less than three generations of stylistic uncertainty. The more recent Romantic movement, headed by Rousseau, and the invasion of science mark by decades and almost by years the productions of the present age.

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The literary form has varied with the thought as well. In the twelfth century Wace, representing the old school of simple notions and concise expression, competed in a chronicle of the Norman dukes for the favor of Henry II with Benoît de Sainte-More, of the new school of romantic sentiment and elaborate description. A century later the Roman de la Rose reveals its double authorship and its source in different worlds by the transformation of the mediaeval love lyric of Guillaume de Lorris into the satirical pre-renaissance manifesto of Jean de Meun. In the revival of learning, one and the same author, Clément Marot, starting from the lines laid down by tradition, passes through the refinement of Italian elegance and gains force from the new religious tendencies. Malherbe himself had his first and second manner. Henrietta of England caused Corneille and Racine to repeat, in their rival plays on Titus and Berenice, the experience of Wace and Benoît.

Of the periods of French literature the first part of the seventeenth century is particularly interesting for the conscious changes in the language of the educated classes. It saw the gradual triumph of the principle of order championed by Malherbe, the rise and fall of the Hôtel de Rambouillet, the beginning of the French Academy. Linguistic criticism was the order of the day. Documentary information regarding this half century is also abundant. The fluctuations in language and taste, seen in all the literary productions of the time, can be traced here in the successive works of a single author, Pierre Corneille. A dramatist, and therefore directly dependent on popular favor, Corneille showed himself peculiarly sensitive to the current views on language. In the course of his active career (1629–1674) he published often, separately and together, his various tragedies and comedies, and in 1660 revised and modified the editions which had previously appeared. We have thus a twofold indication of grammatical change in the works of Corneille: that given by a comparison of the successive plays with one another, and that found in each play by a comparison of the successive variants.[1] A means of testing results thus gained is afforded by the linguistic observations of Vaugelas (1647).[2]

[1] The edition of Corneille which furnishes all the readings is that of Marty-Laveaux in the series Les Grands Ecrivains, Paris, 1862, 12 vols. 8vo.

[2] Remarques sur la Langue Française par Vaugelas. Nouvelle édition par A. Chassang, Versailles and Paris, 1880, 2 vols. 8vo.

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For conciseness and to avoid repetition this article will consider only the material derived from a reading of the variants, adding by way of interest references to confirmatory passages in Vaugelas.[1]

II.

Considering, then, the changes of style as affected by language and grammatical constructions alone, we note first:[2]

(*a*) Changes in orthography in the various revisions by Corneille. In nouns: *cavalier* (*chevalier*, Le Cid 82, 86), *champ* (*camp*, Le Cid 1434, 1439). In adjectives: *bizarre* (*bigearre* to 1663, L'Ill. com. 1430; see V. II 5). In verbs: *arroser* (*arrouser*, Rod. 1526; see V. I 352), *avenir* (generally *advenir* to 1660, Mélite 1474), *exclurait* (*exclurrait*, Nic. 176), *trouver* (*treuver* in the finite moods of the earlier plays, La Suivante 10, 136, etc.) In adverbs: *donc* (*donques*, Mélite 1194, La Suivante 487), *même* (*mêmes*, Pol. 562; see V. I 79–81). In prepositions: *avec* (*avecque* to 1650, Clit. 42, And. 868).

(*b*) Of antiquated words and forms replaced by Corneille with later equivalents we note the substantives *cejourd'hui* (Mélite 1121, Le Menteur 763), *dam* (Mélite 1453), *heur* (Mélite 699, L'Ill. com. 814, often retained); the adjectives *bastant* (to 1639, Mélite 644, Médée 534), *bourrelle* (to 1639, Mélite 1363, Médée 801), *nompareil* (to 1637, La Veuve 1133, La Suivante 629); the verbs *bailler* (to 1637, Mélite 534, La Veuve 173; see V. II 39), *courre* (L'Ill. com. 676; see V. I 406), *galantiser* (La Gal. du P. 336), *gésir* (to 1656, Mélite 72, Horace 469), the contracted forms of the fut. and cond. of *laisser* (*lairrai*, etc., to 1644, Mélite 224, Le Cid 1695; see V. I 210); the adverb *dextrement* (to 1642, La Suivante 94, often retained); the interjection *sus* (Mélite 393, La Veuve 1081, often retained).

[1] The general subject of French grammar during the period in question is treated in Die französische Syntax des XVII Jahrhunderts, A. Haase, Oppeln, 1888, 8vo. See also article by Haase in Zeitschrift für neufranzösische Sprache und Literatur, Vol. XI Abhandlungen, pp. 203 ss. The lexicons published in Les Grands Ecrivains series contain also much valuable information and are, as a rule, preceded by a chapter on the grammar and syntax of the author under discussion.

[2] The abbreviations are: And. (Andromède), Clit. (Clitandre), Hér. (Héraclius), L'Ill. com. (l'Illusion comique), La Gal. du P. (La Galerie du Palais), La Pl. R. (La Place Royale), Nic. (Nicomède), Perth. (Pertharite), Pol. (Polyeucte), Rod. (Rodogune), La Suite (La Suite du Menteur), Thé. (Théodore), V. (Vaugelas).

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(*c*) Changes in gender were going on, as in the nouns *aide* (m. in Mélite 91, Clit. 90), *amour* (f. in Pol. 77, And. 934, m. in Rod. 585; see V. II 107). Also in agreement of adjective and pronoun, as *autre* with feminine antecedent (m. in Mélite 1425, Pol. 499, etc.)

(*d*) An interesting trait of the second quarter of the seventeenth century is revealed by the care which Corneille takes to express his thought more exactly. Thus, words loose in meaning, found in his early plays, give way to those more rigidly defined in the revisions. He substitutes in nouns, *joie* for *aise* (Mélite 201), or replaces the latter by an equivalent (Horace 316); *pensée* encroaches on *penser* (Mélite 1250), or the latter returns to the infinitive (L'Ill. com. 1265, often retained as a noun); in verbs, *consommer* becomes *consumer* (Mélite 574, Le Cid 489; see V. I 408), *impourvue* is corrected to *imprévue* (by 1644, Mélite 684, L'Ill. com. 1632), *informer* to *demander* (La Suivante 329, Le Cid 64); *lâcher* is found at first (1637) for *relâcher* (La Pl. R. 55), in the third sing. *peut* for *sait* (La Veuve 1469), *savoir* for *connaître* (La Suite 822), *songer* for *penser* (L'Ill. com. 930; see V. I 165), *soupirer* for *déplorer* (Rod. 1614), *tenir* for *garder* (La Veuve 991), but *garder parole* for *tenir p.* (Don Sanche 645; cf. Perth. 841); *je peux* is replaced by *je puis* (1644, La Gal. du P. 1; see V. I 142); the former prepositions *dedans*, *dessous*, *dessus* were gradually restricted to their use as adverbs, the first rigorously from 1648, the latter two less carefully (Mélite 1752, Cinna 531, Le Cid 1579); the more common prepositions were often interchanged: *à* for *de* (La Pl. R. 691, Hér. 475, 660), *à* for *en* (Horace 402, Hér. 48); *de* for *par* (Mélite 739), *en* for *à* (L'Ill. com. 1420, Pompée 521); in conjunctions *combien que* was dropped (La Suivante 1103), *d'abord que* changed to *sitôt que* (Rod. 289), *devant que* suppressed (Cinna 792) or remains (see V. I 435), *paravant que* replaced by *avant que* (La Veuve 735, etc.); in adverbs *comme* sometimes yields to *comment* (La Suivante 548, Hér. 850; see V. II 12) or to *que* (Mélite 304, Horace 266), and *lors* to *alors* (Clit. 1623, Horace 1219; see V. I 360); of adverbial phrases *à tout le moins* disappears (Mélite 78, L'Ill. com. 1516), *au demeurant* is dropped (La Suivante 315; see V. II 5), *au moins* often gives way to *du moins* (Mélite 1678, Clit. 990), *à la foule* is replaced by *en foule* (Thé. 189, Pompée 1655), *à faute de* by *faute de* (Mélite 172, La Suivante 1253; see V. II 202); *du depuis* (Le Menteur 1701; see V. I 287) and *de pied coi* (La Pl.

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R. 889) disappear, as does *en cervelle* (to 1634, Mélite 1152, etc.); verbal phrases are more rigidly distinguished: *donner ordre* is later corrected to *mettre ordre* (Pol. 1714), *faire doute* to *douter* (1634, La Veuve 1860), *régler par* or *pour* to *régler sur* (1644, Pompée 1594), and *traiter en* to *traiter de* (Pol. 134, Perth. 1802).

(*e*) Among constructions which became, during the career of Corneille, wholly or partly obsolete are the adjective phrases: *un seul* (*Florame*) for *F. seul* (La Suivante 1273), *que de vous pareille* for *que vous de p.* (La Suivante 446); the pronominal phrase *un chacun* (to 1634, Mélite 537); and in verbs, *craindre à* for *craindre de* before dependent infinitive (Thé. 909), *croire à* for *croire* with acc. (Mélite 288; see V. II 388), *pouvoir* without supplementary infinitive (La Gal. du P. 791, Pol. 24).

(*f*) Other signs of increasing care in the use of grammatical constructions are seen in the mood and tense changes of verbs: the preterit is frequently replaced by the perfect (Mélite 652, Pompée 1487); the subjunctive is often made over to the conditional (La Veuve 748, La Suite 737), the second of two successive imperatives (where the first is *allons*) is once corrected to an infinitive (Hér. 1916).

(*g*) The negative is gaining in the revisions of Corneille the place in the sentence which it holds to-day; the popular omission of *ne* is remedied (La Veuve 628, Horace 1097; see V. I 342), *pas* is brought before the infinitive it limits (Mélite 48, Rod. 529; see V. II 128), and *ne* in the phrase *il faut* plus an infinitive is put after *faut* (Horace 1572, Pol. 74). In negative phrases Corneille, in his revision of 1660, prefers no *ne* after *de peur que* (La Gal. du P. 395, Rod. 538), but inserts it in *sans—plus* (Rod. 1678). In this connection the later treatment of *de* without the article after negatives, adverbs of quantity, and certain verbs shows a more polished style (La Pl. R. 1522, Le Cid 1262, Pompée 1618); also after *que* before an infinitive (Cinna 831).

(*h*) In regard to the order of verb and pronominal object the variations of Corneille are very noticeable. In the case of two successive imperatives the object of the second is placed after it in 1660 rather than before, as at first (Le Cid 59, Pompée 708). The first edition (1668) of Attila had also the latter construction (v. 1240). The position of the pronoun object of an infinitive directly dependent (without prepositions) on a preceding verb occasioned much trouble to Corneille. In the early plays the

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object of the infinitive is almost always found before the principal verb. In 1660, in nine cases out of ten at least, he has changed it to the usual position—before the infinitive as at the present day (Mélite 136, Clit. 42, Horace 157–158, And. 1342, Perth. 742 ; see V. II 84); but the reverse is also true, particularly when *devoir* or *oser* is the principal verb (And. 957, Nic. 810, Othon 203). In the case of inversion of subject, common in the first editions after *à peine* and *aussi*, the revision returns to the normal order (La Pl. R. 793, Le Menteur 1559, Thé. 1283).

(*i*) Inasmuch as the mass of Corneille's works are poetical in form, his improvement in versification can also be adduced as an indication of chronology. In his later editions he is more careful in regard to a hiatus (Le Menteur 936, Hér. 127), but his more noteworthy change is the substitution of a sonorous syllable for the mute *e* which counted as a syllable (Mélite 18, Clit. 139, Médée 99, Le Cid 731). The rime indicates at times changes in pronunciation, but rather in different plays and not in the variants of the same play.

III.

The results thus reached from a study of the most striking alterations in the variants of the works of Corneille would seem to prove conclusively that at times of linguistic and grammatical change the statistical method can be safely followed. Hence the inference would be that in periods when standards of style are fixed there are slight alterations due to the fact that language, like all living organisms, both grows and decays. Certain changes, though few in number, have been noted in the plays of Corneille subsequent to 1660. It is conceivable, however, that a rigid academic style, resting on tradition, might rule for generations the literature of a people, and thus make all intrinsic study unsatisfactory in conclusions, if not absolutely sterile. Here a sure guide could be found alone in semi-literary authors. On the other hand, it is presumable that the authors of antiquity who have survived the ruin of their peoples include the highest talent of their civilizations, and thus mirror, as do all leaders, the phases of the popular mind. The general attribute of blind copying of predecessors in authority could not be said without investigation to characterize the greater part of them.

There are other indications of change to be found in the works of Corneille, and which reveal progress in sentiment. These can-


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not be cited as proofs applicable everywhere, owing to the fact that all authors, especially those of the subjective schools of philosophical essays and lyric effusions, are not directly subservient from day to day to the public voice.[1] Without entering, therefore, on an extended discussion of the opinions of Corneille as given in his writings, we shall content ourselves with stating that in literature, in politics, in fashion, and in prejudices he vibrated with the Parisian of the rule of Richelieu, of the Fronde, and of the rising years of Louis XIV.[2]

F. M. WARREN.

[1] A study of Corneille, as reflecting in his works the thought and taste of his age, was presented in 1887, by the writer of this article, to the Johns Hopkins University, as a doctor's dissertation.

[2] The last number of the Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen (Vol. LXXXIV, pp. 71 foll.), continues an article by K. Fahrenberg, die Entwickelungsgänge in der Sprache Corneille's (Archiv, Vol. LXXXIII, pp. 129 ff. and p. 273 ff.; Vol. LXXXIV, p. 71), with an exhaustive study of the linguistic and syntactical development of Corneille's works.

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V.—UNCONVENTIONAL USES OF NATURAL IMAGERY IN THE POEMS OF WALTHER VON DER VOGELWEIDE.

Wilmanns (Leben, 173) says: 'Walther does not seek for any harmony between summer joys and those of love, nor does he wish to contrast them: he mentions them together, in order to compare their power.' But 99, 6 proves at least a harmony. The poet does not here 'declare summer and winter alike good' (Wilmanns, Gedichte Walthers, 2 aufl. 350). The analogy (*dâ von sol man wizzen daz*) is between winter, as representing some among the *elliu wîp* who should be honored, and summer, as prefiguring *die besten*, who shall be honored more. 42, 15 f. is a still clearer example. The 'careful' man is to find relief in the thought of 'good women' and of summer's bright days. *Wan daz ich mich rihte nâch der heide* (20) does not, therefore, mean simply that the winter-bound poet 'thinks of summer' (Wilmanns², 210): he is to include *guotiu wîp*. The *walt*, in its earliest green, is the object of joy espied by the heath, and represents good women; while the poet expressly reserves for himself the character of the later-blooming heath, blushing at its tardiness. The next stanza then appropriately specializes: *frowe, als ich gedenke an dich.*

The same editor, in commenting on 64, 13 f., finds the climax of heath, wood and field strange, and gives that as a reason for casting additional doubt on the genuineness of the exquisite song 51, 13. The difficulty admits of adjustment, if Lachmann's idea that the two stanzas are a dialogue (Wechsel) is given up. BC have *diu mir ist liep, der bin ich leit* (21); E, *der—dem bin ich leit*; but E, on the other hand, has preserved the stanza, as a whole, better than BC have done. Burdach's view (Reinmar der Alte und Walther von der Vogelweide, 110), that the complaint of the lady is like the oldest 'Frauenstrophen,' and that the poem is therefore among Walther's earliest, calls for no further consideration, if the reading of E be abandoned. The context shows that this should be done: 'However[1] fine and gay the heath looks in her varied colors, yet for the wood I claim far more lovely things;[2] still better has it gone with the field.' This is a climax, not of beauty alone, but

[1] *swie* BC, *wie* E; cf. also Pfeiffer, Germania, 5, 41.

[2] *dinge* BC, as against *varwe* E.

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of beauty that dispenses blessings;[1] and contains hidden praise of his mistress. This is openly avowed in the next stanza: 'the while I sing, I ever find new and befitting praise of her. Let her receive this tribute kindly: another time I shall praise more.' The 'new words of praise' (*ein niuwe lop daz ir gezimet*) can refer only to the first stanza, where the bright colors of the heath are a token of Summer's labor. But the goddess has then fashioned the *vil mêre wünneclîcher dinge* of the forest, and has crowned her tasks with the fruitful field. There exists a direct parallel between these three and the three things which a perfect woman, according to the minnesinger code, should possess: *schœne, liebe, tugent.*[2] These are then partially summed up in the concluding verses: *ez tuot in den ougen wol daz man si siht: und daz man ir vil tugende giht, daz tuot wol in den ôren.* The correspondences are: *schœne, heide; liebe* (Anmuth), the *wünneclîchiu dinc* of the grove; *velt* (and *wall*), *tugent.*

But while Walther deepens the natural poetical images of flower, field and forest into ethical thought, he returns, on the other hand, to the harmless gayety of the popular and traditional 'Natureingang.' But this gayety, unlike that of the Neidharts and Neifens,[3] has a foundation in thought as well as in ebullitions of feeling, real or feigned; and this thought he delicately varies in new images, and in new forms of old figures. The delight which

[1] Cf. The Stricker's Frauenehre, Z. f. d. A. 7, 508: *mir geschiht als einem man geschiht der ein vil grôzen walt siht: sol er rehte sagen mære waz an dem walde wære, daz möhte nimmer geschehen* (1101). *wie wol lobe ich einen walt, dâ die bôume sint ungesalt die all volle tugende stânt unt deste minner niht enhânt, swie vil man ir geniuzet, sî si des niht bedriuzet: sine stên mit tugenden geladen, und milte sint âne schaden* (1113). *boum der tugende* (1174). *boum von hôher kost* (1175). According to Wackernagel, Lit. Gesch.[2] I §79, 21, Stricker borrows from Walther. *der sich erjungen wolde sît in diner tugende walde* (Wb. 3, 472a). Otto Lüning, Die Natur (1889), p. 148, notes that the epic word *tan* (in which were no food trees) is scarcely used in the minnesong.

[2] Cf. 50, 5; 92, 19–21; MSH 2, 183b (35); Iwein, 340.

[3] Reinmar represents the other extreme (MF 169, 11): *waz dar umbe, valwent grüene heide? solher dinge vil geschiht; der ich aller muoz gedagen: ich hân mê ze tuonne danne bluomen klagen.* Scherer (Litt. Gesch., 5 Aufl., 205) contrasts Reinmar's attitude with that of his younger contemporary: 'Walther dagegen hat, ohne je Natur und Liebe auf conventionelle Weise zu verbinden, die Jahreszeiten wiederholt besungen und dem allbekannten Stoffe neue Seiten abgewonnen.' But it was not the easy superiority of genius, working with clear intention, that achieved these results. There is every indication that Walther's comparisons from nature are steeped in the simple conventionalism of earlier song. His style lacks entirely the audacity displayed by the metaphor of the Renaissance. But it is none the less a triumph, when his inven-

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these afforded the poet, and the value he himself attached to them in his poetry, have not been recognized sufficiently. Ernst Hamann (Der Humor Walthers von der Vogelweide, Rostock 1889, p. 20) thinks that 114, 27 *dâ sach ich bluomen strîten wider den klê, weder ir lenger wære* is 'dem Kinderleben abgelauscht.' Insipid judgment! Walther's range is not that of the modern nursery, though his love-scholasticism (cf. Uhland's 'verliebte Scholastik,' V 62) may have helped people it with his fancy's children. According to Wilmanns (384), the theme of the song last mentioned (114, 23 f.) is a joyous welcome to Spring, addressed by the poet to his mistress and a larger audience, whom he then calls on to share in the jollities to follow. Rieger (61) calls it a spring song, written after illness. Pfeiffer-Bartsch (6 Aufl. 142) find in it sad recollections, and place it in Walther's later years. All the editors suppose the lady to be present, and Rieger tries to reconcile this with the languid tone of sadness pervading the verses. With this I cannot agree. Adopting the reading of E, *nû hœrt irs* (25), the first strophe concludes: ''Twas there' I saw flowers vying with the clover, which of them were taller. This story I told my lady.' In place of the perfect, as in 118, 36 *disen wünneclîchen sanc hân ich gesungen mîner frowen ze êren. des sol si mir wizzen danc*, the preterite is here used, referring to some past not further defined. Wilmanns' rendering (386) 'er hat seiner Frau die Kunde gebracht' is forced. Nor is it easy, on his supposition, to explain the introduction of his mistress here, with no other reference whatever to her in the poem. 114, 27–29 is a reminiscence—in all probability a direct reminiscence of 51, 34. In order to prove this, it will be necessary, in the next pages, to take up certain matters not directly connected with the subject of this paper.

No satisfactory explanation of the third stanza has ever been given. Lachmann's emendation *dâ nâch* (115, 2) has not been adopted. Wackernagel-Rieger and Wilmanns print the reading of CE *dennoch*, but the editor last named 'does not understand it,' and approves of Bechstein's idea that a comparative like *gerner* would be in place. Pfeiffer-Bartsch retain *dennoch*, and take the meaning to be: 'And in addition I should have to give up, etc.'

tion, rising above the atmosphere that envelops him, discovers clarified figures which create a new vogue. 'His delights were dolphin-like; they showed his back above the element they lived in' (Shakesp., Ant. and Cleop. V 2).

[1] For the meaning, it is immaterial whether the demonstrative *dâ*, as distinct from the temporal *dô*, refers to *ê* (25) 'formerly,' or to the blooming heath of that former season. In either case, the scene and the occasion are identical.

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In either case the interpretation does not satisfy. I prefer to continue the sense through 115, 4, to read (with C) *müeze*, and to translate: 'But yet,[1] if it so be that I must[2] relinquish all the joy I possessed erewhile—God bless you all![3] And you, wish now that good hap may befall me!' 115, 4, as expressing the resignation with which the poet accepts the fate implied in the condition, is only an unusually bold instance of what Burdach (75) calls Walther's 'Reichtum an Ausrufen, welche die feste Kette der syntactischen Gliederung keck und lebendig zerreissen.' In this case it is not his usual gayety, but deep pathos, which elicits the exclamation. The poet is contemplating an alternative like death, or complete withdrawal from the world; and pronounces a parting benediction on all good folk (34) who have been made *frô* by his art in past years. The following instances illustrate this meaning of *fröide lâzen:* Parz. 119, 15, *suln vogele durch mich freude lân?* Hartmann (MF 210, 27), *der fröide mîn den besten teil hât er dâ hin, und schüefe ich nû der sêle heil, daz wære ein sin* (this outweighs Walther 97, 12, and Dietmar, MF 39, 29). Ulrich von Singenberg (Wackernagel-Rieger 246), *nû wünschen ime dur sînen werden höveschen sanc, sît dem sîn vröide st ze wege, daz sîn der süeze vater nâch genâden phlege.* The last passage cited, which exactly reproduces Walther's thought, and which must refer to the lapse of the poet's earthly joys in death, is part of a poem which is in all probability (as I hope to show) an adaptation of Walther 100, 24 f. But aside from this wider question, 101, 21 *got gebe iu, frowe, guote naht: ich wil ze herberge varn* corresponds with 115, 4 *got gesegen iuch alle*, and the following

[1] That *dennoch* occurs in the adversative sense is proved by passages like Parz. 177, 17: *der wâren dennoch niht wan driu.* Benecke's rendering of Iwein 3762, etc., 'sogar da noch,' 'zu der zeit noch' (Wb. zu Iw. 2 Ausg. 38), seems to be the result of a too sweeping theory, which refuses to every passage the modern meaning 'dennoch.' The mild adversatives 'still,' 'and still,' occupy in English this debatable ground. But *dannoch* in Iw. 3762 ('nevertheless') is stronger.

[2] In 112, 3 *müeste* has this meaning ('contingere,' Wb. II[1] 269b, 49) in the corresponding unreal condition. Paul (Gram.[2] §285) gives this as a wish; but this must be an inadvertence, as he places a comma after *lesen* (112, 4) in his edition of the poems. Cf. J. Knepper, Tempora und Modi bei Walther von der Vogelweide, Lingen, 1889, p. 17. Iwein 6159.

[3] Not only are conditional sentences with no introductory particle in the apodosis common enough (116, 36); the exclamation itself as apodosis is by no means rare. Examples are: Parz. 154, 10; 269, 18; 486, 28; Willehalm, 66, 30 (cf. Herm. Göhl, Modi in den Werken Wolframs, Leipzig, 1889, p. 35); Walther, 74, 6: *st mir ieman lieber, maget oder wîp, diu helle müeze mir gezemen!*

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line *wünschet noch daz mir ein heil gevalle* finds its echo in Ulrich's concluding wish, as cited above. It cannot be objected to this explanation that *ein heil, ein mannes heil*, etc., usually refers to temporal good fortune. The expression shares in the languor of the poem, and in the euphemism of its close. *einem heils wünschen* is used in both meanings in Parzival; cf. 224, 7, and 108, 28 *mit ritterlîchem prîse er starp. nû wünscht im heils, der hie ligt.* The situation in 115, 4, though perhaps more solemn than that in 66, 31, is illustrated by it: *mîn minnesanc der diene iu dar, und iuwer hulde sî mîn teil.* It appears to be a fair inference that 114, 23 f. was written towards the close of Walther's life; and this is supported by the tone of the poem. But whether it is through a winter's sickness, or through a vista of years, or both, the poet's view is fixed in retrospect on the sunny fields of art and spring. There is no force in Wilmanns' idea (386) that the figure in 51, 13, as exhibiting a far greater degree of poetical skill, indicates that 114, 23 was written first. The musing poet of 114, 23 is in no frame of mind to provoke a trial of wit with his younger self, '*weder ir lenger wære*'; he simply refers to 51, 13 as a poem already existing.

The consideration just mentioned brings us back to the subject proper of this paper. The fact of Walther's having 'repeated' his own figure has caused much trouble. Wackernagel-Rieger, xxii, declare it most improbable that he should have 'used the same *motif* twice.' Relying on the sole authority of A, they give 51, 13 to Leutold von Seven, with whose poems it has 'die sprechendste Familienähnlichkeit.' But against all this we have Walther's plain statement: 'It was there I saw ['saw' as poet, in a figure] flowers vying with the clover, which of them were taller. This story[1] I told my lady.' The reference to 51, 34 is plain.

[1] *mære* 'poetical invention.' In the same manner, the meaning 'news' (56, 15) rises in 56, 23 (the plural form, as in 114, 29), but without detriment to the truth of the *mære*, to that of 'a poet's praise in song.' On the other hand, 106, 4 *gefüeget manec mære*, which is translated by Wilmanns (367) 'manches Lob zu Stande gebracht,' seems rather to mean 'brought many a doubtful affair to a happy close.' Cf. Iwein 6584, *got der müese vüegen in des morgens bezzer mære danne er getræstet wære* ('make a better story come true, than he had been fearing'). This explanation becomes more probable if 106, 6 *was sol diu rede beschænet?* can be made to refer back to *mære füegen* (as euphemistically used), as well as to introduce verse 7. The keenest thrust in this would then be the reference (pointed out by Wilmanns, Leben 109) to occasions like that in 11, 36, where Walther sang before Kaiser Otto a *mære*, as truth, to cover up the Margrave's political chicaneries. In his plea for the poet (AFDA 9, 356), Burdach demands proofs 'dass er mit bewusstsein und aus eigennutz

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If the importance attached to this figure of speech by the poet himself[1] had been perceived, the six strophes of the latter song would, in all probability, have remained a unit in the editions, and not have been divided (Lachmann) at 51, 37. Wilmanns' proposed re-arrangement of the strophes (236) does not help matters. The third and fourth stanzas, the only ones given in the Carmina Burana, are the kernel of the poem, and belong together. 52, 1. 2 are a variation of the maxim 'wer Schaden hat darf für Spott nicht sorgen.' The *schaden* (2) is explained by (4) *owê so verlorner stunde* (cf. also 53, 7), and there is 'Spott' in the *lachen* (51, 38). This mocking smile on the part of his lady (*rôter munt*), which has remained somewhat enigmatical, is now susceptible of explanation. The object of the 'Natureingang' in a spring song is usually to attune the hearers, and notably one fair listener, to the merriment of song and dance: the precursors of longed-for tokens of *genâde*. Most minnesingers can go no further; but we have seen that Walther refined upon the love summons by the invention of a figure of speech which he looks back upon with subdued pleasure, years afterwards. In view of 114, 29 *mîner frowen seit ich disiu mære*, it is evident that in 51, 13 the lady, though not yet specially introduced, is intended by the poet to be listening quietly, as convention demanded, to his impassioned introduction. But she is surprised out of her equanimity by this highest capriole of Walther's fancy (51, 34): *wol dir, meie, wie dû scheidest allez âne haz! wie wol*

gelogen.' Aside from the question of motive—which appears here for the first time in the argument—Burdach scarcely strengthens his position by ascribing Walther's assurances of the Meissner's good faith to his 'erregbares temperament,' and by the novel idea that 'ruhig erwägende kritik war ihm nicht gegeben.' The historical evidence as to Walther's political leanings in this affair has been collected by Wilmanns. The question here can only be, what does the poet himself say? In the rendering proposed above, 106, 3–8 must at least be held to indicate that the services referred to were of a high-soaring political character: in all probability dangerous and adroit diplomatic attempts. 106, 6 *was sol diu rede beschænet?* flings at his hearers the defiant confession of one of the best natures in an age of violent action and intrigue, when all virtue—and especially all political virtue—has become more than ever militant and comparative: 'forging, through swart arms of offence, the silver seat of innocence.' The man who can afford to make this confession is quite capable of looking after his own reputation; and we learn from Burdach, on the same page, that 'no one at the present time will represent the German Middle Ages as an ideal.'

[1] Cf. Ulrich von Singenberg, WR 253, 10 (imitation of Walther 75, 32 [and of this passage?]): *genuoge sprechent 'sing als ê, prüef uns die bluomen und den klê!' die wellent niht das ich verstê, was mir dar an ze herzen gê.*

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dû die boume kleidest, und die heide baz! diu hât varwe mê.[1] *'du bist kurzer, ich bin langer,' alsô strîtents ûf dem anger, bluomen unde klê.* At this she laughs (37) in what the poet takes to be a beauty's petulance, rather than in disdain. The tone then sinks to the level of a lover's expostulation, and concludes in that strain.

I fail to see the force of Burdach's idea (152), that this is a poem 'in the prevailing fashion,' with the occurrences—if not the lady—feigned; or, that at best 'the poet confronts his mistress quite unconcernedly, assuming a tone of lofty admonition towards her.' The prime characteristic of the verses is the unfashionable beauty of the metaphor used; and it is no transient flame, but his unforgotten mistress, who smiles—but smiles aloof—at the seduction of this figure of speech, till then unheard of.[2]

The place of rural imagery in the poetical economy of Walther's *sprüche* is in marked contrast to the office of such figures in the song. If the minne-poet 'translates the stubbornness of fortune into so quiet and so sweet a style,' the needy sonneteer at court, 'with wit more ripe,'[3] makes heath and grove help build his fire and boil his pot (21, 4 f.), or bids them trudge (35, 22). 28, 3 gives his normal thought in the later *sprüche: gerne wolde ich, möhte ez sîn, bî eigem fiure erwarmen. zât wiech danne sunge von den vogellînen, von der heide und von den bluomen, als ich wilent sanc!* and (8) *sus kume ich spâte und rîte fruo: gast, wê dir, wê! sô mac der wirt wol singen von dem grüenen klê.* Ulrich von Singenberg's parody (Lachm. 153, WR 211) catches up Walther's point of view, and adapts it to his own easy circumstances: *sus rîte ich spâte und kume doch hein, mirst niht ze wê: dâ singe ich von der heide und von dem grüenen klê.* Walther stamped the contrast, at least in these sharp outlines, with his own originality. Ulrich's only merit is that he recognized the value of the new mintages, and helped give them currency and conventionality.

Paul (PBB 8, 174–5) assails Burdach's view (118, and PBB 8, 468–9) that 28, 4–7 distinguishes between 'hohe und niedere Minne.' Paul justly maintains that descriptions of nature are not

[1] Cf. The Marner (MSH 2, 239; imitating Walther): *Schouwet, wie diu heide lît, die der winter twanc: si hât liechten schîn mit den bluomen dur daz gras in ir varwe gesundert, hundert ist ir, niht mê, grüenen klê sach ich ûf der heide, dâ was ich ê.*

[2] The question of the priority of the verses in the Carmina Burana does not affect the conclusion.

[3] Cf. Rubin (MSH 3, 31): *Walther, dû bist von hinnen, mit dînen wîsen sinnen; du hete ouch herren gunst.*

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foreign to the court song;[1] and it was shown above that when Walther looked back upon his art as a whole, he selected an image eminently rural. On the other hand, further investigation may be able to show that the tranquil but tender remembrance, in which the coy beauty of 51, 13 is still held in 114, 23, helps to raise this whole group of songs to a higher plane. The 'niedere Minne' of Walther's happiest verses would then be less open to suspicions of stealthy and transient amours (Paul, PBB 8, 174), and part at least of his love-poetry would appeal in a higher degree to modern tastes. But in 28, 1–10 the case is quite different. Walther is here not thinking of 'high or low love' at all, but simply of the contrast between a homeless singer and a comfortable householder; cf. 28, 35, *daz ich den sumer luft und in dem winter hitze hân.*

This is the obverse of the country pictures in Walther's *sprüche.* But there appears to be a reverse, not unlike that illustrated above in the songs. It seems to me probable that a naïve bucolic tone in one of the earlier *sprüche* gave rise to a pretty piece of literary 'sparring'. This, with other sharp experiences, the history of which we cannot trace, may have wrought the lasting change in the poet's style, making him more worldly wise, and in one case (28, 7) even cynical.

20, 31 f. has very generally been classed among the earliest *sprüche* written at Vienna. The style is immature,[2] and the poet

[1] Heinrich von Morungen (MF 139, 19) furnishes additional proof of the scope of the 'hohe Minne.' The poet hears loud voices and sweet song on the heath, and finds his mistress there, dancing and singing; and in this sport he joins her. No mention is made of other dancers on the green, nor of a linden tree; but is not this because the poet wishes to concentrate our interest on his lady in his three rare portraits of her? In the following stanza the scene is changed, von der Hagen (IV 124) thinks to a 'kämmerchen'; and in the final verses she is on the castle battlements, where he, a messenger, finds her. Haupt's explanation, *gesamt* for *gesant* (140, 2), seems far-fetched (cf. Gottschau, PBB 7, 336 f., for Heinrich von Morungen's position in life). Burdach (47) conceives Morungen's lady to have been of princely rank, which would only confirm the applicability of love scenes and jollities out-of-doors to the 'hohe Minne.' Why the same writer (52) places the first stanza last, does not appear. The poem, as it stands, gives us a passionate climax, quite in Morungen's style.

[2] 13, 19–25 (one of the latest songs) furnishes an example of Walther's fine ethical applications of early metaphors of his own like that in 20, 35 and 21, 5. But Wilmanns' explanation ('between heavenly and temporal joys') is not satisfactory, even with *zwein* (20) retained. How can the temporal joys be possessed, if the *müezegen liute* sit down between the two? But if *zwein*, as 'gegen sinn und vers' (Lachmann), be omitted, *fröiden* (20) suits the meaning of *stæte fröiden* (25), and the now-consistent metaphor may be taken as a

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is more modest in his demands than was the case later.[1] The passage in question is 21, 1-9. Walther's patron, the duke, appears in three characters in six verses. He is a refreshing rain, a heath off which no end (*wunder*) of flowers may be plucked, and finally, assuming his own character, he is to pluck a 'leaf' off this heath for the poet. Such a piece of work may be compared instructively with 35, 7, which was written during Walther's best years. *der Dürnge bluome* [Duke Hermann], who *schînet dur den snê*, is compared with those whose praise *gruonet und valwet sô der klê*. The style in 21, 1 is crude and bungling compared with such perfection. The picture of Leopold submitting to this 'plucking' is not far from the confirmed bad taste of a spring song by Gottfried von Neifen (MSH 1, 47b): *diu heide ist worden swanger*. Wilmanns (151) has pointed out that in 21, 6 *und bræche mir ein blat dar under sîn vil milte rîchiu hant* Walther not only destroys his metaphor, but substitutes a figure more appropriate to a tree than to a heath. Instances in this very period are recorded, where a gold (or silver) leaf, plucked from a golden-leaved tree erected at the jousting place, served as the reward of valor in the lists. Is it not natural to suppose that the duke, amused at the figure in which his generosity was invoked, should have answered the poet in terms suited to his appeal? 35, 17 f. makes this highly probable, and seems itself to be Walther's retort to the duke. No *spruch* has given rise to more discussion than 35, 17, and none has so vexatiously eluded explanation; cf. Uhland, V 61; Lachmann, 162; Rieger, 28; Menzel, 274; Wilmanns, Leben, 58; Paul, 9. It is with the utmost deference to these names that I offer the following contribution to the discussion.

35, 18, at least, is plain. The duke has wished the poet off 'to the woods'; but it is not at all evident that he put the meaning into the wish which Walther chooses to find in it. 35, 20, *dû wünschest underwîlent biderbem man dun weist joch wie* refers either to the sinister meaning of *ze walde wünschen* ('to wood and waste,' 'to ——'), or to some other disagreeable implication, which the duke did not stop to consider. The joke, if there was a joke (Rieger, 28; Paul, 9), can have been only on the side of the duke. Walther is so beside himself, that in his attempt to

reminiscence of the situation and figure of speech in 20, 35. *blat* (13, 23) becomes an eloquent commentary on the same word in 21, 6, and on princes' favors as among the fleeting things.

[1] Wilmanns, Leben 54. 57. 284. 303. According to Paul (Gedichte Walthers, 9), the verses were written during a later visit at Vienna. Burdach (AfdA 9, 346) thinks they may not be older than 25, 26.



turn the tables on his patron he lacks his usual mastery, and betrays deep chagrin. The climax is reached in 35, 22, *vil sælic sî der walt, dar zuo diu heide!* ('the forest can stay forest, for all me, and the heath to boot!'). This explosion, the violence of which Leopold may never have forgiven (Lachmann), points to something harder for the poet to bear than a temporary rebuff. Leopold, though a patron of singers (liberalis et gloriosus), had a practical mind (Wilmanns, Leb. 54). This something which roused the poet appears to have been a slighting reference on the duke's part to the fantastic unrealities of the minnesinger style and vocabulary. Such ridicule was common, and instances of it will be produced below. In the case of 20, 31 f. matters are still worse; for those mummers of song are here masquerading in the *spruch*, out of character. They beg for very substantial alms; and the affected daintiness they introduce into this serious business is not only incongruous, it is most inartistic.[1] I have accordingly ventured to connect 20, 31 f. with 35, 17, and to assume that Leopold (vir facundissimus et litteratus; cf. Menzel, 117), marking in the former piece the poet's extravagant style—paired with the ridiculous, mock-modest request (21, 6)—answered in this fashion: "you ask for a 'leaf'; may you pluck your fill of them 'in the woods,' and on your fine heath!"

Whatever degree of probability may be claimed for this supposition,[2] the question whether 35, 17 was the rejoinder to a *similar* wish on the part of Leopold, still remains. It was seen above that Walther attaches great importance to the poetical use of heath and wood in his songs. But the 'Gegensang' heaps ridicule upon the extravagant and sentimental use of similar *motifs* by later minnesingers. Did this 'Gegensang,' as a form of art, already exist, and did it find a patron in the duke? Neidhart reached Austria much later, and his first (and only?) connection with Leopold must have been his participation in the crusade which the latter organized in 1217 (Keinz, Lieder Neidharts, 1889, p. 5). Whoever the *gebûren* (65,31), *unhöveschen* (32, 2) and *hovebellen*

[1] Cf. Spervogel, MF 23, 13. A very appropriate and consistent figure of speech.

[2] Is the metrical form of 35, 17 a *valid* objection? The excellent remarks of Paul (PBB 8, 161–170) do not indicate, as yet, what he considers the natural limits to this freer tendency of criticism. Cf. also, Burdach, AFDA 9, 343. Zarncke (PBB 7, 597 f.) fixed the date 1201 for 21, 25, which is in the same 'tone' as 20, 31. It is not known when Walther began writing in the tone of 35, 17. 31, 33, which was formerly styled the 'Weihestrophe,' will be considered in another paper.

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(32, 27) may have been,[1] among them were sharp critics of Walther's style, and possibly writers of satires like those shortly afterwards in vogue. Among these last, the 'Welt und Sitten Spiegel' (v. d. Hagen's Germania, 8) sinks to the level of the following: *swenne er dâ ze tische sæzze vnt gern trunch vnt æzze, sô wære daz vil gefüge, daz man für in trüge edel bluomen, loup vnt gras, daz ie der hofschære vroude was* (p. 299). *man sol den hofschær finden bî dem walde vnt bî der linden, dâ solt ein hofschær slæt sîn* (p. 300). *er solt niht neisen rîten in islîchen chue stal. ein sov vnt ein nahtegal die singent vngelîchen sanc. ein hofschær ist gar ze chranc, der sîn selbes sô vergizzet, daz einen rinderînen braten izzet* (p. 301).

Wolfram von Eschenbach represents another sphere of life and thought, and is, besides, Walther's contemporary. His waggish description[2] of the fate of Tesereiz *der minne kranz* (Willehalm, 87, 30) is exactly in the good-humored, bantering tone which I assume Duke Leopold to have used towards Walther: *geêret sî velt unde gras aldâ der minnær lac erslagen. daz velt solde zuker tragen al umb ein tagereise. der clâre kurteise möht al den bîen geben ir nar: sît si der süeze nement war, si möhten, wærns iht wîse, in dem lufte nemen ir spîse, der von dem lande kumt geflogen, dâ Tesereiz für unbetrogen sîn rîterliches ende nam. er was der minne ein blüender stam.*

Lachmann's explanation of 17, 25 f. furnishes a strict parallel, not only to the interpretation of 35, 17 attempted above, but also to the theory of a connection between 35, 17 and 20, 31. 'Ich glaube, ein tadler, vielleicht der dichter den das nächst folgende gesetz derb abfertigt, hatte Walthers lied vom halmmessen (65. 66) verhöhnt; etwa in dem sinne, herrn Walthers halm sei keiner bohne werth, die man dagegen schon eher besingen könnte' (141). The poet's rejoinder in dispraise of *frô Bône* is not inconsistent with 35, 17. In the latter case his existence was at stake; in the former, he had to do with a nameless critic before whom there was no need of forswearing his ideals, or even of losing his temper. But it is noticeable that the criticism suddenly develops in Walther great dexterity in poetical tillage; his Arcadian *halm* of 65, 33 is made to bring forth a hundredfold of nourishing corn, and a good straw pallet, in 17, 25.

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[1] Cf. Uhland III 385. 459–460; Wilmanns, Leben 47.

[2] Kant (der Humor in den Werken Wolframs) does not notice this passage.

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NOTES.

θήρ, LATIN *fera*, AND THE GREEK AND LATIN REPRESENTATIVES OF INDO-EUR. INITIAL PALATALS + u̯.

In all the more recent works treating of Greek and Latin philology we find θήρ, Latin fera, derived from an Indo-Eur. form with initial guttural, *ghēr-. So, for example, Brugmann, Grundriss I, pgs. 320, 325; Gustav Meyer, Gr. Gram.², pg. 204; Stolz, Lat. Gram.², §53. This view seems to owe its origin to the following words of J. Schmidt (K. Z. XXV, pg. 172): "θήρ und ferus, fera sind schon von Dobrowsky inst. p. 138 mit abulg. zvěrĭ fera zusammengestellt; sie von einer grundform dhvar herzuleiten, wie Curtius no. 314 will, verbieten die slawischen lautgesetze. Ebensowenig ist es gestattet mit Fick II³ 167 aus aol. φήρ und lat. ferus ein graecoitalisches φερο- wild zu construiren. Lit. žvėrìs, preuss. swirins acc. plur. haben als slawische lehnworte aus der discussion zu bleiben, denn das z des abulg. zvěrĭ ist aus dz, der media zu c entstanden, wie nbulg. dzvere Miladin. bulg. nar pèsni No. 15 und die schreibungen der alten handschriften beweisen (zahlreiche belege in der werthvollen Abhandlung von Miklosich über die Schriftzeichen für z im IX bande des Rad jugosl. akad. und jetzt altslov. lautl.² 252 f.) Ebenso ist das θ von θήρ durch das folgende gemeingriechische η aus ursprunglichem guttural umgewandelt."

Of course the forms set up by Curtius and Fick are no longer even to be thought of. The only question is whether the initial was a guttural or palatal. The Lithuanian and Prussian forms, if not borrowed, would point conclusively to an initial palatal, and there is always a certain prejudice in favor of the genuineness of a word which occurs both in Prussian and in the earliest Lithuanian. Moreover, the Balto-Slavic family does not belong to the "labializing" group, and the presence of the v in žvėrìs, etc., seems unaccountable on the basis of an Indo-Eur. form ghēr-. The alleged parallels given by J. Schmidt, l. c. pg. 178, rest on too uncertain etymologies.

Now as to the main point. Do the forms of the Slavic branch

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prove, as J. Schmidt maintains, that the initial was a guttural and consequently that the Baltic forms are borrowed? Not only does Slavic fail to prove this, but it actually proves the opposite.[1]

I. The Bulgarian forms upon which J. Schmidt relies prove nothing. The modern Bulgarian dzvere is of no account, since the prefixing of a d sound in the pronunciation is a frequent dialectic occurrence before both z and ž. "Das z in einigen wörtern wird in manchem gegenden wie das poln. dz ausgesprochen, z. B zvêzda (dzvêzda), zêmù mi sù (dzêmù mì sù), zadnicù (dzadnicù)" (Cankof, Gram. d. Bulg. Sprache, pg. 7; cf. also Miklosich, Vergleich. Gram. d. Slav. Sprachen, I², pg. 254). Only the first of these examples is a word with original guttural initial, the other two had palatal initials. Besides these cf. mod. Bulg. dzvekna, 'noise,' for zvekna, cited by Miklosich, Etymol. Wörterbuch der Slav. Sprachen, s. v. zven-.

Furthermore, the writing of the old MSS proves nothing in this case. It is true that both the Cyrillic and Glogolitic alphabets had different characters for dz and z, but even in the oldest documents they are occasionally confused, and the later the MS the more frequent are such mistakes. In the passage of Miklosich referred to by J. Schmidt (= Vergleich. Gram. I², pg. 252) we find dzvěrĭ cited from several Cyrillic MSS, the earliest being of the twelfth or thirteenth century. But on the previous page we note that the personal pronoun azŭ occurs in one of the old Glogolitic MSS in the form adzŭ. In face of the Avestan form azem, J. Schmidt would scarcely consider this spelling sufficient to prove that the original form had a guttural, not palatal, and that Lithuanian asz, Lettic es, Prussian as are borrowed from the Slavic. Instances like adzŭ are not rare (cf. Leskien, Handbuch d. altbulg. Sprache², §31, 3, at end), so that one cannot be too guarded in drawing conclusions from the writing of the MSS.

II. The Westslavic forms of the word directly prove that the initial was palatal, not guttural, that it is incorrect to derive zvěrĭ from *gu̯ěrĭ. Brugmann (Grundriss, I, pg. 342) refers to zvěrĭ as a parallel case to Old Bulgarian cvisti, 'to blossom,' which is derived from *ku̯īstī. But the change of k to c does not occur in the Westslavic group (cf. Chechish kvisti, Old Polish kwiść, etc.), and that the corresponding change g–dz is likewise unknown to the Westslavic languages may be seen from Chechish hvězda,

[1] I am obliged to Prof. Leskien for assistance and confirmation in the judgment of the Slavic forms.

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Polish gwiazda, Low Sorbian gvjezda, etc. = Old Bulgarian (d)zvězda, 'star' (cf. Leskien, Handbuch, §29, 4).

But the Westslavic cognates of zvěrĭ show a sibilant, not a guttural (cf. Chechish zvěř, Polish źwierz, Low Sorbian zvjeŕe), and thus exclude the possibility of deriving the word from *gu̯erĭ, Indo-Eur. *ghu̯ēr-. The Indo-Eur. form must have been *ĝhu̯ēr-, and the Baltic forms are restored to their rights.

It is evident now that we must either give up the comparison Old Bulgarian zvěrĭ = Gr. θήρ, Lat. fera, or explain the latter forms on a new basis. Let us first consider the Greek form. Can θήρ be derived from Indo-Eur. ĝhu̯ēr? Unfortunately the material for determining what the Greek representatives of Indo-Eur. palatals + u̯ are is very small. For ĝu̯- and ĝhu̯ there are no examples, for k̂u̯ only one or possibly two certain ones, ἵππος = Skt. áçva-s, παντ- = Skt. -çvant in ça-çvant- from sa-çvant (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, I, pg. 148, Griech. Gram.², pg. 32, where, moreover, Doric πᾶμα is derived from a form *k̂u̯ā-men and Παν-όχια from *k̂u̯ano-). On these forms is based the law stated by Brugmann (Grundriss, pg. 292): "Aus k̂u̯ entstand ππ, das im anlaut zu π vereinfacht wurde." I would rather set up the following rule, based on the treatment of kᵘ = Indo-Eur. guttural: *k̂u̯ becomes ππ, initial π before o-vowels, liquids and nasal, both vocalic and consonantal, but τπ, initial τ before e- and i-vowels.*

I hold that k̂u̯ and kᵘ fell together in prehistoric Greek, as far as the *quality* of the resulting sound is concerned. They differed only in *quantity*, k̂u̯ as two full sounds giving a double consonant, while kᵘ, in which the u̯ was only a slight after-tone, produced a single consonant; cf. ἕλιπον from *e-likᵘ-o-m and ἵππος from *ekᵘo-s (Brugmann, Grundriss, I, pg. 315). Owing to the simplification of two initial consonants, the representatives of *initial* k̂u̯ and kᵘ would become absolutely identical. As regards the treatment of gutturals before e- and i-vowels, I hold strongly to Brugmann's treatment of this phenomenon as against that of J. Schmidt. While the latter maintains that the Greek dentalization is identical with the Aryan palatization of gutturals, both having their beginnings in Indo-Eur., Brugmann holds that the two processes have no historical connection, that the dentals are due to a special Greek treatment of the gutturals, and, moreover, of those gutturals which originally had the u̯ after-sound. That τ arose from kᵘ, not from k, he justly concludes from the fact that the dental occurs only in such classes of words for which

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other forms in the labializing languages prove the former existence of k^u, e. g. τέο beside πό-θεν, τίς = Lat. quis, and that the dentalization does not occur in words for which other forms show the representative of simple k (not k^u), as κέλης = Lat. celer (cf. Grundriss, I, pg. 316).[1]

Now, just as k^u becomes τ before e- and i-vowels, so may $\hat{k}u̯$ have become ττ, initial τ, under the same circumstances. This hypothesis can neither be proved nor disproved by actual examples. The only certain cases of $\hat{k}u̯$—ππ, initial π, are before o-vowels or vowel nasals, ἵππο-ς from *$e\hat{k}u̯o$-s and πανσ- from *$\hat{k}u̯_{o}nt$-. To be sure, the etymology Gr. πφαπίδες = Skt. párçu (used in plural, meaning 'ribs'), has been proposed by Bechtel (Gött. Nachr. 1888, pg. 401) and supported by Johannson (Literaturblatt für germ. und rom. Phil., 1889, pg. 366), who sets up an Indo-Eur. form *$pr̥\hat{k}u̯ī$, but, even according to the law as usually stated, we should expect ππ, not π, so that the comparison is too uncertain to disturb us.

Once granted the correctness of the preceding hypothesis in regard to the treatment of $\hat{k}u̯$ and the rest is easy. Just as g^u becomes β before o-vowels, etc., and δ before e- and i-vowels, so would $\hat{g}u̯$ become ββ, initial β, and δδ, initial δ, respectively, under the same conditions. And as kh^u (Indo-Eur. gh) becomes φ before o-vowels, etc., but θ before e- and i-vowels, so would $\hat{k}hu̯$ (Indo-Eur. $\hat{g}hu̯$) become φφ, initial φ, and θθ, initial θ, respectively, and we have the explanation of θήρ. As Indo-Eur. gheros (Skt. háras), through the stage of prehistoric Gr. kh^ueros, becomes θέρος, so would Indo-Eur. $\hat{g}hu̯ēr$-, through the stage $khu̯ēr$, become θήρ.

Our next task is to explain Latin ferus, fera, on the basis of an Indo-Eur. *$\hat{g}hu̯ēr$-. Italic k^u (= Indo-Eur. q) and $\hat{k}u̯$, both initial and in the interior of a word, are alike represented in Latin by qu-, irrespective of the quality of the following vowel; cf. quo- (Indo-Eur. *qo-) and equus (Indo-Eur. *$e\hat{k}u̯o$-s). It is held, however, that in the Italic period they were still distinct, because in Umbrian we find ekvine, a locative of an adj. = Lat. equinus (Iguvinian Tables, II A. l. 13), while forms like pumpe = Lat. quomque show that Indo-Eur. q was labialized as in Greek (cf.

[1] Our argument is in no way affected by the setting up of these non-labialized gutturals as an independent Indo-Eur. series, cf. Osthoff, M. U. V, pg. 63, note; Bezzenberger in his Beiträge XVI, pg. 234 ff. For that the new series may in some cases be represented by dentals in Greek, as Bezzenberger claims, is not satisfactorily proved.

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Brugmann, Grundriss, I, pg. 322). This conclusion is, however, uncertain owing to the possibility, which Brugmann l. c. has not omitted to note, that ekvine may be borrowed from the Latin, as kvestur, to which Bücheler (Umbrica, pg. 127) compares it, must necessarily be. Still the question whether k^u and $\hat{k}u̯$ had already in the Italic period become identical or not does not affect our argument either way; for fera, I believe, does not occur in any of the dialects, and we may restrict ourselves to Latin.

Like k^u and $\hat{k}u̯$, so may g^u and $\hat{g}u̯$ have become identical in Latin, and, furthermore, χ^u (Indo-Eur. gh) and $\chi u̯$ (Indo-Eur. $\hat{g}$h; χ, adopted from Brugmann's Grundriss, is intended merely to denote the fact that the Indo-Eur. sonant aspirates had become surd spirants in the Italic period), just as Indo-Eur. *ghormo- (Skt. gharmá-s) through the stage of *χ^uormo-s, gives Latin formus, so would Indo-Eur. *$\hat{g}$h$u̯$ēr-, through *$\chi u̯$ēr-, give Latin fer-a, fer-us.

A certain degree of support would be given to this hypothesis that Indo-Eur. $\hat{g}$h$u̯$ becomes f in Latin, if we could show that Indo-Eur. $\hat{g}$h before vowel u becomes f in Latin, and this, I think, can at least be made probable. A change of $\hat{g}$h to f beside that of $\hat{g}$h–h, was formerly held for quite a number of words, but most of these have been put aside as borrowed from the Sabine dialect, where f is the regular representative of $\hat{g}$h.

Only fundo remains a stumbling-block. No one ventures to consider such a common word as of Sabine origin, and the comparison with χέω, Gothic giutan, Anglo-Saxon geotan (English gut), Skt. √hu, 'to pour' (a libation), Avestan zao-prā, 'libation,' is too striking to be given up without a struggle.

Osthoff, to be sure, denies the correctness of the etymology (M. U. IV, pg. 99: "Indem ich . . . verwantschaft des lat. fundere mit griech. χέω, got. giutan leugne, entgehe ich einerseits der lästigen zumuthung, lat. lautwandel von gh in f neben demjenigen in h anzuerkennen"), but Brugmann (Grundriss, I, pg. 294, note) retains it while acknowledging the difficulty of explaining it. Under the supposition that gh *before u* becomes f, the difficulty is removed. As another example of this change may be cited fulvus, which Schrader (Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte², pg. 168) considers to be of the same origin as helvu-s, which = O. H. G. gelo. A. S. geolo (English yellow), Skt. hári-s, 'bright yellow,' Avestan zairi-š, 'golden,' Lith. žélti, 'to grow green,' Old Bulg. zelenŭ, 'green.'

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Helvu-s is from *χel-vo-s, Indo-Eur. *ĝhel-, fulvu-s from *χul-vo-s, Italic *χol-vo-s, Indo-Eur. *ĝhl̥-. The fact that fulvu-s and helvu-s are not identical in meaning in Latin is no argument against their formal relationship. "Gerade zur bezeichnung der dem bewusstsein erst allmählich aufgehenden farbenunterschiede sind der sprache lautdifferenzierungen sehr willkommen" (J. Schmidt, Vokalismus, pg. 353; the examples given to illustrate this are unfortunate, but the general truth of the statement is not to be doubted). The form folus (known only through Festus) = holus, Gr. χλόη, Lith. žolė, 'herbs,' 'vegetables,' may possibly owe its f to the analogy of fulvus, but it is scarcely likely that there existed any consciousness of the connection between the two words, and so it is better, with Brugmann, Osthoff, and others, to regard folus as a Sabine word which had crept into Festus.

Let us now see if there are any facts on the negative side at variance with our law. Are there any cases in which ĝh before u does *not* become f. Under the instances of Lat. h for Indo-Eur. ĝh given by Brugmann (Grundriss, pg. 294) we find humu-s, but here the u is not Indo-Eur., nor even Italic, but arose in Latin by Svarabhakti, like the e in Avestan zemō (monosyllabic, as is shown by the metre) gen. sing. = Indo-Eur. ǧhm-os (cf. Bartholomae, Arische Forschungen, II, pgs. 55, 56; Daniellson in Pauli's Alt-ital. Studien, III, pg. 143). The u of Oskan hu[n]truis proves nothing, for in the Oskan alphabet u represents both ū and ō, and Umbrian hondra shows us that the u of hu[n]truis is for o.

It will be objected that though the u of fundo is Indo-Eur., the u of fulvu-s is not even Italic, but special Latin like the u of humus, and yet I have credited it with the power to change χ to f. True, but we can suppose that ol became ul at a period preceding that in which the Svarabhakti u in humu-s came into existence. That Italic ol = Indo-Eur. l̥ became ul in the very earliest period of Latin, long before the general weakening of o to u, is shown by the fact that forms with o are never found (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, pg. 238). To this very period then, after the change of -ol- > -ul-, but before the appearance of the Svarabhakti u in humus, belongs the action of our law—χ (Indo-Eur. ĝh) becomes f before u, otherwise h. Combining this with the results of our consideration of fera, we may state as a more general law—*Indo-Eur. ĝh, Italic χ, becomes f in early Latin when followed by u either vowel or consonant (u or u̯).*

CARL D. BUCK.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Das Praesens der indogermanischen Grundsprache, von OTTO HOFFMANN. Göttingen, 1889. 145 pp.

This monograph proposes to give a "general, comprehensive, and easily understood treatment of the forms of the Present-system in the I. E. languages, and to deduce from these the original type of the parent speech, hoping thereby to 'orient' beginners as well as specialists in the present condition of comparative grammar, and its most important results for the separate languages." This aim is commendable, for there is a lack of easily understood manuals for beginners, and the Present-system offers a very satisfactory section of grammar for introductory treatment. It may be admitted at the outset that the author's style of presentation justifies his effort after easy comprehensibility. We fear, however, that in his attempt to reach the very different groups of beginners and special philologists he has succeeded in reaching neither adequately. It was to reach the former, we presume, that Hoffmann omits all mention of his authorities, and passes over contrary opinion without a word; in setting up brand-new explanations of very unimportant points, on the other hand, he is certainly not consulting the needs of beginners. This *ipse dixit* manner does add to the comprehensibility of his treatment, but the professed scholar prefers to employ his own discrimination somewhat in deciding between the various opinions that offer.

The volume before us does present a very useful and well arranged body of material to the student. After defining the present-system and differentiating thematic and non-thematic inflection, the former is taken up in detail in the following classes:

I. *a*. Strong root + unaccented thematic vowel.
   β. Weak root + accented thematic vowel.
II. *a*. Strong root + jot + unaccented thematic vowel.
   β. Weak root + jot + accented thematic vowel.
III. Weak root + inchoative suffix *skh* (*sic*).
IV. *a*. Strong root with infixed nasal + unaccented thematic vowel.
   β. Weak root with infixed nasal + accented thematic vowel.

Paradigms of each of these classes are given for the leading members of the I. E. language family, and the original paradigms then reconstructed as far as possible. Notes follow each paradigm, explaining the variations shown by single languages from the common type. This section is concluded with tables of the reconstructed I. E. roots of the thematic class.

On p. 63 the non-thematic classes are taken up with the following subdivisions: I. The Root-Class. II. The Reduplicating Class. III. The Nasal Classes—which all alike insert the syllable *né* for strong forms, and *n* for weak, and are thus tabulated:

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III. *a*. Weak root + accented *né*; *β*. Weak root + accented *né* + *a*; *γ*. Weak root + accented *né* + *u*. The two last classes really form dissyllabic roots according to the Hoffmann-Fick theory, though our author nowhere speaks of them by that name.

The reconstructed paradigms seem to me very well done, barring such points as I. E. 3d sing. mid. **bherei* to be commented on, and young students can get valuable practice in reconstructing original I. E. forms. When Brugmann's volume on inflections appears the value of the book before us will be increased, for the student can then exercise an easier closet-criticism.

Two rather important points are raised by our author, as we suppose, for the first time. The first of these is a new explanation for φέρεις and φέρει, p. 6; the second, a theory that thematic conjugation is older than non-thematic, that non-thematic conjugation is a secondary development from (root) aorists, i. e. that all ω-conjugation is original and primary, all μι-conjugation derived and secondary, p. 131.

The new explanation starts with the 3d sing. φέρει equated with Aryan **bhâre*, a form constructed from Vedic *joṣe*, *tocé*, *mahe*, *çáye*, *séve*, *stáve*, beside *stavate*, etc., and Zend *içaê* (*sic*) beside *içaitê*. Hoffmann is very unfortunate in his choice of examples; of the six Vedic examples given, *joṣe*, *tocé* and *séve* are not found in either Rig- or Atharva-Vedas. The only example Whitney cites in his Grammar for the *bhū*-class is *çóbhe*, not given by Hoffmann, but *stáve* is cited in the Verb-Roots. *Çaye* belongs without doubt to the *ad*-class. *Mahe*, *stáve*, and *çóbhe*, each of which occurs but once in R. V., are then the only unequivocal examples for the *bhū*-class. Zend *isé* is non-thematic (Bartholomae's Handbuch, §297). This is surely weak ground for setting up an I. E. **bherei* as *3d sing. mid.* of thematic inflection, which in Greek became *3d sing. act.*, to say nothing of the strange change of voice. This point Hoffmann guards, to be sure, by equating the Lat. perf. *dedī* with Sk. *dadê*, but his position is inherently too weak for his guard to reinforce. The parallelism of the *1st* and *3d sing. perf. mid.* is adduced, but it weakens instead of reinforcing the position. It is merely analogy with the perf. that has affected the pres. system. The true home of this 3d sing. mid. ending *e* in Sk. is in the root-class and the infix-nasal class. Whitney's language is that these forms are "not rare" in the root-class, and "ordinary" in the infix-nasal class, and he cites for the root-class *íçe*, *duhé*, *vidé*, and *cáye* as most frequent, *cité*, *bruve*, *huvé* as more sporadic. *içe*, Zend *isē*, is, as far as I know, the only example quotable that is common to both languages. Points cannot be made on the quantity of *i*- and *u*-vowels in Zend (Barth. Handb. §19), but *íçe* looks for all the world like a true perf. with anomalous accent, cf. Wh.[2] 801e; and it is from this source the perf. may have exerted its analogical influence. Forms like *vidré*, *arhire* (Wh.[2] 613) show that the perf. had a corresponding effect on 3d plur. presents.

However this may be, Hoffmann is inconsistent with himself in claiming the original character of this termination and the secondary nature of non-thematic inflection where alone it makes any show whatever, save the sporadic instances noted above in the *bhū*-class.

Further, the relation of *si* : *ti* in the act. seems pretty well established for the second and third persons of the parent speech, and this supplies a strong inference for the original character of *sai* : *tai* in the mid.

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So much for the *a priori* objections to this new theory, but we must further see why Hoffmann refuses the orthodox explanation of *φερεσι > φερεῖ > φέρει which, by taking up from ἔφερες a new ς, became φέρεις. 3d sing. φέρει was derived from such an analogy as ἔφερες : φέρεις = ἔφερε : φέρει, while by Hoffmann's theory this proportion must be just inverted. The claim is made that Homer never contracts vowels brought into hiatus by the loss of σ—always κράτεϊ, μενεϊ, never κράτει, μένει, etc. This point was raised by Dr. Herbert Weir Smyth, in his dissertation on *Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen*, Göttingen, 1884, and has obtained a wide and responsible following. Before discussing the point we must eliminate all equivocal cases. Much the largest group of these is offered by words of trochaic metrical value like ἔγχος, etc., which make ἐγχεϊ, etc., in the oblique cases. Now it is a purely subjective theory of the rhythm of Homeric hexameters to pronounce that these must be dactyls rather than spondees. Words of this type further occur before vowels where this conjunction of two vowels makes but one short syllable in the scansion. Menrad, *de Contractionis et Synizeseos Usu Homerico*, gives fifty-three such examples. It is well known that true diphthongs like μοὶ make a short quantity in Homeric verse under these circumstances, and this is explained as the consonantizing of *i* to *j*; Hoffmann, then, must explain such a treatment of μένεϊ, etc., in the same way, e. g. in Z 127. But here is a genuine difficulty for him to meet. Homer is averse to elision of ι; except in such true diphthongs as I have mentioned there is elision of ι in Homer only nineteen times, barring of course the cases under discussion. In Sk. *sandhi*, *i* is as freely consonantized after consonants before vowels as (the diphthong) *e* is resolved into *ay* in interior euphony, or into *a*(*y*) in exterior: as well *aty abharam* as *ćay-e* or *patata*(*y*) *iyam*, but with Homer's aversion for ἔτϳ, ὅτϳ, etc., we must think that μένει, and not μένεϊ, is to be made of such verse-endings as μένει ἀντιόωσιν, Z 127. The only unequivocal cases for μένεϊ, κράτεϊ, etc., will be furnished by pyrrhic stems, or stems ending in pyrrhics when the resulting tribrachs of the oblique cases are converted into anapaests before words beginning with a pair of consonants. Until a collection is made with this object, the verdict of not proven holds against Hoffmann's position. Menrad, p. 72, furnishes eleven unequivocal examples for -ει, not -εϊ, in the dat. of εσ-stems; p. 28 has seven unequivocal examples of -εα < -εσα making one long syllable (cf. further Cauer's Odyssey XXIII) Z 126; Ψ 719, 515; P 647; χ 460; γ 91; X 299; E 734; Θ 385; T 92; Ω 527; H 207; X 322; ω 534; Ω 7; λ 183[3]; Λ 282[3]. For further examples of such contraction may be cited θάρσενς, P 573, θέρενς, η 118, θάμβενς, ω 394, etc. ἀληθείη < ἀληθεσια and ἐμεῖο < ἐμεσιο demand fresh explanation on this theory. I very much doubt if as many unequivocal examples of non-contracted forms can be produced by Hoffmann, under the conditions I have laid down. Is he quite ingenuous then in making such an absolute statement as the following: Griech φέρεις kann nicht aus φέρεϊ = φέρεσι plus der sekundären endung -ς entstanden sein, da Homer zwei vokale, die ursprünglich durch sigma getrennt waren, nicht contrahierte (vergl. κράτεϊ μένεϊ)?

If indeed it should be proved that φέρει cannot proceed from φέρεϊ < φέρεσι, I think I can show that it may proceed from φερεϊ < φερεσι, for the explanation is an accentual one. Wackernagel's famous application of the thoroughgoing

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enclisis of independent verbs in Sk. to the recessive accentuation of Gk. verbs will avail us here. The conditions of enclisis that grew up in Gk. absolved two syllables and three *morae* at the inflective end of the verb from accent. φημὶ and εἰμὶ fall entirely within this limit for the pres. indic., and preserve their enclitic character. In the earliest Greek stage we may assume an enclitic φερω, φερεῖ, φερετε, etc., but the upgrowth of this principle of enclisis gave us φερω : φέρετε. With φερεῖ we have a struggle between giving up complete enclisis or admitting a very simple contraction, the result was, I assume, φερει; at a still later stage we may conceive a paradigm φερω, φερεις, φερει, but φέρετον, φέρετε, etc.

On p. 10 the author puts forth a new explanation of the Lat. subj. pres. *feram*, *feras*, etc., which he explains as I. E. *ă*-aorists. Why does not the injunctive imperfect **bheram*, **bheras*, Sk. *bharam*, *bharas* offer a better term of comparison? It seems pure wantonness to compare *vadhis*, etc., with *feras*, equating Sk. *ī* = Lat. *ă*, I. E. *ă*, for both the color and the quantity of the vowels are repugnant to such an equation. This point is again brought forward on p. 131, where we reach the second of Hoffmann's larger vagaries from orthodoxy: Die meisten der *mi*-praesentia sind vom Aoriste, nur es gleich prägnanter auszudrücken, von verschiedenen aoriststämmen aus gebildet. The 'evidently composite' character of the reduplicating and nasal classes is cited in general terms as the ground for this conclusion, and now an explanation is offered for the equivalence of *feras* : *vadhis* in point of termination. 'For the proethnic speech only 2d and 3d sing. act. are extant, *āsīs* = ἐας = *eras*, *āsīt* = *erat*. Of these forms 47 2d and 60 3d persons are to be found in R. V. from 30 roots. A first sing. in *īm* has three occurrences from two roots. In the plural R. V. offers only two additional examples with *ī*. In Homer ἐγήρᾱ, ἀπηύρᾱ and οὖτα remain, there are scattering dialect forms, and ἔτλᾱ and ἔτλη belong to the common dialect. The second person is, however, living, εἶπας, ἔχεϝας, ἠνεικας, ἔκηϝας. εἶπα and εἶπε do not belong to this type; εἶπα and ἔχεϝα come from *ϝέϝιπ̯μ, *ἔχεϝμ̯, while εἶπε is from a thematic εἶπον. The final vowel seems to have been long, Sk. *ī*, ἀπεύρᾱ, ὁ 646, and κατεγήρᾱ, ι 510 in Homer; οὐτά is an exception.'

On this slender basis the author would reconstruct for I. E. a new aorist system differing from the *a*-aorist as described by Wh.[2] 846 fg. An examination of the Homeric forms will show how slight is the help the Greek affords. ἀπηύρᾱ ὁ 646 is certainly a contracted impf. to correspond with 1st pers. ἀπηύρων. If Hom. did not always use γηράσκω, not γηράω, κατεγήρᾱ ι 510 would have the same explanation: καταγηράω does appear as early as the Ionic of Herodotus. οὖτα is certainly a better testimony to *ă* than κατεγήρᾱ to *ā*. The evidence is altogether insufficient for setting up a 3d sing. aor. ending *-*āt* = Sk. *it*.

It is scarcely necessary to point to ἔβα, ἔβη to explain ἔτλα, ἔτλη. *ἐϝιπ̯μ̥ > εἶπα, *ἐϝιπας > εἶπας, correspond in every respect with Sk. *dvidam*, *avidas*, and εἶπε may be due to the analogy of the perf. endings -*α*, -*ας*, -*ε*. For the Sk. examples cited the stem-form too exactly agrees with that of the *iṣ*-aorist, speaking in the large, to be separated from it; cf. Wh.[2] 899–901.

'The reduplicating and root classes are derived from root aorists gone over into *μι*-inflection. Beside *dadāti* is *dāti* (5 times in R. V.) from the aor. *adāt*;

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eti is associated with thematic *ayate*, and there is a *bharte* to *bharate*, the thematic types being the older.'

The position that reduplicating and nasal class verbs are of secondary origin seems logical enough on *a priori* grounds, but it is hard to see how the aorists would help themselves to nasal and reduplicating affixes in passing over to a present system. Reduplicated aorists exist, to be sure, but in Sk. the method of reduplication is very unlike that of present stems.

Many difficulties lie in the way of this view for the root class. In all members of the I. E. family the trend is away from non-thematic to thematic inflection. In Sk. *pibati*, *tiṣṭhati*, *jighrati*, and *sidati*, *dadati* and *dadhati* are all transfers from the reduplicating to the thematic class.

If we compare the lists in Whitney's Verb-Roots we see how poor a basis is afforded for Hoffmann's view. The root *kṛ* for the earlier language makes the very best showing that can be found for his theory. This root has developed only three forms of root-present in R. V., *kṛthás*, *kṛtha*, *kṛṣé*. In A. V. the only occurrence is *kárṣi*; √*gam* has only *gathá* in R. V.; in Rig- and Atharva-Vedas 1 √*ci* forms *ceti*; √*jan* gives *janiṣva* (?); √*ji* gives *jéṣi* and *jitam*; √*juṣ* gives *jóṣi*; √*dā* gives *dā́ti* and *dā́tu*; √*dhā* gives *dhā́ti* (3); 1 √*pā* gives *pā́nti* (1), *pā́thas* (1); √*bhṛ* gives *bharti* (2); √*yam* gives *yáṁsi*; √*yuj* gives *yujé*, *yujmahe*, *yujata*, *yuksvá*; √*yudh* gives *yótsi*; √*vah* gives a large complement of forms, but its root aor. is as late as Sūtra and of an altogether different stem formation; √*vṛt* gives *vartti* (1); √*çru* gives *çróṣi*; √*saḥ* gives *sakṣi*, *sákṣva*, *sā́kṣva*; √*hū* gives *hóma*, *hūmáhe*; and √*hṛ*. gives *harme* (1), though its aor. is as late as Brāhmaṇa, as is the case with aor. of √*bhṛ*. These are the only examples of root-presents in the early language where one can see any trace of aor. influence. Of the root-presents that prevail throughout the language √*ad* and √*i* give the most support to Hoffmann's theory, and root-aorists to these bases appear late, to √*ad* in Br., to √*i* as late as Epic. The truth is that there is no intrinsic difference between the impfs. to root-presents, and root-aorists. *ábhedam* (R.-A.): *ádveṣam* (R. I.), *abhet*: *ádveṭ*, *ámok*: *adhok*, *arudhma*: *áduhma*, *açvitan*: *álihan* are perfect parallels in formation, and we might easily set up counter to Hoffmann's theory the explanation of root-aorists as imperfects of the root-class, if we chose to quibble about names. Indeed, these forms can be distinguished only by a syntactical test which admits of being made in R. V. between the 'true-perfect' value of the aor. and the merely past signification of the impf., and this test our author should have made before setting up his theory.

Further, many Vedic roots appear as root-presents only, disappearing in the later language altogether. What is the explanation of such sporadic forms? Plainly this, it seems to me. They are survivals, and of a particularly antique nature. The explanation from analogy cannot be duly applied, for the analogies all lead to the devouring thematic type. It must be remembered that analogy is an economy of thought, as phonetic law is an economy of utterance, and in the forms under discussion analogy could only lead, speaking in the large, to the dead level of thematic inflection.

The accentual phenomena accompanying strong and weak stems in the root-present seem to be of a more archaic nature than the set accent of the thematic types.

If non-thematic inflection is of secondary origin, the next shift of the

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kaleidoscope will be to that theory of dissyllabic roots of which Fick is so enthusiastic an advocate. We shall no longer write *√bher*, but *√bhere/o*—as Milton said that 'new presbyter is but old priest writ large.'

On p. 78 we have an investigation of the so-called Fick's law that I. E. *i̯* appears in Greek as *ι* if the accent originally followed, but as *j* when it preceded. This is extended by Hoffmann with apparent correctness to such a statement as the following: 'I. E. *i̯* appears as *j* in Gk. if the accent directly preceded, but as *ι* if the accent had any other position.' Germanists will be interested to see how this tallies with Verner's law.

Some minor corrections remain to be made: p. 10, *arcā* cited as the only 1st sing. subj. of the shorter form in the *tud*-class should be followed by *madā* (Wh.[2] 737). P. 43 we have an I. E. *sido* posited from Sk. *sīdati*, Lat. *sīdo*. ἵζω is explained from **sidi̯o*. The old explanation by reduplication explains all the forms. *si-sed-* > *si-zd-* > *sīd-*, but in Gk. *si-zd-* > ἵζ: Dor. ἰσδ-, is here important, for *sidi̯-* would give Dor. ἰδδ-, cf. Brug. Gr. Gram.[2] §41 in the Handbuch. *bhé-n-dho*, p. 58, is given to the infix-nasal class, but there is no evidence for anything but *bhéndho*. Possibly *spé-n-do* is in the same case. We have, to be sure, σφεδ-ανός beside σφενδό-νη, and σφοδ-ρός is in proper *ablaut* relations with it, but there is a variant reading σφαδανός (condemned by Aristarchus) for Homer which looks to a **σφgδανός*, and we might suspect in σφεδανός a popular etymology from σφενδό-νη. σφοδ-ρός is easy of explanation from **σφαδ-ρος* as a labialization.

On p. 73 we have a queer statement *à propos* of Sk. *edhi* < *as ˇdhi* (*sic*): Die Erscheinung, dass von einem klingenden consonanten nur *i* übrig bleibt ist im indischen perfectum durchgehend: *sédimá* < *saiz ˇdimá* < *saz ˇdimá*, *pécimá* < *paip ˇcemá* < *pap ˇcimá*. To avoid the explanation by analogy—to which he resorts readily enough in support of his favorite thesis of aoristically derived presents—Hoffmann ignores the fundamental distinction between surd and sonant, actually allowing a surd to give compensatory lengthening—for that is how the above statement results.

In the list of aorists in *-īt*, on p. 132, *barhīt* and *varhīt* are given as separate words! *codīs*, *dhvanīt*, *dhāyīs* (?), *stambhīt* and *sedhīs* are omitted, while *yāsīt* is given, in reality a *-siṣ-*aorist.

On p. 134 Hoffmann makes an explanation of *brdvīmi*, *tāvīti*, *çvdsīti*, etc., that I am glad to accept, when he accounts for the stem as derived from aorists in *-īs*, *-īt*. I fully agree with him also in explaining *āsīs*, *āsīt*, *abravīs*, *abravīt* as aorists.

Finally, there occurs on p. 100 a sentence that M. Victor Henry, who reviewed this book in the Revue Critique, 2–9, Sept. 1889, felt impelled to criticise sharply in the interest of scientific spirit and method: "Δίδοσαι," writes our author, "geht auf älteres **δίδοαι* zurück: das *-σ* der endung wurde wohl deshalb nachträglich wieder eingefügt, weil man eine contraktion von **δίδοαι* vermeiden wollte." Whereupon M. Henry remarks: "Je n'insiste pas; qui de nous n'a à se reprocher d'avoir, au moins une fois en sa vie, écrit une énormité pareille?"

Hoffmann's views are sure to produce discussion whatever the final verdict may be in regard to them. We must wait with interest to hear what such masters as Brugmann, de Saussure, and Ascoli think of his original contribution to the points he has discussed.

EDWIN WHITFIELD FAY.

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HARVARD STUDIES IN CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY. Edited by a Committee of the Classical Instructors of Harvard University. Vol. I, 1890. Boston, Ginn & Company.

A prefatory note states that "these studies are published by authority of Harvard University, and will be contributed chiefly by its instructors and graduates, although contributions from other sources will not necessarily be excluded. The publication is supported by a fund of $6000, generously subscribed by the class of 1856. A volume of about 200 pages will be issued yearly."

Vol. I contains the following articles: The Fauces of the Roman House, J. B. Greenough (cut). Opinions of previous writers concerning the position of the fauces are mentioned, after which Vitruvius, VI 1-4, is discussed in connection with the use of the word fauces by other authors. The result of the investigation is to show that the fauces were the entrance to the atrium. The same conclusion was reached by Ivanhoff, *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1859, p. 82, and adopted by von Rohden, *Baumeister, Denkmäler*, p. 1366.

De Ignis Eliciendi Modis apud Antiquos, M. H. Morgan. This article was written for the purpose of obtaining the degree of Ph. D. The ancients kindled fires from fires already burning whenever that was possible. When a new fire had to be started various means were employed. The most primitive method is by rubbing two sticks together, but this was early superseded by the practice of twirling a stick (πυρεῖον, ignitabulum, igniarium) in a hole made in a board or other piece of wood. This could be twirled by rubbing it alternately with the hands or by twisting a cord about it and pulling the ends of the cord alternately. The latter method makes two persons necessary. To obviate this difficulty the ends of the string were fastened to the ends of a bow-shaped stick, which could be moved back and forth with one hand, thus pulling the ends of the cord alternately. This instrument was the ἀρίς. The word στορεύς in Hesych. and the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius is a mistake for τορεύς, which is equivalent to τρύπανον or πυρεῖον. The best material for the πυρεῖον was the laurel or a wild vine, for the wood in which the πυρεῖον was turned (ἐσχάρα, tabula) the ivy. The first mention of a spark struck from two stones is found in Soph. Phil. 295. This method remained in use longer than any other. The stones best fitted for this purpose were flint and pyrites, a copper ore. The use of iron for striking a spark from stone is first mentioned by Lucretius, 6, 162, and seems not to have been common. The spark was caught in sulphur, dry fungi, leaves or shavings. The reed (νάρθηξ, ferula) was used, not as fuel, but for the purpose of covering and preserving live coals. The use of glass to kindle fire by the rays of the sun is mentioned by Aristophanes (Nub. 764 sqq.), but was evidently unusual in his time. The shape recommended by Pliny is that of a ball. Crystal was not known in early times, but Pliny mentions the use of a crystal ball in cautery, and later writers also speak of its use as a burning-glass. Fire was also kindled by reflection of the sun's rays from a concave mirror. This method is mentioned by Euclid, Plutarch and Pliny. The mirrors were of metal, not glass. A combination of plane mirrors can be made to cause fire, but the story that Archimedes set fire to the ships of Marcellus by such means is rejected as false. The story may be founded upon experiments which Archimedes may have recorded. On the

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first of March of every year the vestal virgins kindled anew the sacred fire. This they did by friction. The passage in Plutarch, v. Num. IX, which seems to contradict this statement, refers to Greek, not to Roman matters, and is interpolated besides. Julian, Orat. ad Solem regem, p. 155 A, refers probably to Byzantine affairs. The instrument mentioned in the rejected passage in Plutarch, by which the sun's rays kindled a fire, was a prism or cube from which part of the upper surface was cut out in a parabolic curve so as to concentrate the sun's rays by reflection.

On the Origin of the Construction of *οὐ μή* with the Subjunctive and the Future Indicative, W. W. Goodwin. The independent subjunctive with *μή* was used as "an expression of apprehension with desire to avert its object ... The aorist subjunctive is the most common form here, the present being less frequent." The subjunctive with *οὐ μή* is the negative of the subjunctive with *μή*. "This form of future denial next admitted the future indicative in the same sense as the subjunctive. The second person singular of this future with *οὐ μή* was used by the dramatists as a prohibition, without abandoning the sense which the future can always have in both positive and negative commands. In these prohibitions the future indicative, in which they had their origin, is generally used; but the subjunctive occasionally occurs, being analogous to the ordinary aorist subjunctive with *μή* in prohibitions."

On some Disputed Points in the Construction of *ἐδει, χρῆν*, etc., with the Infinitive, W. W. Goodwin. It is generally laid down as an absolute rule that when *ἐδει* (*χρῆν*, etc.) is used without *ἀν* with the infinitive, the opposite of the infinitive is always implied, and that when *ἀν* is used, the opposite of the verbs of necessity (obligation, etc.) is implied, e. g. that with *ἐδει τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι* we must understand *ἀλλ' οὐ γίγνεται*, with *ἐδει ἂν τοῦτο γίγνεσθαι* we must understand *ἀλλ' οὐ δεῖ*. This does not cover all cases, e. g. Hdt. I 39 *εἰ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος εἰπε τελευτήσειν με, χρῆν δή σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις*, and concessive sentences, in which the statement precludes the contrary of the apodosis, as Hdt. VII 56, Isoc. XVIII 19. In some concessive sentences the action of the infinitive is denied, notwithstanding the concessive protasis, e. g. Soph. O. T. 255, Thuc. I 38. The following rules cover all cases: 1. "The form without *ἀν* is used when the infinitive is the principal word, on which the chief force of the expression falls, while the leading verb is an auxiliary which we can express by *ought, might, could*, or by an adverb. 2. On the other hand, when the chief force falls on the necessity, propriety, or possibility of the act, and not on the act itself, the leading verb has *ἀν*, like any other imperfect in a similar apodosis." In all examples of *ἐδει ἀν* "we find *ἐδει ἀν* in its meaning *there would be* (or *would have been*) *need*, whereas in the form without *ἀν* we generally have *ἐδει* in the sense of *ought*, expressing *obligation* and not *necessity*." *ἐδει ἀν* differs from *ἐδει* without *ἀν* in meaning as well as in balance of emphasis. *ἐξῆν ἀν* differs from *ἐξῆν* only in the latter respect. In opposition to La Roche, the integrity of two passages (Dem. XVIII 195, Lys. XII 32) in which *χρῆν ἀν* occurs is maintained. In the use of *licebat, debebat*, etc. (= *ἐξῆν, χρῆν*, etc.), and *liceret, deberet* (= *ἐξῆν ἀν, χρῆν ἀν*), the Latin follows the same principle as the Greek. But when these expressions refer to past time, the Latin uses *debuit* or *debuerat* in the sense of *χρῆν, debuisset* in that of *χρῆν ἀν*.

Notes on Quintilian, G. M. Lane. The original long quantity of the *o* of

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the genitive plural ending *-om* is shown (1) by the dropping of the final *m* on coins struck before the Punic war; (2) by the apex occurring in the inscription of Nuceria, IRN. 2096; CIL. X, n. 1081: DVVMVIRATVS, which proves the length of the *u* in this genitive. Quintilian, I 6, 18, mistakes the genitives plural *nummum* and *deum* for misused accusatives singular, showing that in his day the long *ō* or *ū* was forgotten. Quintilian, I 4, 27, gives *lectum* as a word which may be a participium or an appellatio. But *lĕctum*, 'bed,' has a short *ĕ*, while *lēctum*, 'picked,' has a long *ē*. Read, therefore, *tectum*. The passage I 4, 16, which the last editors, Halm and Meister, read thus: quid o atque u permutata inuicem? ut 'Hecoba' et '†notrix,' 'Culcides' et 'Pulixena' scriberentur, is emended by reading 'nutrix Culcidis.' The nurse of Medea is well known.

Some Latin Etymologies, J. B. Greenough. The words *reciprocus*, *proximus*, *procus* (in the sense of *foremost man*), *proceres*, *procax*, *Proculus*, *procul*, are all derived from †*procus* = *pro* + *cus*. Of these, *reciprocus* is a compound of †*recus* and †*procus*, meaning *back and forth*. From †*recus* come also *recipero* and *recens*. The fundamental meaning of *improbus* has not been clearly understood. *Probus* is *pro* + *bus*, the use of *pro* being analogous to that of *super* in *superbus*. *Probus* appears to have been a mercantile word, meaning A1 or first-class. Then *improbus* means *not first-class*, *second rate*, etc. *Rudimentum* is derived from *rudis*, *foil* or *stick*, through a real or supposed verb *rudio*, *fence with the foil*. *Rudimentum* is then *foil-practice*, the first practice of the soldier, hence first attempts generally. From *rudis* an adjective *erudis* would mean *out of the foil*, and from this *erudio* naturally means *train to the point of graduation* from mere foil-practice. *Desidero* is derived from an adjective †*desides* (or *desider*). The original meaning of *sidus* was probably *place*. Then †*desider* or the phrase *de sidere* would mean *out of place*, and *desidero* would mean *mark* or *find out of place* after a battle or military casualty. This military sense of the word is common. *Considero* may have had a similar origin from an adjective †*consides* (or *-er*). *Elementum* is derived from LMN, *el*, *em*, *en*. *Praemium* is derived from *prae* and *emo* (in its earlier sense of *take*) and means 'the part of the booty taken out beforehand' as a reward for merit, then *reward* generally. *Deliciae* and *delicatus* point to *delicus* and †*delico*. Varro uses *delicus* to mean a young weaned pig. The word, if applied to lambs or kids, might easily mean *pet*, from which †*delico* with its participle *delicatus*; *deliciae* is then an abstract noun used, however, ordinarily as a concrete. *Provincia* is derived from *pro* and *vinco* through a †*provincus*. A consul engaged in extending the Roman dominion would be *provincus*, and his sphere of operations his *provincia*. From this meaning the others are developed.

On Egregium Publicum (Tac. Ann. III 70, 4), C. L. Smith. In the words "Capito insignitior fama fuit quod humani divinique iuris sciens egregium publicum et bonas artes dehonestavisset," Capito's eminence as a lawyer must be expressed as one of the objects of *dehonestavisset*. This relation is not contained in the words as they stand. For *egregium publicum* read *egregium publice locum*.

On the use of the Perfect Infinitive in Latin with the Force of the Present, A. A. Howard. "In early Latin the perfect infinitive with its proper significance was made to depend on the verb *nolo* or *uolo* in prohibitions; but since

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the verb of wishing contained the idea of futurity, the whole clause acquired the force of a future perfect expression. Later writers, and especially the poets, transferred this use to negative clauses not prohibitive, containing verbs of wishing, and secondly to clauses containing verbs like *laboro*, *amo*, and *timeo*, 'Verba der Willensrichtung.' Since these verbs contain the idea of futurity, the present infinitive joined with them has the force of a future, the perfect infinitive the force of a future perfect. The tendency of the Latin writers to use the future perfect for the future, through an overstrained desire to be exact, led them in these clauses to use the perfect infinitive instead of the present. The poets, and especially the elegiac poets, took advantage of the opportunity thus offered and transferred the use to other constructions which did not contain a verb of wishing. The reasons for this were two: first, the present infinitive of a large number of verbs which they wished to use, could not, on account of metrical difficulties, be used in their verse, or could be used only under certain restrictions; second, the perfect infinitive of these verbs was peculiarly adapted to the necessities of the last half of pentameter verse. The infinitive in this use seemed to have the force of an aorist infinitive in Greek, and, in course of time, came to be used by the poets even where the metre admitted the use of the present infinitive."

Plutarch *περὶ εὐθυμίας*, H. N. Fowler. In this little treatise Plutarch does not, as R. Hirzel thinks, follow Panaetius for the most part, but derives his philosophical doctrines, as well as his anecdotes and quotations, chiefly from common-place books or anthologies, which he supplements by the results of his own reading.

Vitruviana, G. M. Richardson. The following peculiarities in Vitruvius' use of words are noticed: The limitative use of the preposition *ab* (I 1, 17); the descriptive use of *cum*, the preposition with its noun having the force of an adjective or adverb (I 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, III 1, 4); *aliter* repeated with *atque* as its connective (I 1, 7); *nec* strengthened by a following negative (I 1, 14); *oppido* followed by *quam* (I 3, 7, VII Praef. 14, VIII 3, 11, IX (2) 2); *quemadmodum* used as a relative to introduce a clause with or without a corresponding adverb, or to introduce an illustrative clause (in the sense "for example"), or to introduce a single word with the ellipsis of the verbal idea, and lastly *quemadmodum* as an interrogative (numerous examples); the repetition in the apodosis of the word which in the protasis forms the conditional particle (*sic*, *si*, I 2, 7); the use of *ut* in wishes, etc. (I 1, 3, VIII 7, 1); the indicative in indirect questions (II 6, 4, II 8, 18, II 9, 17, etc.); the infinitive as predicate after *esse* (II 9, 15); *putare*, in the sense of "intend" with complementary infinitive (II 1, 18).

The Social and Domestic Position of Women in Aristophanes, H. W. Haley. Women were held in low estimation both by men and by themselves. Perhaps the plays of Euripides helped to form this unfavorable estimate. Women were not the equals and confidants of their husbands. They were not allowed to appear in public, but were confined to the house, though married women had more liberty than the unmarried, and even the unmarried had considerable liberty in connection with religious festivals, marriage, and burial. Women appear to have been present at the performance of tragedies, but not of comedies. The chief domestic duties of women were the preparation of wool, spinning, weaving, etc. Cooking was usually done by slaves, and in wealthy

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families the care of children was entrusted to slaves. Women learned the elements of letters, besides singing and dancing. For other information they depended upon conversation with their husbands and male relatives.

Notes. F. D. Allen. ψαῦος, attributed to Alcman in Schol. A, Iliad M 137, is miswritten for φαῦος = φάος. In CIL. I 199, *faenisicei* is an error of the graver for *faenisicie*, the ablative of a † *faenisicies*, the counterpart of *faenisicia*. In Schol. Arist. Ran. 13, for φορτικευομένου read φορτακευομένου, and in Suidas s. v. Λύκις read ἐφορτακεύετο for ἐφορτικεύετο. In the Heraclean tables, I 105 fig. ἀρτύω is explained as referring to partnership, and translated 'make a compact' or 'go shares.' Aristophanes, Frogs 179 fig. are arranged in this order: 179, 181, 182, 183, 180, 184, the words in 181, τουτὶ τί ἐστι, being given to Dionysos, and ὠόπ, παραβαλοῦ (180) to Xanthias. In Herod. VI 57, the words τρίτην δὲ τὴν ἐωυτῶν are regarded as an interpolation.—J. B. G. Martial V 78, v. 32 is explained as a question. The guest is asked who the fourth person at the banquet shall be.—G. M. L. *Ellum* is shown to be formed from *em illum*; cf. A. Spengel on Ter. Andria, 855.—A general index and an index of citations close the volume. H. N. F.

Gudrun, a Mediaeval Epic, translated from the Middle-High-German by Mary Pickering Nichols. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin & Co. The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1889. xv and 363 pp. Price $2.50.

In the translation of a classical poem like Gudrun one of at least three methods may be pursued: (1) a literal prose rendering of the original, a "half-truth," may be given, with greatest success, perhaps, "in words that are old and plain," as in the case of the Butcher-Lang Odyssey, or the Lang-Leaf-Meyers Iliad; (2) the translator may reproduce the essential content and spirit, "fairly and honestly give the sense" in a more modern form of verse, as the Earl of Derby did in his Iliad, or Birch in his Nibelungenlied; (3) the essential content and spirit and also the original *verse-form* may be reproduced in a modern tongue, as in the case of Aubertin's Lusiads and Miss Nichols' Gudrun, the work under review. This last is certainly the ideal mode of rendering an ancient epic; for thus not only the flavor and color, but also the rhythmic effect of the original can be transmitted to the modern reader. Compare the following strophe (389) of the original, describing the effect of the Orphean strains of Horant's song, and the translation by Miss Nichols:

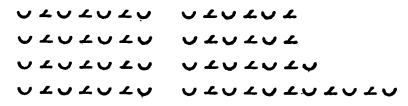
Diu tier in dem walde ir weide liezen stên
die würme, die dâ solden in dem grase gên
die vische, die dâ solden in dem wâge vliezen,
die liezen ir geverte. jâ kunde er sîner fuoge
wol geniezen.

Translation:

The wild beasts in the forest let their pasture grow;
The little worms that creeping through grass are wont to go,
The fishes, too, that ever amidst the waves were swimming,
All now stopped to listen; the singer's heart with pride
was overbrimming.

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Thus it will be observed that the Gudrun strophe:



is faithfully preserved. To be sure, the reader, if acquainted only with modern verse-forms, may find this ancient measure a trifle puzzling at the first glance, but will need to read only a few verses in order to be charmed by the magic power of the rhythm and the epic effect of the last verse of the strophe. To one interested in the psychology of rhythmic forms this fourth verse furnishes a suggestive subject for experiment.

To the student of Gudrun, however, two features of the form of Miss Nichols' translation seem open to criticism. It is well known that the Gudrun epic, as we have it, is interspersed with frequent Nibelungen strophes. Instead of rendering these into the strophic form of the original, the translator has turned all the Nibelungen strophes into Gudrun strophes. Simrock's N. H. German translation, on the contrary, retains the form of the Nibelungen strophes. The second vulnerable point in the form of the translation is its abundance of imperfect rhymes. This is the more striking because the original is almost faultless in its rhymes. Examples are: (masculine) *maid* : *head*; *arms* : *warms*; *fair* : *near*; *far* : *spare*; *known* : *soon*; (*a*)*bide* : *did*; *come* : *home*; (feminine) *merry* : *weary*; *fitted* : *greeted*; *listen* : *hasten*; *heareth* : *beareth*; *dealing* : *dwelling*; *mourning* : *turning*. As will be readily marked, many of these are only assonance. These weaknesses in the strophic structure detract greatly from the faithfulness of the translation, so true in other respects.

Let us examine the rendering of the content of the poem. The best criterion of a masterly translation of an ancient poem is that it transfer the reader into the antique atmosphere of the original without forcing upon him violent forms of speech, a fault which some otherwise well equipped translators have not avoided. In this respect the translator of Gudrun is remarkably successful. Occasional archaisms are not of such a character as to call for more than a passing notice; cf. "'Twould *glad* me greatly," 385, 4, and "This is true, I *weet*," 207, 2.

As might be expected from the very nature of the difficulty of adapting the Gudrun verse to English expression, many infelicitous renderings are to be found. Cf. the following: Str. 68, 2–3,

iedoch het ez besunder darumbe grôze nôt,
wan ez der alde grîfe den sînen jungen truoc.

But none the less he *later* *a life of sadness led*,
After the harsh old griffin back to his nestlings bore him.

Cf. Simrock's translation of this strophe. So strophe 79, 4; 84, 4; 1041, 4; 1042, 4 and others.

Miss Nichols, as she states in the preface, has followed the text of Bartsch's edition. This is true not only of the text, but of the notes as well. The translation might have been improved in certain places by adopting suggestions of other editors; for example, in strophe 21, by rendering *daz kreftige*

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gnot, verse 1, as in apposition with *huobe* (cf. Symons' ed., notes to this passage). So also in strophe 116, verse 2, Symons refers the word *ungewonheite* ("wondrous dwelling," Nichols) not to their "ungewohnte Umgebung" (Bartsch), but to "das ungewohnte tragen fremder Kleider" (cf. also C. Hofmann, s. 226 f.) So other passages might be cited where preferable rendering could have been adopted; cf. Symons' notes on str. 97, 4; 153, 2; 1147, 1 and others. Martin and Symons seem to have been seldom consulted in the translation.

Cases of redundant filling to complete the measure are frequent; cf. str. 424, 4; 548, 3–4; 637, 4.

Names of persons have been wisely retained in their original form, as Wate, Horant, Sigeband, Ute and others; but geographical names are treated more freely. In some cases unjustifiable irregularities have crept in. In str. 204, 1 *Danelande*, renders correctly the original *Tenelant*, so str. 242, 3 *Denmark*, *Tenemarke;* but why *Daneland* for *Tenemarke*, str. 206, 1; 1612, 4, is not apparent.

But these matters of detail do not seriously impair the real value of the translation. The translator has done her work with a master-hand, and added a long neglected monument of Middle-High-German epic song to the list of classical English translations. Miss Nichols' Gudrun deserves a place by the side of Aubertin's Lusiads and Longfellow's and Dean Plumptre's Divina Comoedia. The Nibelungenlied has not yet found an English translator so competent.

M. D. LEARNED.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY. Part V, Cast–Clivy. Oxford, At The Clarendon Press. New York, Macmillan & Co., 1889.

Part V of the New English Dictionary should have been noticed before in this Journal. It is, as the preceding parts have been, full of information and interest. Dr. Murray tells us that it contains 8371 words. This is fewer than any part has contained except the first (8365). A rough calculation makes the average of the five parts about 8700 each, which would give about 208,000 words for the whole work, or deducting 25 per cent for obsolete words, the present English vocabulary may be estimated at about 156,000 words. It is likely to be rather more than less than this. But, as the large majority of these words are unknown to literature, this method of counting fails to give an adequate idea of the resources of the language. Perhaps some statistician with a plenty of leisure may, by suitable deductions, make this calculation for us.

Every page shows the labor that has been expended upon this unrivalled work. Take the first word *Cast*, and it fills, as both noun and verb, over twenty columns. *Church* alone fills ten columns, and with its compounds about ten more.

Great attention has been paid to securing etymological accuracy, as the exhaustive discussion of *Church* shows. Dr. Murray gives his adhesion to the view that it is derived from the Greek κυριακόν (sc. δῶμα, or the like), "which occurs, from the third century at least, used substantively = 'house of the Lord,' as a name of the Christian house of worship." He says further that "the

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use of κυριακή in Greek appears too late to affect the question." *Cirice, circe,* are regarded as the oldest English forms, not *cyrice,* which is a later variant, and these correspond to a West Germanic *kirika.* "Although the notion has been advanced that all the continental forms originated in the O. E., in connexion with the early missionary labors of Englishmen in Germany, this is philologically untenable, and the word is held on good grounds to be common W. Ger., and to go back at least to the fourth or fifth century." The whole discussion, which fills nearly two columns, is an interesting one and will well repay perusal. The earliest example of the use of the word in English writing is taken from the *Laws of King Wihtraed,* A. D. 696, but it doubtless goes back to the coming of St. Augustine, one hundred years earlier.

It is difficult to make selections in order to give an idea of the fullness of the work, but, as a point of present interest, it may be mentioned that Dr. Murray is no stickler for particular forms of spelling. He gives both *centre* and *center,* though plainly preferring the former, and says: "The prevalent spelling from sixteenth to eighteenth century was *center,* in Shakspere, Milton, Boyle, Pope, Addison, etc.; so the early dictionaries, Cotgr. ('*centre,* F., a center'), Cockeram, Phillips, Kersey, and all the thirty editions of Bailey 1721–1802; but the technical volume of Bailey (Vol. II) 1727–31, and the folio 1730–36, have *centre;* 'an interleaved copy of the folio of 1730 was the foundation of Johnson's Dictionary,' which followed it in spelling *centre;* this has been generally adopted in Great Britain, while *center* is the prevalent spelling in the United States." The last statement may be true, and if so, it is due to the influence of Noah Webster in the northern section of the United States, but the majority of educated persons in this latitude spell *centre.* It is, however, a matter of small consequence, and this quotation shows, what has been asserted before, that the forms of modern English spelling are due chiefly to Dr. Johnson, who, unfortunately, did not take advantage of his opportunity to correct some of the bad spelling of his time.

It is interesting to note in respect to another point that *chock-full* is the better substantiated form, although *choke-full* is also given. Dr. Murray says: "The American lexicographers have *chock-full* as the standard form with *choke-full* as a cross-reference; and this appears to agree with literary usage in U. S. *Choke-full* appears to be rather the more frequent in literary use in England; but *chock-full* is almost universal in spoken use; *chuck-full,* in literary use before and after 1800, is now only dialectal." After discussing the derivation, which is unsettled, and the forms in the English dialect glossaries, he concludes, "*Choke-full* appears to have no local status, . . . being thus merely a book-spelling founded upon a conjectural derivation." *Chuck-full,* I may add, is illiterate usage here.

Under U. S. colloquialisms we find Bret Harte (1870) and Mark Twain (1872) as authorities for *To hand* (*pass*) *in one's checks,* but the phrases are much older than either of those dates.

It is strange that the *Slang Dictionary* (1873) is the earliest authority for *chips* = money, and no example is found of the present fashionable use of *chips* in card-playing, although the word is defined as "a counter used in games of chance." Bret Harte (1870) is again the earliest authority for *chip in* in the sense of interrupting a conversation, and this is the only use of that term men-

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tioned. Among the phrases in which *chip* occurs I fail to find *knock a chip off one's head*, but perhaps English boys are not as familiar with the custom as American. It is interesting to note that Milton uses *chip of the old block*, and Bishop Sanderson has *chip of the same block*, in a metaphorical sense.

We have a most interesting discussion of the two verbs *cleave*, to split, and *cleave*, to cling to, the former being originally a strong *u*-verb, and the latter a strong *i*-verb and also weak. Dr. Murray well says: "From the fourteenth century the inflexional forms of this verb [CLEAVE[1]] have tended to run together with those of CLEAVE[2], 'to stick.' Though the latter was originally *clive*, it had also the variants *cleove*, *clēve*, the latter of which at length prevailed; the two verbs having thus become identical in the present stem were naturally confused in their other inflexions." If the forms *cleve* and *clive*, which existed in the fourteenth century, could have been kept separate, this confusion might possibly have been avoided, but in language there is no place for the "might have been." We have to take it as it is, and try to explain the apparently arbitrary variations as best we can by known phonetic laws.

To the examples of *Clergy* in the sense of "learning, scholarship, science," I may add the following from Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, II 82, 10, which may come in well between the example from the *Metrical Homilies* (1325) and that from the *York Mysteries* (1440):

> "In the cronique as I finde
> Cham, whos labour is yet in minde,
> Was he, which first the letters fonde
> And wrote in Hebreu with his honde,
> Of natural philosophy
> He found first also the *clergy*."

This is a plain statement, according to Gower, that Ham not only invented the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, but discovered also the science of natural philosophy. (One cannot read a page of Gower without wishing that some English scholar who has access to the MSS would undertake a revision of Pauli's text, but I suppose it will be left for the inevitable German to do.) The last example of this use of *clergy* is from a dictionary of 1690 in the proverb: "An ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy," though Sydney Smith (1822) also quotes the proverb. But one cannot tell where to stop in turning over the leaves of this great dictionary. I can only again express the hope that it may be found practicable, by increasing the editorial staff, to issue the several parts at shorter intervals.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

A History of Elizabethan Literature. By GEORGE SAINTSBURY. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1887.

A History of Eighteenth Century Literature (1660–1780). By EDMUND GOSSE, M. A. London and New York, Macmillan & Co., 1889.

Although not strictly "philological," the importance of the two volumes above mentioned may justify a brief notice in this Journal. An advertisement prefixed to the former work states that it "is intended to form the second

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volume of a History of English Literature, divided into four main periods, each of which is entrusted to a writer who has made that period his particular study. The volume on the Earliest Period of English Literature has been undertaken by Mr. STOPFORD BROOKE, the volume dealing with the Literature of the Eighteenth Century by Mr. EDMUND GOSSE, and that on Modern Literature by Professor DOWDEN. It is hoped that these volumes may be issued at no very distant date."

As may be seen, Mr. Gosse has fulfilled his task; not so Mr. Brooke and Professor Dowden, so that I may be permitted to concur in the hope expressed in the concluding sentence of the advertisement. I may say in the beginning that I wish Mr. Gosse had imitated Mr. Saintsbury in prefixing an analytical table of contents to his volume. It is a great convenience to the reader to have the several subjects of a chapter at hand for reference, for no one can tell beforehand who besides "Pope" are treated in a chapter thus headed. As a matter of fact, Addison, Pomfret, and John Philips precede Pope, and Prior, Gay, Parnell, Ambrose Philips, Tickell, Somerville, Croxall, and Allan Ramsay follow him, in very brief notices, and we have no analysis of the contents of the twenty-five pages on Pope. This heaping-up of minor writers in brief notices is, too, a fault that may be found with both works, perhaps to a greater extent with Mr. Saintsbury's than with Mr. Gosse's book, for there were more *very* minor writers during that period. In a History of English Literature it does not seem to me to be necessary to include everybody who may have scribbled a scrap of prose or poetry. They have been consigned to oblivion for several centuries, and in oblivion they may well remain. They may possibly be included in dictionaries of authors, but not in histories of literature. As an extreme illustration of what I mean, I find in the contents of Mr. Saintsbury's tenth chapter on "Caroline Poetry" the name Montrose, and when I search that chapter to learn something about him, all I find is (p. 392): "I should not like to have to choose between Herrick and Milton's earlier poems; between Herrick, Carew, Crashaw, Montrose, Lovelace, and Suckling combined on the one hand, and *The Faërie Queene* on the other." I do not find him mentioned in any History of Literature accessible to me, but presumably James Grahame, Marquis of Montrose (1612–50), better known as a historical than as a literary character, who, Allibone tells us under Grahame, "wrote a number of poems," is referred to; so this entry serves as a mere index of mention. Others are treated at more or less length, but the space occupied by these might well have been given to the treatment of more prominent writers.

Mr. Saintsbury purposely pays little attention to "what some moderns call the 'bio-bibliographical' side of the matter," but I could wish that he had paid more, for one does not like to have to refer to one book for such details and to another for the criticism. He says: "My dates and my biographical facts I take for the most part from others." The biographical facts are scanty, and the dates are often given only in the index. I rather agree with Mr. Gosse, who, while apologizing for his profusion of dates, says: "I have the impression that dates, if reasonably treated, present a great assistance to the comparative student, and really should prevent, instead of causing, interruption"—and he is right, *me judice*. In studying literature we want to know the *man* as well as the *book*, and we cannot get at that without some knowledge of his life,

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which the historian of literature should give. But after saying my say on these points, I must thank both of these authors for the additions which they have made to genuine criticism of English literature. Their names and styles are too well known to dwell on, but I could wish that Mr. Saintsbury had stricken out some of his French and other foreign terms and thus given us a purer English. Mr. Gosse seems to have pruned the exuberance of his style, as seen in some of his other works, and thus improved it.

The necessary brevity of this notice will not admit of an examination of the critical judgments of these authors, but I may call special attention to Mr. Saintsbury's criticism of Milton, both of his character and of his writings. After the fulsome eulogy that we often see bestowed upon Milton by critics, it is refreshing to meet with sentences like the following (p. 317): "On the whole Milton's character was not an amiable one, nor even wholly estimable." And here follows what is, in my opinion, a very just criticism of that character. Milton possessed all the egotism and the prejudices of the most partisan Puritan, and it is well that somebody has at last been found to say it. Mr. Saintsbury considers that in *Comus* "Milton's poetical power is at its greatest height," while Mr. Pattison ten years ago called *Lycidas* the "high-water mark of English poetry." But whatever may be true as to the comparative superiority of Milton's several poetical works, Mr. Saintsbury gives us a very just judgment of his prose, unless perhaps he overrates its merits. He says (p. 322): "There is no English prose before him, none save Taylor's and Browne's in his time, and absolutely none after him that can compare with the finest passages of these singular productions." That may be, but we cannot judge an author by his "finest passages," and the criticism that follows seems to me more judicious. Mr. Saintsbury does not minimize the faults of Milton's prose, but he considers it very fine notwithstanding. He says, however (p. 326): "It might be contended with some plausibility that this abundance of jewels, or purple patches" [a phrase of which Mr. S. is very fond, as it perpetually recurs], "brings into rather unfair prominence the slips of grammar and taste, the irregularities of thought, the deplorable attempts to be funny, the rude outbursts of bargee invective, which also occur so numerously." These certainly detract from excellence of style, and I rather prefer the simplicity of old Fuller, whom Mr. S. relegates to a minor place in "Caroline Prose," and the smoothness of Jeremy Taylor, when he is not talking of "the fringes of the north star," to the cumbrous sentences of Milton, even in the *Areopagitica*, that much over-praised work. This chapter, however, well deserves study, for Mr. S. limits himself here to a discussion of Milton, Taylor, Clarendon, Browne and Hobbes, and has given us some interesting criticism. I must refer to Mr. S.'s criticism of Ben Jonson, and especially of his prose style (pp. 218, 219), even though we have so little of it. He very rightly praises "the straightforward, vigorous English of these *Discoveries*," which contain "an admirable short tractate on style which exemplifies what it preaches; and a large number of other excellent things." It may be noted in passing that Mr. Swinburne, in his recent work, "A Study of Ben Jonson," is in full agreement with Mr. Saintsbury as to the excellence of Ben Jonson's prose. Attention may also be directed to what Mr. Saintsbury has said of Shakspere's *Sonnets* (pp. 161–4) and the questions connected therewith. As Carlyle said of the authorship of

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the Letters of Junius, "it doesn't matter the value of a brass farthing" who "Mr. W. H." was, or "the dark lady," or "the rival poet." Those who have abundance of leisure may busy themselves with these questions, but the ordinary reader will enjoy the *Sonnets* apart from them, and moreover will not consider that *all* of the *Sonnets* are equally enjoyable, as Shakspere-maniacs are prone to do, who will not permit adverse criticism of any of them.

The limits of this notice will permit but a few remarks on Mr. Gosse's book. Without the fear of Mr. Collins before his eyes, Mr. Gosse starts out with giving Waller the credit for the introduction of the heroic couplet, and calls Denham "his first disciple" (p. 4), stating that he "had perceived and had accepted the reform suggested by Waller," and quoting Dryden's testimony to the effect that Denham followed Waller. Cowley's "Song" is pronounced "unnavigable," though his prose receives its due meed of praise: "Cowley's *Essays* should be read by every student of English prose." But most noticeable is his criticism of the *dii majores* of this period, Dryden and Pope, and especially a brief parallel between the two (pp. 24, 25 and p. 133), wherein Dryden very rightly takes precedence. Mr. Gosse discusses Pope at greater length than any other single writer, if I remember rightly, and is inclined to apologize for his faults, attributing them to his physical weakness (p. 132). But we cannot so easily excuse Pope's conduct, for he was, as Mr. Gosse acknowledges, "an unscrupulous and intriguing trickster." If one wishes a good account of the Pope-Addison episode, let him read and compare Mr. Stephen's Pope and Mr. Courthope's Addison in the "English Men of Letters" series, a series of literary biographies that gives a better idea of the *men*, as well as their works, than is elsewhere to be found in brief in English literature. Pope is rightly given credit for polishing the heroic couplet, a credit that no one wishes to deny him, but it may well be inquired, "Does that constitute a great poet?" and we are forced to concur in the apt criticism: "He has no romance, no spirituality, no mystery, and the highest regions of poetry he never so much as dreams of" (p. 133). We heartily sympathize too with what Mr. Gosse has to say of Dryden's prose (pp. 90–94): "He is the manliest, the most straightforward, the most authoritative prose writer of the age, and, in his long career of more than thirty years, he surveyed and laid out the whole estate of modern English prose"; and again: "He is not only a fine dramatist and a very lofty poet, but a great pioneer in prose criticism also." But for Dryden the Queen Anne writers would have found their task much more difficult, and the cultivation of English prose might have been postponed to a much later period.

We can generally agree with Mr. Gosse's criticisms, but I think he unduly depreciates Bolingbroke's style, i. e. judging from his *Letters on the Study of History*. He says (p. 174): "His boasted style, though unquestionably lucid, is slipshod and full of platitudes, grandiloquent and yet ineffectual." Now this seems to me to be going too far, for in the history of English prose Bolingbroke must be taken into account. I shall merely set opposite to it the judgment of a scholar, which appears to me more just. Professor Adamson says (Enc. Brit., Vol. IV, p. 7): "Bolingbroke's philosophical writings are indeed insufferably wearisome, and it is only in them that his style ever flags and grows cumbersome, for his other writings are in many respects the perfection of English prose style, and can stand comparison even with the finished com-

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positions of Addison." This reminds me that I may well direct attention also to what Mr. Gosse says of the characters and styles of Addison and Steele, without taking time to say more than that we might spare the word "meticulous" (p. 194), which Webster's "Unabridged" pronounces *obsolete*, and which is not found in dictionaries of lesser capacity. I sympathize too with what he says of Collins and Gray, especially with his remark (p. 235): "It may perhaps be allowed to be an almost infallible criterion of a man's taste for the highest forms of poetic art to inquire whether he has or has not a genuine love for the verses of William Collins." This parallel also seems to me well drawn: "While Gray was the greater intellectual figure of the two, the more significant as a man and a writer, Collins possessed something more thrilling, more spontaneous, as a purely lyrical poet." This agrees, *leniori modo*, with what Mr. Swinburne has said, with his usual extravagance (Ward's English Poets, Vol. III, p. 279): "As an elegiac poet Gray holds for all ages to come his unassailable and sovereign station; as a lyric poet, he is simply unworthy to sit at the feet of Collins."

Mr. Gosse's treatment of Johnson, Goldsmith, Gibbon and Burke will well repay perusal. We could wish the mere mention of many of the minor writers, *nominis parvi umbrae*, absent, and the space given to a fuller treatment of some others who are too briefly passed over, as Sheridan, for example. But we shall not quarrel with the author for this: we are grateful for what we have. As a *history* of literature Mr. Gosse's book seems to include what is wanted in a better manner than Mr. Saintsbury's, but both are valuable additions to the subject and must take their place among the best we have. It is to be hoped that the remaining volumes will speedily appear and will cover their ground equally as well as these, although it may be suggested to Professor Dowden not to try to do too much. In the modern period especially, many names may be relegated to a dictionary of authors that do not deserve a place in a history of literature. What is wanted, and what Professor Dowden is well qualified to give us, judging from his work in Shaksperian criticism, is a compendious statement of the principles of literary criticism, for now we search for it in vain. Each critic seems to be a law unto himself and to follow his own sweet will.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

Introduction to Our Early English Literature (from the earliest times to the Norman Conquest). By W. CLARKE ROBINSON, M. A., Ph. D. Heidelberg University; Graduate of the University of France; Lecturer in Modern Literature and Languages in the University of Durham. London, Durham, and Heidelberg, 1885.

Although published five years ago this little book seems unknown on this side of the water. Meantime Professor Robinson has transferred his labors to this country and is a professor in Kenyon College, Ohio. The work consists of an introduction giving "an historical sketch of the Teutonic tribes and settlements in Europe, and of their earliest literature," followed by a brief synopsis of Anglo-Saxon grammar and some remarks on versification. The bulk of the work comprises short extracts, with literary notices and translations, of each poem in Anglo-Saxon literature, so that "Early English" here

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means *Anglo-Saxon*. The extracts are taken from Grein, a few from Grein-Wülker, and the translations are made by the author. The book thus serves as a useful compendium for the young student who desires some knowledge of Anglo-Saxon *poetry*, for only a list of the prose writings is given in an appendix. A general criticism on this plan may be made that more space is given to the minor than to the greater and more important poems, to *The Wanderer* or *The Seafarer*, for example, than to the *Bēowulf*.

The author puts together the so-called poems of Caedmon "under the headship of Caedmon, at least for the sake of classification," and says: "Of these poems there is little doubt that the *Genesis*, for the greater part, is the real work of Caedmon." He also ascribes to Cynewulf not only the acknowledged, but the contested, poems, and to these adds *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, and says (p. 97): "It is not at all improbable that Cynewulf may have written them in his earlier poetic life." He remarks in his preface: "In the disputed question of Cynewulf I have followed Prof. ten Brink's view; but perhaps Prof. Wülker is correct in identifying him with the 10th Bishop of Lindisfarne." Now Wülker has expressly asserted that Cynewulf was probably a West-Saxon, not a Northumbrian, and not the Bishop of Lindisfarne (*Anglia*, I 483 ff., and *Grundriss*, p. 158).

Professor Robinson seems to me inconsistent in respect to the *Runic Lines on the Cross at Ruthwell*, which he ascribes to Caedmon (p. 29), and *The Dream of the Cross*, which he ascribes to Cynewulf (p. 69). The former are but a Northumbrian version of certain lines of the latter, doubtless the original (of which the West-Saxon poem is the version), but both by the same author. Moreover, the fact that the cross has the words engraven on the top in Runic letters, "*Cadmon mæ fauæþo*," need not imply that Caedmon wrote the poem, but only that a sculptor of that name made the stone cross, as has already been suggested. Professor Robinson does, indeed, say (p. 69): "It is possible, however, that Cynewulf is the real author both of this poem and of the inscriptions at Ruthwell, and that the sculptor, or his employers, mistakenly attributed the lines to the first and better known poet, and engraved on the stone the name of Caedmon instead of Cynewulf." The assumption of a mistake is gratuitous, and the possibility is rather a strong probability, for I confess to an agreement with ten Brink *vs.* Wülker in respect to the Northumbrian origin of Cynewulf and his authorship of the *Dream of the Cross*, as has already been stated in the introduction to my translation of the *Elene* (cf. Kennedy's translation of ten Brink's "Early English Literature," p. 388).

It would prolong this notice to too great length to examine the translations of the several extracts which Professor Robinson gives as specimens. Taking at random *The Fight at Finnsburg*, I wish Prof. R. had given the "reason to suppose the Hengest of this poem was the same who first led the Jutes to battle for the soil of Britain in the year 449 A. D." He omits mention of Hnaef, who first led the Danes, on whose fall Hengest assumed command. It might also have been stated that we are now entirely dependent on Hickes's transcription for the text of this poem, as the leaf from which he transcribed it has been lost. The text here is taken from Heyne's fourth ed. of *Bēowulf* (1879), but a better text will be found in Heyne's fifth ed., by Socin (1888), which is nearer to Grein-Wülker (1881). Socin still writes *fēr* for *hēr* (line 5), but changes

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*hebba*ð back to *habba*ð (line 10), and *handa* to *linda*. The translation in my *Béowulf* (pp. 97, 98) was made from the text in the separate edition of Grein (1867), who made several important emendations, hence some of the differences. I cannot concur with some of Prof. R.'s renderings, and especially with his translation of *gyllе*ð *græghama*, "the cricket chirps." The vocabulary of this poem was omitted in the glossary of even Heyne's fourth ed., but Socin has inserted these words and followed Grein in rendering, *die Rüstung klirrt*. *hor*näs (line 1) should be *hor*nas.

Not having tested the renderings of the other pieces (except to observe that the rendering of the short extract from *Béowulf* is *very* "free," and that the text has *aldor-ledse* (line 15) and the translation *aldor-ceare* (the alternative reading), I cannot speak as to their correctness. A revision would, perhaps, not come amiss. I cannot lay down the book, however, without thanking Professor R. for having made it by honest work, and expressing the hope that it may become better known to students.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

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REPORTS.

HERMES, 1888.

III.

J. Toepfer (Göttingen). Die Attischen Pythaisten und Deliasten. This is an antiquarian article in which are gathered up the various notices bearing on the *θεωροί* to Delphi and to Delos and the worship of the Delian Apollo, introduced by way of the eastern coast of Attica, notices found in the Atticist lexica chiefly, and in Strabo and Pausanias. To this is joined some rather fervid and sanguine archaeological interpretation. It would be a hopeless task to endeavor to report the gist of an article which is ill-sifted and absolutely lacking in unity and perspicuity.

Th. Thalheim. The suit brought by Androcles (private speech of Demosth.) against Lakritos, and a consideration of the documents contained in it. Th. does not share the radical view which rejects *all* documents found in the Attic orators as spurious. The *στίχοι*, it is true, were not counted for documents in the old MS from which these data were compiled, but the documents were, e. g. in the copy to which Harpocration (*Μένδη, σύλας, διοπείων*) refers.—In discussing the legal aspects of the case itself, Th. holds that both Artemon and Apollodorus were brothers of the defendant Lakritos, and suggests an explanation why the speaker kept Apollodorus so much in the background. In this matter he dissents from Blass. The affidavits indeed seem more pertinent as against Apollodorus than as against Lakritos. Thalheim says on this point, p. 338, that the speaker intended at one time to bring suit against Apollodorus and collected the affidavits against the latter, but when Ap. had escaped from the charge by leaving the city, the speaker turned against Lakritos these very affidavits, which had the same force against Artemon and the latter's so-called heir Lakritos as they had against Apollodorus. In his further analysis Th. opposes the view that the contract and affidavits were foisted into the speech by a later grammarian.

B. Keil. Epikritische Isocrates-studien. 1. K. re-edits a papyrus fragment of Isocrates now preserved in the Musée Borely, near Marseilles, probably of the fourth century A. D. with strong traces of iotacism. (Inf. *-ιν* for *ειν.*)[1] Those readings of the MS which are new are devoid of value. 2. Discussion of ethical terms *ἀνδρεία ἀρετή* and the gradual development of the latter into generic valuation; Homer, Hesiod, lyrical poets, Socrates and his school, where the four cardinal virtues were systematized. Keil even suggests that there is an allusion to Socrates' ethics in Aristoph. Avv. 1537 sqq.[2] The Socratic school certainly elaborated not only the best state but also the ideal

[1] See A. J. P. VI 397; VIII 111.

[2] Possibly. That Aristophanes makes fun of a specific theory at all seems rather far-fetched.—E. G. S.

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of a prince, as Xenophon did in his presentation of the elder Cyrus. This scheme of Socratic classification of virtue and virtues is evidently accepted by Isocrates, e. g. ad Nicoclem, where heavy interpolations are claimed by Keil, whereas, to his mind, the genuine portions show the outline and skeleton of the genuine elements of the oration following the four cardinal virtues. Many of those exhortations and precepts which are considered spurious by Keil are placed in parallel column with kindred or fairly similar passages from Aristotle, Ethica Nicom. "Man wird nicht bestreiten dass die Stellen der beiden Columnen in einem gegenseitigen Abhängigkeitsverhältniss zu einander stehen." [The present abstractor doubts this very much indeed; it is one of those fatal substitutions of *must* for *may* which vitiate so much of German scholarship.] Keil's valuation of Isocrates, pp. 372 sq., is very readable and suggestive.

U. Köhler. Hermokopiden inschriften. Fragments of Inss. dealing with the confiscation of the property of the men involved in the famous state-trial of 415 B. C. Köhler's exposition proceeds calmly and thoroughly, a flood of light being thrown, e. g. on No. 3 (dealing with the sale of the bedroom furniture of Alcibiades) from Pollux Onomasticon X 32 sqq. Pollux often quotes *δημόπρατα*, lists of confiscations. These Köhler assigns to Krateros *συναγωγὴ ψηφισμάτων*.

A. Busse. The historian and the philosopher Dexippus. The historian lived at Athens about 273 A. D. Of the philosopher we have a commentary on the categories of Aristotle, where he cites Iamblichus, whose pupil by-the-by he was. He died probably about 353. Eunapius has been blamed as confounding the two.

B. Niese. Das sogenannte Licinisch-Sextische Ackergesetz. Tiberius Gracchus is said to have tried to enforce or restore the efficacy of the agrarian law of Licinius and Sextius of 367 B. C. We must distinguish, however, between the version of Plutarch and Appian, on the one side, and the Livian annalistic account on the other. The sources of the former are, on the whole, older and better. The situation of Roman society, economically considered, in 367 differed vastly from the same in 146 or 133. In 367 the *ager publicus* was too insignificant in extent to warrant stipulations such as that which fixed the maximum of possession at 500 jugera. It may be instructive to note the various important conquests:

396 sqq. Volscian and Veientians made into tribes.

340. Latins and Campanians (after 340) made into tribes.

313. The dictator Fabius distributed lands to soldiers (Diodorus 19, 101).

306. Hernican land sold outright.

304. Some land of the Aequi made into two new tribes and two colonies.

290. End of Samnite wars. Much land left as *ager publicus* by Dentatus, of which land much probably was assigned in 241, when the tribes Quirina and Velina were made.

285. Senonian conquest, parcelled out to Roman citizens in 233.

Niese proposes in consideration of all this to eliminate the agrarian part from the laws of 367, which agrarian law indeed cannot have been passed until a considerable time after the consummation of the conquest of Italy.

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Cicero, de lege Agraria, does not mention Stolo and Sextius. Polybius (II 21, 8) estimates the division of the Ager Gallicus by Flaminius in 233 as the *inception* of an evil and sinister political development (*ἀρχηγὸν μὲν γενέσθαι τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον διαστροφῆς*). The "Licinian" limitation indeed seems to have been of later origin than the distribution of 233. It was in force in the time of the elder Cato, who cites it (Gellius VI 3) about 167. The limitation was established probably about 180 B. C. Like Mommsen, Niese rejects as a spurious tradition (or projection from later conditions backward) the "agrarian law" of Sp. Cassius as well as the other kindred laws of the earlier republic. Niese goes so far as to suggest, by way of inference, that even the other much more famous law of Licinius and Sextius concerning the access of plebeians to the consulate is tainted with suspicion [an inference which impresses the present writer as a doubtful one].

Robert. "Olympische Glossen." Comments and elucidation of problems concerning Olympia, topographical and archaeological, largely on Pausanias's reports: 1. Tropaion of the Elians, commemorating a victory over Sparta. 2. The Agora. 3. The inscriptions on the chest of Kypselos. 4. Pantarkes, an Olympian victor, VI 10, 6.

A. Wilhelm. Zur Geschichte der Attischen Kleruchen auf Lemnos. Inss. found in 1887 on the Acropolis, with which he combines one found in 1877. Contents, a motion to commend officially Komeas, who had been cavalry commander in the Attic colony of Lemnos, himself Athenian born, of deme Lamptrae. Also a decree of the Attic colony itself concerning Komeas. The inscriptions are of the earlier part of the third century, when the Athenians and their Cleruchi in the colony favored king Seleucus as against king Lysimachus.

U. Wilcken. Notes on [the original character of] the Berlin fragment (Fayūm papyrus) of Aristotle's *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*.

Ad. Busse. Critical notes on Aristotle, de Anima III 11, p. 434a, 12–15 (Bekker).

IV.

O. Kern. Theogoniae Orphicae fragmenta nova, edited. These are found in a Venice MS of Damascius, last leader of the Neoplatonic school at Athens, which he left in consequence of Justinian's edict in 527 A. D.

H. Bürger, in Zu Apuleius, discusses the question whether the introduction to the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius is partly autobiographical, as E. Rohde (Rhein. Mus. 40) holds, of Apuleius himself. B. argues that *all* the introduction is intended to produce the effect that the narrator and the author are one, viz. the Lucius of Corinth whose character Apuleius has assumed.

K. Bürger. Critical notes on the Pseudo-Lucianic *Ὄνος*. B. holds that this novel in its present form is an abstract from a larger original work, and that a good portion of the textual difficulties is due to that fact Bürger's *modus operandi* is to parallel the narrative in Lucian with that in Apuleius, and to draw his conclusions, e. g.,

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C. I. *καὶ ἁλῶν ἐκοινωνοῦμεν καὶ οὕτως ἐκείνην τὴν ἀργαλέαν ὁδὸν ἀνύσαντες πλησίον ἤδη τῆς πόλεως ἤμεν.*

Apul. I 20, Asperam denique ac prolixam viam sine labore ac taedio evasi.

Bürger demands an equivalent on the Greek side for *sine labore ac taedio*, but such criticism is too schoolmasterly and can hardly be called cogent.

Rothstein on the Dirae and the Lydia in the body of Vergil's works. Scaliger assigned them to Valerius Cato, and Ribbeck, in his recent charming work on the history of Roman poetry, reiterates that view. Jacobs and Naeke differed from Scaliger in this only, that they claimed the necessity of establishing two distinct pieces, Dirae and Lydia. Rothstein insists that the two pieces are so unlike each other that a different author must be assumed for each; the Lydia, bearing strong marks of youthfulness on the part of the author, uses the common apparatus of amatory poesy, whereas the Dirae carry the impress of personal and individual concern. After a detailed analysis Rothstein sums up as follows, p. 524: Quamquam igitur neque Vergilii sunt neque Latinae sirenis tamen neutrum indignum est philologorum opera quia alterum exemplo esse potest qua in versibus componendis facultate Augustea aetate vel mediocris ingenii homines uterentur, alterum conscriptum est ab egregio poeta, qui non ultimum inter Romana ingenia locum obtinet.[1]

A. Krause. Miscellen zur Geschichte Alexanders. The battle of Gaugamela took place, not on Oct. 1, 331 (old style), but on Sep. 30, 331 (bibliographical detail valuable). There were no phalangites in Alexander's army but Macedonians.

G. Kaibel. Inscriptions of Pisidia. Notes and reports on Dr. Sterrett's epigraphic tour, undertaken at the cost of the late Miss Catharine Wolfe, of New York (Am. School at Athens, 1888, Boston). Kaibel estimates the value of this collection in the handsomest terms. "The fine volume contains 651 inscriptions, not all of equal value, of course, but hardly one that does not give desirable information about history or topography, about public or private life, about religion or language; moreover, all of them were copied by Dr. Sterrett with great care, partly revised after squeezes." A large inscription of Anabura, Pisidia, gives the precepts of a dice oracle; particular divinities favor certain throws; amongst the divinities being Κρόνος τεκνοφάγος and Βλάβη. The dice oracle rules were evidently presented for public use by Antiochus and Bianor, members of a distinguished family. The visitor needed merely his own dice. Some inscriptions on a rock on the bank of the Kodja are permeated by Stoic sentiment and are marked by elevation and dignity of literary form.

Van Herwerden (Utrecht). "Ad Diodorum Siculum." Textual criticism *à propos* of the recent edition of D. by Vogel, 1888. Elimination of a word often indeed makes the sense clearer and more terse, but authors do not always cast their expression into the tersest and grammatically most perfect form. On the other hand, the careful notation of habit, i. e. grammar, is often effectively applied to preserve readings, e. g. I 81, ὡς ἀν, which Diodorus uses freely as an equivalent to ἅτε. (On the whole, the negative canon of H. is fairly contained in a phrase used p. 550, on III 4, 3: "locum sic scriptum interpretari

[1] See Robinson Ellis in the last number of A. J. P.

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nequeo.") The MS reads (in the discussion of the function of hieroglyphic symbols): ὁ δὲ ὀφθαλμὸς (ἐστε understood from preceding sentence) δίκης τηρητὴς καὶ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος φύλαξ. H. suggests inserting after δίκης < καὶ φυλακῆς, τῶν πάντων (ὄντων?) ὢν > τηρητής κτέ. I would certainly ask for a commentary by the author of the emendation before I could understand the passage thus emended. Perhaps instead of "*locum sic scriptum interpretari nequeo*" a more cogent canon would be: *Nemo locum sic scriptum interpretari potest.*

M. Wellmann. Zur Geschichte der Medicin im Alterthum.

K. P. Schulze. Der Codex M des Catull. The MS G has been highly valued, as it permits one to make inferences as to the archetypus. Baehrens was wrong, however, in saying that with the exception of O all extant MSS of Catullus are derived from G. Similar qualities may be ascribed to a Venice MS of Catullus, M, recently collated by Ellis. In this MS too the peculiarity of double readings is notable.

U. Wilcken. Kaiserliche Tempelverwaltung in Aegypten. Notes from some paypri now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, letters which passed in ordinary routine of business between imperial officials in the fifth year of Septimius Severus (= 197 A. D.) The subject-matter of one of the letters is of more than passing interest. The procurator Augusti and διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην directs the *tabularius* of the Jupiter Capitolinus temple at Arsinoë to take the following action: There are vacant two positions, of στολισταί (keepers of the divine wardrobe). Two candidates have made application and have offered a certain sum. The tabularius is directed to have the positions put up at auction. διαδεχόμενος τὴν ἀρχ. is something like deputy pontifex. Another letter directs that the people shall keep their swine away from the temple of Talmis.

Spiro on σύμπτυκτοι ἀνάπαιστοι (Pherecrates Comicus in Kock I, p. 166.)

E. Maas. Mythische Kurznamen. Pet names or abbreviations of a kindred effect (ὑποκορισμός). Alkimos for Alkimedon in Iliad 24, 574, Melas for Melanthos, Demo for Demophile, Adon for Adonis, Ampyx for Ampykos, Askles for Asklepios, Aster for Asterios, Aphro for Aphrodite, Glauke for Glaukopis, etc.

E. G. SIHLER.

PHILOLOGUS, XLVII.
Heft 3.

I.—TREATISES.

XX. Pp. 385–399. Babriana, by Th. Bergk. Discussion of two attempts to restore the original form of some of the Babrian fables from the prose paraphrase of Aesop, viz. the Codex Vind. and the Codex Athous. This latter sylloge was evidently in the hands of the maker of the former. The Athoan diasceuast was clearly not Menas, though the sylloge was everywhere interpolated by him. Moreover, the Codex Athous, so far as it contains fables in common with the Codex Vat., by no means yields in value to this, but equals or excels it.

P. 399. In Avianus XXVIII 7, *Vana laboratis aufer mendacia dictis*, Nettleship suggests that *laboratis* might mean "fabricated," "unreal," while R. Ellis,

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in his late edition (see A. J. P. IX, p. 359) emends by suggesting *vaporatis*. Crusius defends the interpretation of Nettleship by quoting Babrius 95, 36: *ὁ νοῦς ἐχαυνώθη λόγοισιν ποιητοῖσιν.*

XXI. Pp. 400-425. On Heraclitus (4), by Christian Cron (continued from Heft 2).

P. 425. Apuleius Apol. c. 83. M. Petschenig proposes to read *πορίσαι· νῦν δὲ ὡς βάσκανοι ἡμῶν κακοήθεις τε.*

XXII. Pp. 426–433. Critical and exegetical notes on Demosthenes de Corona, by W. Schmid. §2. The reading *ἀλλὰ τὸ καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ* is defended against Lipsius's *ἀλλὰ καὶ τό*. §12. *ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ ἐχθροῦ*; necessary on rhetorical and logical grounds to place a comma before *ἐχθροῦ*, and consequently to write both *αὕτη* and *αὐτή*, between which the MSS vary: *ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτὴ αὕτη*. It follows hence that *γάρ* in §13 is the right reading, but *δεῖ* (wanting in Σ) is the substitute for some verb lost from the archetype. No conjecture is offered as to what this verb was. §18 *fin.* For *παρὰ τοῖς* write *παρ' αὐτοῖς*. §19. The evidence favors *γένηται*, not *γένοιτο*. §22. *νυνὶ διεξῇεις* and *νῦν κατηγορεῖς* are to be read. The rule of the Byzantine grammarians was *νῦν* with all tenses, *νυνί* only with the present. Attic usage does not sustain the rule, but it is natural that the grammarians should correct according to their canon. §25. *τε τὴν εἰρήνην* is a gloss of *πάντα*, which got even into the *prima manus* of Σ. §28. *τὰ μικρὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πόλεως* defended against Usener's clever conjecture *τὰ κέρματα*.

P. 433. Emendationum ad Aristidem specimen II. W. Schmid offers in Or. XLV eight conjectures; in Or. XLVI five.

XXIII. Pp. 434–448. Date and author of Ps.-Apuleius, De orthographia, by O. Crusius. This is an interesting contribution to the history of plagiarisms. The spuriousness of the fragments of this so-called L. Caecilius Minutianus Apuleius was shown by Madvig (Opusc. Acad.[2] I, p. 1 ff.), and, in spite of Osann's protest, has been generally accepted. Crusius now seeks by a more careful investigation to determine the date and author of the composition. By close and careful reasoning, which we cannot here follow, he renders it very probable that the Ps.-Apuleius was Ludovicus Caelius Rhodiginus, a contemporary of Erasmus, and whom Erasmus accused of plagiarism in a work which he wrote entitled Antiquae Lectiones. This work shows the same hand as the Fragmenta de orthographia, and is the first work that cites these fragments. Crusius has certainly made out a strong case against the learned professor, who seems to have enjoyed an enviable reputation in his day, for soon after his death Erasmus writes of him: *Narrant enim . . . fuisse virum integritatis christianae nullo studiorum labore fatigabilem.*

P. 448. A few remarks by Crusius on the sources of Apuleius's Metamorphoses.

XXIV. Pp. 449–486. The ten Eponymi and the order of succession of the Attic Phylae, by A. Mommsen. The order of succession of the *φυλαί* was determined for some purposes by lot, and lasted for a definite period, e. g. one year; for other purposes another order, not subject to the lot, prevailed, which

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may be called the sacred order, viz. Erechtheis, Aegeis, Pandionis, Leontis, Akamantis, Oeneis, Kekropis, Hippothontis, Aeantis, Antiochis. This sacred order of the φυλαί was established by Cleisthenes, and obtained even in the days of the Roman emperors. As to the cause of the adoption of just these Eponymi we are not to take the standpoint of the period of the Epigoni (Pollux, who says that Apollo selected the *older* heroes), but that of the sixth century B. C., namely, that those heroes were preferred who were then especially worshipped or seemed to Cleisthenes especially worthy of honor. It seems that Cleisthenes, arranging the year according to tenths, gave each of these to an especial hero, Erechtheus, Aegeus, etc. "It is at least not an accident that the first Eponymus points to a festival of the first tenth, the second to one of the second tenth, and so for the third, sixth, seventh and ninth eponymi religious relations to the corresponding tenths obtain. Those heroes for whom no such relation can be shown to have obtained—Leos, Akamas; Hippothon, Antiochus—are the less known, and we may believe that, if tradition were more complete, also for these such relations would not be wanting. Cleisthenes then so arranged the matter of the Eponymi that the heroes numbered after the sacred order accorded with the traditional usages of the tenths of the year assigned to them."

XXV. Pp. 487–514. The Hastiferi of the Castellum Mattiacorum, by H. C. Maué. The hastiferi of Castel (civitas Mattiacorum) have long been known from a dedicatory inscription in honor of Virtus Bellona, of the year 236 A. D. Since the discovery of this inscription in 1809 two views have been current as to the nature of these hastiferi, some taking them to be a kind of municipal militia, others regarding them as a sacred college. The first view is that of Mommsen and Marquardt, the second is that of our author, who finds his opinion strikingly confirmed by an inscription on a sandstone altar found two years ago on the bank of the Rhine, bearing the date March 24, 224 A. D. This inscription has the peculiar value of being the first which gives with plainness the oldest Roman name of Castel. These hastiferi took part in the worship of Bellona, which, though of oriental origin, was widespread, especially along the Rhine districts. They consisted of shepherds, for these were accustomed to carry the spear to protect their flocks from beasts of prey and robbers. The detailed proof of the article is wrought out with much care and the polemic against Mommsen's view is convincing.

XXVI. Pp. 514–551. Late works on the dress and equipment of the Roman army in time of the empire, by A. Müller. This article forms a continuation of a similar one in Vol. 33, pp. 632-685, and examines quite a number of recent and valuable works, as Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, Band II, 2te Aufl. 1884; Max Jahn's Handbuch einer Gesch. d. Kriegswesen v. d. Urzeit bis zur Renaissance, 1880; Lindenschmit, Tracht u. Bewaffnung d. röm. Heeres während d. Kaiserzeit, 1882. Besides these a number of works on special technical points, articles in journals, etc., are cited. Within the last fifteen years more attention has been paid to inscriptions and monuments, and from these we get often most accurate information. Roman art was realistic and its remains can generally be relied upon. Lindenschmit's work is discussed at considerable length. In plan it is somewhat faulty, as it aims to com-

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bine the scientific with the didactic method, that is, to mark an advance in its investigations and be at the same time suited for school use. Some of the illustrations have been faultily restored and are therefore not reliable. Comments on the various parts of Roman armor and weapons follow, as *galea*, *cassis*, *lorica*, *gladius*, *pilum*, *hasta*, etc. On the whole he considers Lindenschmit's work a good one and will welcome a new edition.

P. 551. Wagener pleads for C. W. F. Müller's reading, Cic. pro Lig., *ante hanc diem*, in spite of the uniform MSS reading *hunc*.

II.—Miscellaneous.

18. Pp. 552–554. On the Cypria. R. Peppmüller discusses the first fragment in connexion with the new material offered by Ludwich, Rh. Mus. 1887, p. 472 f.

19. P. 554. Observations on the MS (Cod. Marc. 211) of Porphyrius De antro Nympharum, by Erich Bethe.

20. Pp. 555–558. Aemilii Macri Theriacon fragmenta duo, by Rob. Unger. The first one is contained in the Lucani commenta Bern. VI 488, and was attributed to Aemilius Macer by Usener. Unger taking his cue from Verg. Aen. VI 419, emends as follows: Offa < s > cit aene < as > va < let extendiss > e colubras; Offa (scit Aeneas) valet extendisse colubras.

21. Pp. 562–568. Contributions to the history of Roman prose writers in the Middle Ages, by M. Manitius. (1) Solinus. That this author was well known is attested both by the number of MSS extant and also by the frequent allusions to his writings in the writers of the Middle Ages. To those quoted in Mommsen's edition quite a number are here added. (2) Tacitus. The extent to which Tacitus was known in the Middle Ages is hard to determine, nor has the matter been very much cleared up by Cornelius. A few new notices are brought forward. (3) Pliny the Younger. The classic epistolary writers were supplanted in the Middle Ages by the letters of the Fathers, yet Pliny seems to have been much read in the fifth century and was known in the tenth and twelfth centuries. (4) Cornelius Nepos. There are but few MSS and but few notices of him in writers of the Middle Ages.

23. P. 568. Mähly suggests for omen the derivation from avis; *avimen > *aumen > omen.

24. Pp. 569–573. Flaviana. Under this title Chambalu contributes five notes on points of history under the Flavian Emperors. In one of these he argues from inscriptions on coins that the expedition of Domitian against the Chatti was before Sept. of the year 83, and not, as Imhof assumes, in 84.

25. Pp. 573–574. Scaenica. W. Schmid argues against the statement of Suidas (s. v. Pratinas) that in consequence of the collapse of the wooden theatre at Athens during a contest between Aeschylus, Choerilus, and Pratinas a new stone theatre was built. The collapse may have been a fact, but the probability is that the new stone theatre was begun not long before the time of Lycurgus (say under Eubulus), and completed by Lycurgus (Plut. Lycurg. 10).

P. 576. Reports of Journals: Revue Archaeol. 1888, Nos. 3, 4.—Mnemosyne, 1887, XV 4; 1888, XVI 1.—Academy, 1888, May 26, June 2, 9, 30.

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Heft 4.

I.—TREATISES.

XXVII. Pp. 578–588. Observations concerning some libraries of Sicily, by Fr. Rühl. The information we possess concerning these little known libraries antedates mainly the losses by war and theft in the last decades of Bourbon rule. On the other hand, late guide-books call attention to considerable collections of MSS in various places, thereby misleading scholars with the hope of finding something of especial value, who discover that their finds are by no means in proportion to the outlay of time and trouble. Rühl gives the result of his recent investigations in several libraries, viz. the University Library at Messina, University Library at Catania, Library of S. Nicola at Catania, Bibliotheca Arcivescovile at Syracuse, Bibliotheca Nazionale at Palermo.

XXVIII. Pp. 589–598. Pindar's Sixth Olympic Ode, by L. Bornemann. Critical and exegetical comments.

P. 598. On Tyrtaeus and Sappho, by Haeberlin. For Tyrt. Frg. 11, 37 (Bergk) he proposes: *ἀυτῆι* for *ἐς αὐτούς*; Sappho frg. 1 (Bergk) he would read, *ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον | ἐκ μερίμναν, ὄσσα δέ μοι τέλεσσαι | θῦμος ἰμέρρει, σὺ τέλεσσον αὔτα | σύμμαχος ἔσσα.*

XXIX. Pp. 599–616. On Heraclitus, by Christian Cron. Continued from Heft 3.

XXX. Pp. 617–622. Apophthegmata Laconica, by M. Treu. The editions of the Apophthegmata are based for the most part on one tradition, the Corpus Planudeum. There is another varying considerably from that, the MSS of which group have been little used in establishing the text, though they offer a fuller and sometimes a better text than the Corpus Planudeum. M. Treu gives a selection from the passages that show considerable variation from the ordinary text, as well as those apophthegmata that are not found at all in the editions.

P. 622. M. Treu gives two extracts from the Codex Pal. Graecus 129 Heidelbergensis which he has not met anywhere else.

XXXI. Pp. 623–635. Composition of Petronius's satires, by E. Klebs. From a number of passages it is clear that Encolpius stands in a peculiar relation to the worship of Priapus. One of the most striking of these is the prayer to this deity at the opening of ch. XVI, which Klebs examines at length, reaching the conclusion that it was uttered in consequence of some special crime against the god, such as the pollution of his temple. This anger of Priapus bears the same relation to the adventures of Encolpius as that of Poseidon to the fate of Odysseus, and serves as a central motive around which is grouped the most realistic description of antiquity.

P. 635. Eussner emends Livy VII 2, 4 by substituting for *ceterum parva quoque, ceterum parva haec quoque*, and VII 30, 11 *homines ipsi in hanc necessitatem venerunt* instead of *omnes ipsi*, etc.

XXXII. Pp. 636–643. Comparison of the statements of Pliny and Mela in regard to the tribes of central Africa, by E. Schweder. The writer of this

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article finds between the statements of Pliny and Mela agreement sufficient to show that both writers drew from a common source, but at the same time there are decided differences which show that by one of these writers the statements of his authority were not rightly understood. By a careful examination Schweder shows that Pliny has preserved the statements in correct form, while Mela has simply misunderstood many of them.

P. 643. Th. Stangl emends two passages of Justinus, proposing *divinitatis* for *dignitatis* in II 9, 15, and *tergeri* for *deleri* in 37, 3, 7.

XXXIII. Pp. 644–652. The heroic deed of Aristophon, by G. F. Unger. According to Demosthenes, Lept. 148, Aristophon was granted the *ἀτέλεια*. The ground for this unusual honor Unger thinks is to be found in a corrupt passage of Theophrastus, Charact. 7: *προσδιηγήσασθαι καὶ τὴν ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντός ποτε γενομένην τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίοις ὑπὸ Λυσάνδρου*. Here *ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντος* is not a date, but = *duce Aristophonte* (cf. Thuc. VI 6, 2, *τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχητος ξυμμαχίαν*; Xen. Hipparch. 1, 12, *ἢν ἐπὶ σοῦ ἀναβῶσιν*; Dem. Ol. 2, 14, *ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου*). In the second clause *ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου* is the reading of all the MSS except two, and must be restored. It is easy to see, now, how *καί* got into the text: a copyist or reader was led by the double occurrence of the apparent date *ἐπί τινος* to suppose that two battles were meant, which of course had to be connected by *καί*. But one battle, not two, is referred to, and the passage must read: *τὴν ἐπ' Ἀριστοφῶντός ποτε γενομένην τοῦ ῥήτορος μάχην τὴν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ Λυσάνδρου*. The deed referred to Unger thinks to be found probably in Xenophon Hell. II 4, 31 ff., and the leader in the brilliant feat of arms there described, Aristophon, strategus 363–2 B. C., a man of tireless energy and a fiery orator even in his latest years.

P. 652. In Dinarchus c. Dem. 28, E. Sihler (of New York) proposes to bracket the second *οὗτος* as *διττογραφία*.

XXXIV. Pp. 653–677. History of the legio XIV gemina, by Metellus Meyer. The history of the Roman legions, important as it is for the history of the empire, has never received proper and systematic treatment. As a contribution to this end we have here a very full and valuable account of the legio XIV gemina in three sections: first, origin, name, and insignia; second, the places where it was stationed at different times, and the length of time it remained in each place; third, its deeds and fate from Augustus to Diocletian.

P. 677. H. Deiter emends Caesar B. G. VII 47, 1; Cic. De div. I 9, 15; and Or. 7, 23.

XXXV. Pp. 678–702. Apollo Citharoedus, by Otto A. Hoffmann. The author thinks that this statue is a copy of the famous statue of Apollo by Scopas that was procured by Augustus for his temple on the Palatine. This he argues at length from the coins, especially those of the time of Nero, and the descriptions of the Augustan poets.

P. 702. J. Mähly emends Porphyrio's note on Hor. Sat. I 6, 30.

XXXVI. Pp. 703–709. The so-called Pharmacides of the Cypselus chest. W. H. Roscher agrees with O. Kern (Jahr. d. Arch. Inst. III, p. 234 ff.) that these latter are very closely connected with the remaining mythic-allegorical figures of

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the representation; that thus the absence of a superscription is to be explained, and that in this relation the proper interpretation is to be sought. But he disagrees with Kern's explanation of the Pharmacides as Adrasteia and Eide, arguing with much force and probability that "the two figures in question are two *moirae*, who, conceived as pharmacides, prepare in their mortars for mortals weal and woe." He shows in proof, (1) that the mortar-pestle was an attribute of the *moirae* (Apollod. I 6, 2); (2) from Pausan. X 24, 4, etc., that there is no objection to be made on the score of dual *moirae*; (3) the close relation of the *moirae* with Nyx and the other allegorical figures of the representation.

XXXVII. Pp. 710–720. Contributions to the history of Roman poets in the Middle Ages, by Manitius. This article is a continuation of the same subject treated in Heft 3, but rather more pretentious than the notes there given on the prose writers. The author proposes in a series of articles to discuss the allusions to the Roman poets, exclusive of Vergil and Horace, in the Middle Ages. This first article he devotes to Persius, whose early popularity is attested by the number of extant MSS. Quite a number of citations are given from German, French, English, and Italian writers. It is interesting to note that Persius was known and read in England as early as the days of Aldhelm and Venerable Bede.

XXXVIII. Pp. 721–754. A continuation of No. XXVI on the equipment of the Roman army. This paper is devoted principally to the examination of the following works: Otto Benndorf, Antike Gesichtshelme u. Sepulchralmasken, 1878; E. Hübner, Römische Schildbuckel, Wien, 1878; Lindenschmit, Bemerkungen üb. d. pilum. Benndorff shows that the practice of covering the faces of the dead with masks was widespread among the ancients; they served to preserve the familiar form, and suggested the custom of preserving the *imagines*. Next he discusses the subject of ancient helmets, and this part of his work is examined with minute care by Müller, as are also the other works above cited. As most of the paper is taken up with the discussion of minute points it cannot be fully noticed here.

II.—Miscellaneous.

27. P. 754. Ad Inscriptiones Phrygias. W. M. Ramsay defends his conjecture *τέκνα ἄωρα ἐντύ[χοιτο]* (see on Graeca Phryg. Ins. in Zts. f. vergl. Sprachforschung, 1878), against Crusius's proposal, *τέκνα ἄωρα [λίποιτο]* (Philol. 1889, p. 44).

28. Pp. 755–758. Ad Aristophanem. O. Bachmann suggests: Lysist. 723, *τὴν δ' αὐτομολοῦσαν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ στρούθου μίαν.* Pax. 278, *νῦν εὐκτέ' ἐστὶ Καλλόγῃ* for *νῦν ἐστιν εὐξασθαι καλόν*; Av. 1437, *νῦν δ' οὐ λέγων πτερῶ σε* for *νῦν τοι λέγων πτερῶ σε*; Av. 1013, *κεκίνηνταί τινι* for *κεκινηνταί τινες.*

29. Pp. 758–759. Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Lautbildung (De comp. verb. 14). Ernst Graf thinks that Usener (Bonner-Sommerkatalog, 1878) has missed the correct reading in three passages where the question is of the influence of the *ἀρτηρία.*

30. Pp. 760–762. Antonius Liberalis. H. Martini proposes emendations in numerous passages.

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31. Pp. 762–764. Another word on Cic. de imp. Cn. Pompei 24. C. Fr. Müller abandons his former reading and accepts the reading supported by v. Leutsch, though moved by other arguments than those brought forward by v. Leutsch.

32. P. 764. Ehwald brings forward additional proof of the correctness of his interpretation of the two verses in Anthol. Lat. I, No. 37 (Philol. XLVI, p. 635).

33. Pp. 765–768. Flaviana, by Chambalu. A continuation of the historical notes begun in Heft 3.

P. 768. Excerpts and reports. A new catalogue of Athos-MSS.—Academy, 1888, Aug. 25.—Anzeiger für Schweiz. Alterthumskunde, 1888, 1.

Pp. 769–778. Indexes.

J. H. KIRKLAND. CHARLES FORSTER SMITH.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, 1889.[1]

Vol. XIII, pp. 1–32, 121–197. M. A. Bergaigne's researches into the history of Vedic liturgy begin with an examination of the metrical forms of the hymns contained in the Ṛigveda. The origin of this Vedic liturgy must be studied above all in the Saṃhita, the sacred text of the Ṛigveda. The metrical form shows that even before the establishment of common rites the several families and castes had liturgies, similar to that of the sacrifice of the soma now found in the Veda. A great number of so-called hymns, comprising often the most diverse metres, are in reality simply collections of separate formulas, composed for the express purpose of being recited at different stages of the same ceremony or in successive ceremonies, very much like those described by the Brahmanas and the Sūtras. The Saṃhita of the Ṛigveda contains, besides, many fully developed çastras, the most important being the praüga-çastras, the precepts for the morning sacrifice, in Mandala I, sūktas 2 and 3; II 41 and I 23. By the side of many resemblances in metre and form, they show the peculiar differences of the ritual of the three families to which they originally belonged. Some of the real hymns have introductions or conclusions revealing an astonishing uniformity. M. Bergaigne discusses the çastras of the hotar recited at the third pressing of the soma and in the atiratra, and those of the hotrakas. The hotar was the priest who had to recite the formulas during the different liturgical ceremonies, with the assistance of the adhvarya who performed the offering, and the adgātar who chanted the songs, while the brahman had the oversight over the whole sacrifice; the hotrakas were the assistants of the four chief-priests and each had three such acolytes.

Other hymns seem to have been çastras of ancient forms, and this character we may assign with some degree of certainty to those beginning with two pragāthas, or two tricas (tiercets) of the same metre, followed by verses of different metrical form. Under this head belong VIII 1, VI 44, I 84, and even VI 52. Besides the real çastras there are other liturgical recitations, e. g. the three hymns in X 76, 94, and 175, which are hymns on the stones of the wine press recited by the Gravāstut. The closing verses common to several hymns make one natu-

[1] See A. J. P. X 493.

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rally think of certain paridhānīyās constantly met with in the later liturgy. Traces of ancient liturgies have been discovered in many hymns of the Saṃhita and in the conclusions in trishṭubhs of hymns in jagatīs; [according to the Prāticākhya of the Ṛigveda the seven fundamental metres are: (1) the gāyatrī; (2) the ushṇih; (3) the anushṭubh; (4) the bṛihatī; (5) the paṅktī; (6) the trishṭubh; and (7) the jagatī. No. 1 has 24 syllables, the others always 4 syllables more than the preceding]. It is possible, by a careful comparison of the hymns in gāyatris (see Oldenberg in ZDMG. 38, 439 ff.) or in anushtubhs, in trishṭubhs and in jagatīs, contained in the mandalas and other collections, to establish the fact that several families have in very ancient time observed a distribution of these metres among the three soma-sacrifices, similar to that which prevailed in the later common liturgy. The set ritual of the Yotishṭoma took for its main model the ancient liturgy of the Vaiçrāmitras at the sacrifice of the soma-juice in the morning, of which the metre is the anushṭubh for the first çastra and the gāyatrī for the four others. In the family of Kaṇva the trishṭubh and the yagatī are used very seldom, the gāyatrī and the pragātha ruling almost exclusively, leaving but scant room for the rarer metres. No distinction of metres, however, is observed in the different offerings. In all the families, except the Kaṇva, and perhaps that of Gautama before Vāmadeva, the trishṭubh was the metre of the noon-rite which belongs exclusively to Indra. Among the Vāsishṭhas the trishṭubh was the only metre of the hotar at the three sacrifices, save a few exceptions for the evening. All the families, the Kaṇvas always excepted, show a tendency to reserve the yagatī for the evening sacrifice. The fragments in gāyatrīs of the çastras of the atirātra have been borrowed partly from the liturgy of Kaṇva and that of Vāmaveda, where they existed already in the form of fully developed çastras; others have undoubtedly been compiled after these models. The agreements, indicated above, have reference to the divinities principally; but at the same time they prove a distribution of divinities and metres among the several sacrifices. Certain features peculiar to the rites of the different families have served in later time to characterize such and such a day of the sattras or sessions. One of the most curious instances of this fact is a combination, peculiar to the liturgy of the Vāsishṭhas, viz. that of fragments in dvīpadās (dimeters) with such in trishṭubhs, introduced into the ritual of the three days chandomas of the Samūḷhadaçarātra and in that of the fourth day of the Vyūḷha-daçarātra.

Pp. 80–111. Luh-Ying-Tchi Li, the military regulations of the Emperor Kia-Ning, were issued in the beginning of our century with a view to reorganize the Chinese army. They were written in Chinese and Mandshu. M. de Harlez publishes a translation of selected chapters of the Mandshu text, to give an idea of the scope of the whole work.—The same writer continues on pp. 229–270 his studies in Chinese history and literature, with a discussion of the I-Li, the oldest Chinese ritual; large extracts in current French serve as specimens of the whole treatise.

Pp. 198–228, 402–427. Stories from Berber, by M. de Rochemonteix, with notes on the language of the Berber branch of the Hamitic family spoken in the southern portion of Morocco by a large population quite distinct from the Arabic invaders and only Muhammadans on the surface. This language em-

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braces several branches, the chief of which are the Sûs or Shlûḥ spoken in the country of Sîdi Hashim, south of Morocco proper, the Riff in the mountains of north Morocco, and the Kabail of Algeria. Between these widely separated countries are, all through the intervening Atlas mountains, and also in some parts of the Sahâra, more or less varying shades of the same tongue. In short, these subdialects may be said to cover the whole Atlas range from Tunis to Agadêr, and are more or less intelligible to the people speaking one of the three above-mentioned languages. These three branches of the Berber language, although analogous, are yet quite distinct, somewhat resembling in their relation to each other a group of Keltic languages, such as Gaelic, Irish and Welsh. The term Shlûḥ is given in Morocco by people of Arabic extraction to the Berber people, and their language is also called Shilḥa. It was doubtless the prevailing language of the whole of Mauretania before the indigenous inhabitants of the plains were driven into the mountains at the time of the Arab invasion. M. de Rochemonteix prints four interesting tales with their translation into current French which will prove of great use to the students of the Berber language. The words borrowed from the Arabic are carefully noted and given in Arabic characters at the foot of each page. Pp. 202–207 contain a primer of Berber phonetics and rules of transliteration. The stories remind us of those contained in the Arabian Nights and Grimm's fairy tales.

Pp. 297–312. M. Arthur Amiaud. The Assyrian ordinal numbers. There has been a general confusion concerning the Assyrian numerals. Cardinal numbers were classed as ordinals and vice versa. Amiaud gives the following paradigm for the ordinal numerals: (1) Numerals from 1 to 10. (*a*) Simple forms: masculine pa'lu and feminine pa'ultu; thus we have šanû for šaniu, šalšu, ribû for rib'u, ḫanšu or ḫamšu, šiššu for šidšu, sibû for sib'u; feminine šanûtu; šalultu (V Rawl. 64, 28a), sibutu (Layard 63, 1), tešûtu (cf. te[š]a], Haupt, Nimr. Ep. 54, 8). Like the other Semites the Assyrians may have had originally the common form pa'ilu, reserving pa'ûlu for the numerals in connection with time. The latter encroached on the former and crowded it out; relics we find in forms like mahrîtu and šanîtu, but such feminine forms as *ribîtu, *ḫamiltu and *sibîti could easily have been confounded with rebitu, street, ḫamilti, five, and sibitti, seven; thus they were dropped to avoid such a confusion. (*b*) Composite forms: for the masculine either pa'ulû, e. g. samašurû the eighteenth, a compound of saman and ešurû (for ešerûiiu); or pa'lû, e. g. samanû, to be read samênû, for samêniiiun, see samanâ, Haupt, Nimr. Ep. 54 8; 55, 24, by the side of the simple form samnu, preserved in araḫ-samnu, Hebrew מַרְחֶשְׁוָן; or pa'lâa, e. g. šalšâa the third (V Rawl. 3, 48). Feminine forms have not yet occurred. (2) The 20th, 30th, etc., are formed from the corresponding cardinal numerals by adding the adjective ending -iiiu, e. g. šalâšû the thirtieth for *šalâšâiiiu (IV Rawl. 23, 5a). The feminine to ištên is ištat, not ištenit, as Delitzsch, Assyr. Gram. p. 203, infers from V Rawl. 34, 28a; this passage is to be read iš-ten i-ti ša-ni = the one with the other; the feminine to edu (see V Rawl. 12, 31b) is edtu for *aḫădătu, constr. state edit. The form aḫadat registered by Delitzsch, p. 210 of his grammar, from Asurn. I 81, does not exist (see ZA. II 232). The feminine to šinâ, two, is šitên, and that of kilallân, kilalên, kilallê 'ambo' is kilattân (Esarh. V 54; Neb. E. I. H. V 59). Ištânu is not a numeral adjective, as Delitzsch says, but an adverb

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meaning 'once'; see IV Rawl. 1, 34 and 35b; 16, 8a, ištânu lâ = not once, never.

Pp. 313–354. M. Rubens Duval writes on the Patriarch Mar Jabalaha II and the Mongol princes of Azerbaijan towards the close of saec. XIII. This article is practically a review of M. Bedjan's Histoire du patriarche Jabalaha et de Rabban Çauma (Paris, 1888). The book throws a great deal of light upon the history of Christianity in China and Persia, and also on that of the Mongol Khans of the thirteenth century. Jabalaha was born A. D. 1245 in Koschang, near Peking; during the 37 years of his rule as patriarch he came in contact with at least seven Persian Khans. His teacher and counsellor was Rabban Çauma.

Pp. 355–363. M. J. Darmesteter publishes Pazend text and French translation of 'the duties of a student.' It shows a striking resemblance in contents to the first five chapters of the Middle-English poem, The Schoole of Vertue, by F. Seager, A. D. 1557.

Pp. 364–375. M. E. Senart continues his notes on Indian Epigraphy, examining seven engraved stones from Caboul.

Pp. 376–401. M. E. Drouin. The study of numismatics has yielded a number of additions to our knowledge of Oriental history. The Aramean tongue has been the commercial language of Mesopotomia since saec. VIII B.C. M. Drouin proves this by an examination of a number of Aramean coins; he also treats of the prototype of the Greek *βασιλεὺς μέγας* = Assyrian šarru rabû, and that of *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων* = Persian Shâhânshâh = Aramean Malkân malkâ = Assyr. šar šarrani. These Aramean coins as a rule show two figures, on the reverse that of the local sovereign with a simple diadem, and on the obverse that of the *βασιλεὺς μέγας* with the Arsacide tiara.

Pp. 428–489. M. Clément Huart, in his Turkish Bibliography, gives the titles of 320 books and periodicals in Turkish, Persian, and Arabic, published at Constantinople in 1887–1888. Attention is called to the many translations of French books, etc. (those of Victor Hugo and others). The same five divisions are observed as in the former articles. See A. J. P. II 121, III 369, VIII 377.

Vol. XIV, pp. 40–58. The Acts of Sharbil and the continuation of them, the Acts of Barsamya occupy the second place after the Doctrine of Addai or Thaddaeus, as regards their importance for the history of the Christian church of Edessa. M. R. Duval again examines them and concludes that they are of no value for history and belong to the domain of fiction.

Pp. 59–83. M. Serge Larionoff contributes the Persian text and French translation of the history of King Djemshid and the Dios.

Pp. 84–110. M. van Berchem sends an Arabic tale in the Egyptian dialect, with French translation, preceded by notes on the phonetic peculiarities of Cairo-Arabic. See also Toy in P. A. O. S. Oct. 1888, pp. cxii–cxiv.

Pp. 111–142, 197–237. M. Loret publishes a long article on ancient Egyptian flutes. Examining the descriptions of flutes found in Greek and Latin authors, he states that the *μόναυλος* or *μόναυλος κάλαμος* was a flute blown at the end. It was remarkable for sweetness, but with little power, and its modern repre-

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sentative is the Old-English flute. The φῶτιγξ πλαγίαυλος is the cross-flute or German flute. The real name for the instrument flute is σῦριγξ or Pandean pipe, Latin fistula, while αὐλός, tibia, is either the clarionet, i. e. the single reed-system, or the hautbois, i. e. the double reed-system. These differences not only existed in Greece, but we can trace them back to Egypt, as shown by the reed pipes in the Egyptian collection of the British Museum, at the Louvre, in Florence and Turin, Berlin and Leyden. The Egyptians also had the credit of the many-toned flute, the πολύφθογγος αὐλός, as they had of the many-stringed instruments. There were, in fact, seven kinds of flutes among the Egyptians (p. 133). Some have three, others four holes, as is the case with 14 of those at Leyden, which are made of common reed. Some were furnished with a small mouthpiece of the same humble materials, or of a thick straw inserted into the hollow of the pipe. In appearance the instrument was a straight tube, without any enlargement at the mouth, and when played was held with both hands. Pp. 197–207 contain a descriptive catalogue of about 40 flutes, of which I will quote but one, No. 33: In the Egyptian collection of the British Museum is a small reed pipe of eight and three-quarter inches in length, and into the hollow of this little pipe is fitted at one end a split straw of thick Egyptian growth, to form its mouthpiece.—Most of the flutes were of moderate length, apparently not exceeding a foot and a half. We learn from these pipes that the Egyptians understood the principle of the bag-pipe drone, and that they played music in the pentaphonic or Scotch scale, as well as in the diatonic scale. The whole article serves to support the views of those scholars who maintain Egyptian origin for most of the Greek arts and sciences.

Pp. 143–192 contain fragments of Turkish folklore, by M. Alric; text and translation, with notes on Turkish prosody.

Pp. 238–270. M. Clem. Huart has some interesting remarks on a Pehlevi-Mussulman MS belonging to the library attached to the Santa Sophia mosque at Constantinople. It is No. 66 of the catalogue published in 1887 A. D., and has the heading: Questions touching the illustrious Koran. The MS is of quarto size, numbers 355 sheets, with 21 lines on every page; the pages, however, are not numbered. It is not a regular commentary to the Koran, but rather a treatise on cabalistic formulas occurring in the Koran, and purposes to facilitate the understanding of the Arabic text. The author is not known. At first sight the MS seems to be written in good Persian, but a close scrutiny shows besides the pure Persian a number of passages written in a peculiar dialect, called by Huart the Guébri dialect of the Parsi of Yezd, a branch of the Pehlevi-Mussulman or modern Median.

Pp. 271–363, 381–493. 'Amda Ṣĕyôn, i. e. pillar of Zion, King of Ethiopia, ruled from 1314–1344 A. D.; he is also known as Gabra-Masqâl, i. e. servant of the cross, a name which he assumed when he became king. M. Jules Perruchon publishes the Ethiopic text with French translation of the wars of that king. The text is reprinted from No. 861 of the Oriental MSS of the British Museum. This MS contains, according to Wm. Wright's catalogue, pp. 315–318, a compendium of history, comprising: (1) the history of the Jews from Eli to our Saviour; (2) the history of the Roman Empire from Tiberius to

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Heraclitus, 611 A. D. (3) Leading dates from the creation to the time of Muhammad, etc. (No. 7) The chronicles of Ethiopia, compiled A. D. 1784, by order of Dajâzmâch Ḫailu, in the first year of the reign of King 'Iyâsu. The seventh chapter of this chronicle is the history of 'Amda Ṣĕyôn, son of Wĕdĕm Ra'âd. It is one of the oldest documents for the history of Abessynia. The language is pure Ge'ez, the style readable and at times elegant; the great number of similes, comparisons and quotations from the Old and New Testament show that the author was a priest. He gives, however, not merely an enumeration of historical facts, but clothes his story in the form of an historical novel, thus making it a real literary production. We are told that under the Emperor 'Amda Ṣĕyôn the Muhammadans had become very powerful and entirely independent. One of the king's officers having been killed by them, the king invaded their country, and defeated them so that the Muhammadans had to ask for peace. It was granted upon the condition that Haqq-ed-Dîn, their leader, be replaced by his brother Ṣabr-ed-Dîn. At this point the chronicle begins. After the usual invocation of the Trinity, the writer tells us how the new Mussulman king Ṣabr-ed-Dîn threatened the king 'Amda Ṣĕyôn and his wife, and intended to conquer Ethiopia. 'Amda Ṣĕyôn, made aware of these intentions, recalls to Ṣabr-ed-Dîn the circumstances which had brought about the defeat of his brother and predecessor, as well as the death of Darâder, another brother, and threatens him with the same punishment if he should persist in his evil resolution. Sabr-ed-Dîn answers the king with renewed insolence and defies 'Amda Ṣĕyôn to attack him. A series of battles and fights begin, invariably terminating in favor of the king of Ethiopia. Pp. 279–326 and 381–440 contain the Ethiopic text, pp. 327–363 and 441–483 the French translation. The text is edited with the variants of the Ethiopic MS No. 143 of the Bibl. Nat. à Paris, also containing the history of 'Amda Ṣĕyôn; to the translation are added many notes touching geography and ethnography. The writer gives also the different renderings of Father d'Almeida, whose translation is now in the British Museum, catalogued as MS No. 9861, Historia de Ethiopia a alta ou Abassia, imperio do Abexim, cujo rey vulgarmente he chamado Preste Joani etc., by Padre Manoel d'Almeida (1623?). Appended is an index of proper and geographical names contained in the chronicle. Ṣabr-ed-Dîn, i. e. صبر الدين: 'patient in the faith,' was, according to the Arabian historian, Makrizi, a nephew, not the brother of Haqq-ed-Dîn. Of interest is the popular etymology of this proper name by the Ethiopic king, who calls his adversary Sabra-Dîn, i. e. law-breaker, from the Ethiopic sabára, to crush, to break; Arabic ثَبَرَ (thábara) and dîn, justice, law.

Pp. 494–525. M. C. Imbault-Huart describes two Muhammadan insurrections which occurred in the Chinese province Kan-sou in 1648 and 1781 A. D.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Vol. XIII, pp. 112–120. M. Groff has another note on the words קלל and קלוי occurring in the Egypto-Aramean papyrus at the Louvre (see A. J. P. X 492); he thinks they mean 'a sort of wine,' while M. de Vogüé, on pp. 277 ff., says they denote measures of capacity. On p. 499 Groff compares Talmudic קלבא with our קלוי.—M. J. Oppert translates and inter-

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prets an Assyrian text, published by Father Strassmayer in ZA. III 147, which corroborates the statement of Justin (XLI, chap. 4) that the beginning of the Arsacide era falls in the year 256 B. C., when A. Manlius Vulso Longus and M. Attilius Regulus were consuls at Rome. The inscription speaks of a lunar eclipse in the year 232 of the Arsacide era, which exactly corresponds to the one registered under March 23 of the year 24 B. C. Oppert resumes his discussion on pp. 505–508, 509 f., and 511–514 against Epping's remarks in ZA. IV 78; also see Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 1888, p. 322 f., and ZA. IV 174–185 and 391–399.—R. Duval speaks in terms of highest praise of E. Kautzsch and A. Socin's translation of the Genesis.

Pp. 271–296. According to M. Groff, Gen. 15, 13–16 and Exod. 12, 40 belong to different recensions.—M. Jos. Halévy maintains the identity of סְפַרְוַיִם with סִבְרַיִם (Ezechiel 47, 16), a Syrian village on the frontier (cf. סְפָר Gen. 10, 30) between חֲמָת and דַּמֶּשֶׂק against those Assyriologists who identify it with the ancient Babylonian Sippara. The Syriac form of סִבְרַיִם occurs in the Babylonian chronicle as Shabara'in : Σαβαρίμ.—Ptolemy's mountain, ΑΑCΑΔΑΜΟC, near the Anti-Lebanon, is a mistake for ΑΑCΑΑΑΜΟC, this stands for Hebrew הַר צַלְמֹן; some minor MSS of Ptolemy really read Ἀλσάλαμος, and still better Ἀσάλμανος, which last is the only correct reading for הַצַּלְמֹן = הַר צַלְמוֹן. We can now correct Psalm 68, 15b, and translate: On the mountain of snow, on Ṣalmôn, the mountain of snow being Mount Hermon. [A similar instance of such a mistake of Λ for Δ is mentioned by Lagarde. Greek ΑΔΑΜΑC was read ΑΑΑΜΑC by Arabic translators, this gave rise to the Arabic الماس ('almāsun), shortened finally to ماس, māsun, the 'al being considered as article as in Al-Iskender for Alexander, etc.]—M. L'Abbé Martin reviews R. Duval's edition of Bar Bachlûl's Syriac Lexicon. This work, dating from saec. X of our era, is very important for the history of the translation of scientific books from Greek into Arabic and Syriac. It also gives much information to Hellenists. The publication of this lexicon by M. Duval is a masterpiece of exactness and conscientious philological work.—M. B-M. announces E. Mercier's Histoire de l'Afrique septentrionale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la conquête française (1890), 2 Vols., and L. Pinto's Récréations grammaticales de Hariri.

Pp. 497–536. M. J. Halévy, in a note on the geography of Syria, believes that עַוָּא, occurring in II Kings 17, 24, or better, עַוָּא, is only the Hebrew rendering of Babylonian Gue = Assyrian Que; cf. כְּרְרַלַּעֲמֶר = Assyrian Kudur-Lagamari; Hena and 'Iwa (i. e. הֲנַע וְעִוָּה) in II Kings 18, 34 ought to be changed to חֲנַע וָעוָה. Chani to be compared with Babylonian Ḫani-rabbat. The name of the god תַּרְתָּק, in chap. 17, 31, is a corruption for תַּרְחוּן, a Syrian god often mentioned. Against Delitzsch's theory concerning the Cossaeans, Halévy defends their Semitic nationality. A list of Cossaean forms recently published by Bezold (see A. J. P. X 491, below) proves the Semitic character of their language. Halévy examines the synonyms for Hadad-Rimmôn, the god of the atmosphere, which are purely Semitic. Also see ZA. IV 205–222. The Hittites belong to the Hebrew-Phoenician branch of the Semitic family. Halévy discusses a number of proper names and shows traces of the mimma-

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tion; thus Ṣaipar-ma = Hebrew צִפּוֹר + ma; Sapalulme = Aramean סַפְלוּל + me; Tarqutimme = Tarqûtim, connected with the name of the god Tarḫun or Tarqû + me; and Urume, the city of Tarqutimme = Uru, city + me. [Another evident proof of the Semitic character of this language is the phrase bît-ḫilâni, mentioned expressly by Assyrian writers as a Hittite word; it is equal to the Hebrew בֵּית חַיִל.]— Reviewing M. Minaïef's Researches and materials touching Buddhism, II, A Buddhist repository, M. L. Feer mentions that Abel Rémusat in 1824 had prepared a MS of the same contents; circumstances prevented him from publishing it. Excellent as M. Minaïef's edition is, Abel Rémusat's would have been, for various reasons, still better and more complete.—Kālidāsa's Ṣakuntala has been translated into French from a Tamil version, by M. Gérard Devèze (Paris, 1888). As the version differs from the well-known recensions of the Sanskrit text, it is to be regretted that the translator gives no particulars at all of the Tamil author. But in the dearth of our knowledge of Tamil literature we can nevertheless welcome this useful work of a promising student (L. Feer).—M. de Goeje sends an obituary of the late Dr. Wm. Wright, Sir T. Adams' Professor at Cambridge, born in India in 1830, and died on the 22d May, 1889. It is the heaviest blow that Oriental studies have sustained since the decease of the veteran Fleischer. With him the triad of comparative Semitic scholars breaks up, only two, Noeldeke and I. Guidi, remaining. Wright's lectures on the comparative grammar of the Semitic languages have been left in such a form that they can be printed, and their publication has been undertaken by the Syndics of the University Press. He was an active member of the Old Testament Revision company, and did much good service in their work.—Michele Amari, well known to all scholars as the author of the Studies on the Sicilian Vespers and other great works, died at Florence, July 27, 1889, honored and lamented by all as a true patriot and a man of great literary distinction.—Another loss is the death of M. Georges Guyeisse, a promising young Orientalist.—E. Mahler, of Vienna, discusses the relation of Sab'e šilṭânu mâṭ Muṣûri to Pir'u šar mât Muṣûri (Botta, p. 145, 2, ll. 1 and 3). Sabe is the Seve, So, סוא of the Bible, II Kings 17, 4, the Sabaq of the XXV dynasty. Now just as Joseph became שַׁלִּיט עַל כָּל־הָאָרֶץ, the unlimited ruler of the country, while Pharaoh retained the title of legitimate king, so also was Šabaq-Šab'e the actual ruler, while Pir'u = Pharaoh was the royal dignitary.

Vol. XIV, pp. 193–196 contain reviews, by M. R. Duval, of A. Chabot's Elementary Hebrew Grammar, 3d edition, Paris, 1889, and by M. Barbier de Meynard of R. Youssouf's Dictionnaire turc-français, Constantinople, 1888, 2 vols., in-12.

Pp. 364–380. M. G. Bénédite gives an account of a mission to the Sinaitic peninsula.—M. E. Drouin recommends V. A. Smith, The coinage of the early or imperial Gupta dynasty of Northern India, London, 1889; a reprint from the XXI Volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.—M. R. Duval praises Max Loehr's edition of Georgii Abulfaragi Bar Ebraya's Syriac annotations to the Epistles of Paul, Goettingen, 1889.—M. Barbier de Meynard is as favorably impressed by the VI Volume of Wm. Pertsch's monumental work, Die Handschriften-verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, containing the catalogue of Turkish MSS, as Pavet de Courteille of the preceding volumes.

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Pp. 526–543. M. R. Duval has a paper on the determinative article of the Arabic dialect of Liḥyân, which is the dialect of the inscriptions of El-Oela discovered by Ed. Glaser. It is written ה, rarely א and followed by ל (n) before gutturals which are not capable of reduplication. M. Halévy, comparing it with the Hebrew article, suggests that הַן (han) was the original form of the Semitic article. Duval agrees with Halévy as far as the article of the Liḥyân dialect is concerned, believes, however, that in Hebrew-Aramean forms like לְהַנַּעֲלָה הַנַּעַל, תִּנְדַּע, מַנְדַּעָא and אִנְּבָה, the n is merely a nasal prolongation of the vowel.—M. Groff speaks of the land of Goshen, Joshua 10, 41 and 11, 16.—M. Eivaciji Modi, of Bombay, offers some remarks on the names of halting-places and stations between Pichaver and Caboul, quoting many popular etymologies of these names current among the inhabitants. M. Darmesteter supplies the linguistic etymologies of several places mentioned by the learned Parsi.—Obituary addresses delivered by M. Barbier de Meynard and M. Ernest Renan at the funeral of M. Pavet de Courteille, the distinguished Professor of Turkish at the College de France, born at Paris, June 23, 1821, and died Monday, Dec. 16, 1889.

Vol. XV, pp. 1–101. M. P. Sabbathier. Studies in Vedic liturgy. The Agnishṭoma according to the Çrauta-sûtra of Açvalâyana. The liturgical sûtras are twofold: (1) the Kalpa- or çrauta-sûtras based on revelation (çruti), that is, on the brâhmanas; and (2) the gṛihya- or smârta-sûtras, which rest simply on tradition (smṛiti). It is only through the study of the sûtras that we gain a true insight into the real character of the Vedic religion. They are exoteric, while the brâhmanas are esoteric. The sûtras are so complicated that it is difficult even for the best Sanskrit students to understand them. At the suggestion of the late M. Abel Bergaigne the writer has undertaken to translate the çrauta-sûtra of Açvalâyana, with all the supplementary explanations and the philological commentary necessitated by the enigmatic precision of the text. Of this sûtra he prints the fifth chapter, which treats of the celebration of the Agnishṭoma, the most simple form of the soma-sacrifice. The Sanskrit text is published in the Bibliotheca Indica (1864–1874), with the commentary of Gârgyanârâyana; the comparison with the other sûtras and the brâhmanas of the Ṛigveda and the Yagurveda have furnished useful help. The Agnishṭoma or praise of Agni is properly the name of the sâman or chanted strophe preceding the twelfth çastra, the Agnimârûta. Later it was used to designate the whole ceremony, which ends with this çastra.

Pp. 102–112. M. Darmesteter calls attention to the traces of Buddhism in the language spoken in Afghanistan and Beluchistan, and speaks of the original home of the Brahouis.—M. Barbier de Meynard pays tribute to the recent publication, by the Jesuit fathers at Beyrouth, of the Maqamat of Hamadani, with the commentary of Sheikh 'Abdo. Meynard gives a short biography of Hamadani, the founder of this branch of a literature which was brought to its height by Hariri a century and a half later. He also announces the appearance of the first two volumes of M. Amélineau's Monuments pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte chrétienne, the whole work to be completed in 15 volumes.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

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I.—ON THE ARTICULAR INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS.[1]

I.

In the following paper I have taken Hultsch's text of Polybius (books I–III in the second edition) as the basis of my work, and all the references are to the book, chapter and section in his edition. I have referred frequently to Schweighäuser's edition and notes, and his lexicon has been of great value to me. Of the studies on Polybius' text and language those to which I am most indebted are: Hultsch's Preface to his second edition, 1888; F. Krebs, *Die Präpositionen bei Polybius*, 1882, and *Die Präpositionsadverbien in der späteren historischen Gräcität*, Part I, 1884, Part II, 1885.

Kaelker, *Quaestiones de elocutione Polybiana*, 1880 (Leipziger Studien, Vol. III); J. Stich, *De Polybii dicendi genere* (Acta Sem. Philol. Erlang. II); L. Goetzeler, *De Polybi elocutione*, 1887, are occasionally referred to.

For the theory and development of the articular infinitive I am indebted to Prof. Gildersleeve's articles in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1878, and in the American Journal of Philology, Vols. III and VIII; to Weiske's two papers in Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch for 1882, pp. 494 and 528, in which he enumerates every occurrence of the construction in Attic prose; and to Birklein's *Entwicklungsgeschichte des substantivierten Infinitivs*, 1888, which gives in a handy form an account of the development of the construction from Pindar to Xenophon. It

[1] The above paper embodies the results of studies pursued during the author's tenure of a Bishop Berkeley Fellowship at Owens College, Manchester, England.

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is to be regretted that Aristotle's use of this construction has not yet been examined.

1. It has already been shown that while a historical development in the use of the article with an infinitive in 'classical' Greek can distinctly be traced, from the simple infinitive with τό in Pindar to the substantivizing of a complex sentence in all sorts of case-relations in Attic prose (see Birklein, p. 91), at the same time both individual bent and the class of writing played their parts in the variations and the rise and fall of its use. As Prof. Gildersleeve says (A. J. P. III 197), 'the use of the articular infinitive is not simply a matter of period, but a matter of individual character and artistic school.'

In this essay I propose to apply the same methods of statistic which have been employed on the classical use of the articular infinitive, to an examination of the same element in the language of Polybius; an examination which will be of interest, and of some importance both from a comparative point of view and in regard to Polybius' own style. Thus I shall endeavor to connect Polybius' usage with that of the classical prosaists in a comparison by which the development of the construction may be estimated, and to provide material in which Polybius' method of thought and the turns of his language may be studied; for 'the articular infinitive is a gnomon of the reflective element and cannot be left out in a consideration of style' (Gildersleeve, Am. Philol. Assoc. 1878, p. 18).

The position of Polybius is one of prominence in the history of later Greek prose. He is in date and importance the first of a succession of writers in the κοινὴ διάλεκτος, and the traces of Polybius' influence are to be clearly seen in the writers who follow him. If the term κοινὴ διάλεκτος in reference to Polybius is calculated to lead to confusion, we may say that he writes in the Attic dialect but not in the Attic style; that in all essentials but that of pureness of vocabulary Polybius' dialect is Attic, though in detail he shows in syntax also many divergencies from Attic use.

It will thus be seen that in studying Polybius' language it is of importance to keep before us his relation with the Attic prosaists, because we are at a point where the threads of historical connection are most significant.

2. In the following statistical account of Polybius' usage of the articular infinitive I have calculated by the number of *articles*. It occurs altogether 1628 times, and in the following constructions:

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nominative 151, subject accusative 75, object, etc., accus. 53, genitive 199, dative 80. With prepositions and quasi-prepositions governing the genitive: *περί* 26, *ὑπέρ* 26, *ἐκ* 22, *πρό* 12, *χάριν* 78, *ἕνεκα* 8, *πλήν* 5, *χωρίς* 4, *ἕως* 4, *ἔξω* 2, *ἄνευ* 2, *μέχρι* 2. With prepositions, etc., governing the dative: *ἐπί* 47, *πρός* 10, *ἐν* 21, *ἅμα* 102. With prepositions and the accusative: *διά* 441, *πρός* 134, *μετά* 29, *ἐπί* 31, *εἰς* 55, *περί* 8, *παρά* once.

In this list I have not separated the first five books in Polybius from the rest of his works which have come down to us. The first five books alone are preserved entire, of the rest we have only excerpts, mostly of considerable length. In Hultsch's edition books I–V occupy about a volume and a half, the excerpts about two volumes and a half. The average frequency (per page) of the articular infinitive is higher in the excerpts than in the first five books, being 1.180 : 1.109.

3. In the frequency of its occurrence the articular infinitive has a higher place in Polybius than in any classical author except Demosthenes. This relation will be best seen by the following comparison, in which I have adopted Birklein's counting of the classical occurrences. It occurs in Plato 1680 times, average per Teubner page .87; in Xenophon 1306 times, average 1.01; in Polybius 1628 times, average 1.15; in Demosthenes 788, average 1.20.

In estimating the force of these figures we must make allowance for the difference in character of the subject-matter. Oratory and philosophy, having more need of abstract phrases, of compendious and comprehensive locutions, are found to make more liberal use of the articular infinitive than history does. Thus in Thucydides (Gildersleeve, A. J. P. VIII, p. 330; Birklein, pp. 51, 52) the average of the art. inf. in the narrative is .30, while in the speeches it amounts to nearly 1; and thus we account for the higher frequency of the art. inf. in the excerpts of Polybius as compared with books I–V; books VI–end contain proportionally more of reflection and theorizing and less of narrative than the books preserved entire. But on the whole the *narratival* element with Polybius, as was natural with a writer of history, outweighs the reflective and historical. This being so, what we have to lay stress upon is the high frequency of the art. inf. in Polybius as compared with classical prose writers. It points to a real characteristic of his style, and of late Greek generally; to the 'conscious ratiocination, the increasing tendency towards the employment of

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abstract nouns in various relations,' of which Prof. Gildersleeve (Trans. Am. Ph. Assoc. 1878, p. 18) describes the articular infinitive as the outcome, and which is further indicated in the large number of abstract nouns-substantive used by Polybius, many of which he coined himself. See Kaelker, l. c. pp. 296, 297, and Goetzeler, pp. 40, 41.

4. In the use of the articular infinitive as the equivalent of a noun, Polybius does not go beyond the limits fixed in Attic prose, for which see Birklein, p. 92. We find no approach in him to the later and vulgar use of an adjective instead of an adverb with the art. inf., or of a dependent genitive instead of a subject in the accus., such as those quoted by Gildersleeve, l. c. p. 7, from Ignatius, e. g. τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν. τὸ ζῆν αὐτοῦ. And in the usages within the classical limits his innovations are few in number. In Polybius for the first time we find the genitive of the art. inf. used of *price* (only twice), ἅμα τῷ c. inf. used almost synonymously with μετὰ τὸ c. inf., γίνομαι and εἰμί with πρὸς τὸ and πρὸς τῷ c. inf., πρὸς τὸ c. inf. of purpose in strictly final clauses. Of these usages occurring for the first time, all except the first occur frequently and are characteristics of Polybius' style; especially common is ἅμα with the art. inf. Other features of his use of the art. inf. as compared with that in Attic prose generally are the following: increase in frequency of χάριν τοῦ c. inf., to which ἕνεκα gives way; of διὰ τὸ c. inf., of ἐπὶ τῷ c. inf. expressing the cause of emotion; of πρὸς τὸ and μετὰ τὸ c. inf.; frequency of ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ c. inf., and of ἐλπὶς τοῦ c. inf., decrease of the τὸ-infinitive. Noticeable are τοῦ c. inf. of purpose, and the variety of the expressions of purpose with the art. inf.: χάριν, ἕνεκα τοῦ c. inf., ἐπὶ τῷ c. inf., πρὸς τὸ c. inf., besides the final τοῦ c. inf.

5. The articular infinitive presents in a handy substantival form either the abstract idea expressed by the simple infinitive, or an oratio obliqua in which the infinitive stands for the main verb, and the subject is in the accusative (or nominative); cf. Gildersleeve, l. c. p. 11. There are thus two distinct forms of the articular infinitive, the former of which is strictly the equivalent of an abstract noun, while the latter is a substantivized sentence, and in general a variation in phrase for what might otherwise have been expressed by a subordinate clause, relatival or temporal, or by a participle. Of the former class Polybius very frequently employs τὸ ζῆν as an equivalent of ὁ βίος, the two occurring side by side in 12, 16, 12 τῷ μὲν ('to the one') ἔτη δύο ἢ τρία καταλείπεσθαι τοῦ ζῆν,

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αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖον ἔτι μένειν. So too he is fond of *τὸ νικᾶν, κινδυνεύειν, βοηθεῖν*, etc. It is interesting to note that there are certain constructions in Polybius with which the simple form of the art. inf. goes naturally. Thus (of course with exceptions) it is the simple abstract that is found when the art. inf. is the direct object of verbs, or in the genitive after verbs, or after *πρός, εἰς, ἐπὶ τὸ* (always), *περὶ τὸ, ἐν, ἐκ, ἕνεκα* and *χάριν*. On the other hand, it is the substantivized oratio obliqua that is usually found after *μετά* and *πρό*; while some constructions, e. g. the 'dynamic' dative, *ἐπὶ τῷ, ἅμα τῷ*, lend themselves equally to both forms. With the other usages, although both forms of the art. inf. are equally natural, the simpler is the more usual.

In a few passages we find the startling irregularity of an accusative with the art. inf. where the subject of the main clause and of the oratio obliqua is the same. 2, 18, 6 *οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀντεξαγαγεῖν Ῥωμαῖοι τὰ στρατόπεδα διὰ τὸ παραδύξου γενομένης τῆς ἐφόδου προκαταληφθῆναι καὶ μὴ καταταχῆσαι τὰς τῶν συμμάχων ἀθροίσαντας δυνάμεις.* See Hultsch², Praefat. p. l. Hultsch reverts here to the MSS reading *ἀθροίσαντας*, after having, in the first edition, preferred Bekker's conjecture *ἀθροίσαντες*. In doing so he follows Kaelker, p. 280, who compares the following passages where a similar accusative is found: 2, 7, 10 *οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο προυργιαίτερον τοῦ παροπλίσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς πλοῖα.* 3, 111, 2. 8, 31, 6 *ἐλπίζων καὶ πρὸς αὐτόν τι διατείνειν τὴν εὐαγρίαν διὰ τὸ μερίτην ἀεὶ γίνεσθαι*, where, as Hultsch points out, the accusative is due to the influence of *αὐτόν*, but where Bekker conjectured *μερίτης*. Analogous to these is 9, 39, 6 *πρέπον ὑμῖν ἐστι τὸ—μνησθέντας—μισοπονηρῆσαι*, where one expects the dative as in 18, 14, 13.

The irregularity of the passages quoted is, as Hultsch, l. c. p. li, remarks, quite in keeping with the construction of the accusative referring to the subject which is found in oratio obliqua after *νομίζω*, etc., e. g. 1, 53, 10 *νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως σφᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι.* See Hultsch, l. c. p. xliv, on 1, 38, 1; and Kaelker, p. 280. The above-quoted passages excepted, however, we find the nominative always with the art. inf. in Polybius when the subject of the main sentence is referred to.

6. (*a*). The articular infinitive in its capacity as a substantive often stands in Polybius parallel in construction with a noun, the two being connected by *καί*. In Demosthenes (Weiske, l. c. p. 495), with whom this is common, when they both refer to the same thing, the noun gives the general aspect of it, and the art.

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inf. the particular. Thus too in Polybius 1, 88, 3 *μεγάλην ἔχει διαφορὰν ἡ μετριότης καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον ἐπιτηδεύειν ἑκουσίως*, and 5, 1, 5. 20, 5, 4. 27, 13, 4. Noticeable is 7, 13, 7 *ἐγγευσάμενος αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου καὶ τοῦ φονεύειν*. Other instances of the conjunction of noun and art. inf., where they do not refer to the same thing, are 15, 34, 6 *ἅμα τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀπέβαλε*. 8, 32, 11. 18, 54, 2.

(*b*). With *αὐτό* as attribute (Birklein, p. 93) we find the art. inf. 12, 28a, 2 *αὐτὸ τὸ συναθροῖσαί φησι μεῖζον ἔργον εἶναι*, and 22, 13, 3 *δῆλος ὢν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σιωπᾶν*. 15, 31, 13 *περιποιήσασθαι τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον*.

(*c*). In apposition (Birklein, p. 94) the art. inf. is found several times after *τοῦτο*, especially *αὐτὸ τοῦτο*. 3, 4, 9 *οὐ γὰρ τοῦτ' εἶναι τέλος ὑπολεπτέον, τὸ νικῆσαι*. So 4, 57, 11. 21, 22, 7. Frag. 46. 3, 84, 7 *τοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν αὐτὸ περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενοι, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν μηδὲ λείπειν τὰς τάξεις*. 3, 20, 4. 12, 5, 11. After *ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ* 1, 45, 11. 37, 1, 9. *ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου* 1, 45, 11. *τούτῳ διαλλάττειν, διαφέρειν* 2, 37, 11. 30, 2, 4. For 12, 6a, 4 see under the dative.

Occasionally we find the art. inf. appositional to a noun, e. g. after *ἐλπίδος* 2, 35, 8. See below under the accusative.

7. *Tenses of the infinitive.*—As in Attic prose so in Polybius we find the present the commonest tense of the infinitive with the article. After the present the aorist is next in frequency, with about half as many occurrences as the present, while the perfect is much rarer (one-seventh of the present) and the future only occurs 12 times. We may notice the exclusive use of the aorist inf. after *μετὰ τὸ* and its prevalence after *ἅμα τῷ* and *χάριν τοῦ*; aorist and present are found in equal degree after *εἰς τὸ*, but in all other constructions the present, as is natural, is preponderant. The perfect is found in the largest proportion after *ἐπὶ τῷ* and *διὰ τὸ*.

The future of the articular infin. is such a rarity that it is worth while enumerating the instances. It occurs for the first time in Thucydides (see Birklein, pp. 52 and 94), and it is either used pleonastically in connection with phrases which contain an idea of purpose or futurity, as *ἐλπίς, πρόληψις*; or in oratio obliqua to express an action in the future. Of the former class in Polybius are 3, 48. 2 *ἐλπὶς τοῦ κατορθώσειν*, and 7, 15, 4. 5, 94, 9 *ἐλπὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ* c. fut. infin., 16, 32, 4 *πρόληψις τοῦ πεσεῖσθαι*. 4, 3, 3 *πρόληψιν ἔχειν περὶ τοῦ* c. fut. Frag. 150 *φροντίζειν τοῦ* c. fut. infin. After *εἰς τὸ* of purpose 9, 9, 11. *χάριν τοῦ* 4, 9, 5. On the other hand, the future has its full force in 3, 5, 8 *διὰ τὸ κἄλλους πολλοὺς κατεγγυηθήσεσθαι καὶ σπουδάσειν*, and 32, 16, 2. 24, 11, 14 *ποιεῖσθαι ὅρκους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδέποτε κατελεύσεσθαι τοὺς φυγάδας*, and 5, 18, 6 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ δεινὸν ἥξειν ἐπὶ σφᾶς οὐδὲ διενοεῖτο οὐδείς*.

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Somewhat similar is the use of ἄν with the aorist inf. which we find after διὰ τό 1, 61, 5. 3, 31, 3, and in 7, 13, 4 τὸν βίον ἐφήσαμεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸ μηδὲν ἂν ποιῆσαι μοχθηρόν.

Madvig, Syntax, §172b, laid it down of the *meaning* of the articular aorist infinitive with accusative subject, that except when denoting purpose of any kind it always has a *preterite* force. Upon this Birklein, p. 95, remarks, that although it usually holds good, there are many such examples in which the aorist is not preterite. Thus he quotes Thuc. 7, 68 τὸ δὲ τούσδε κολασθῆναι καλὸς ὁ ἀγών. Thus too we may add from Polybius, 4, 84, 8 κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον συμφέρει τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις τὸ γενέσθαι Φίλιππον Ἠλείων κύριον. 6, 24, 7 ἀδήλου γὰρ ὄντος τοῦ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν τι τὸν ἡγεμόνα, οὐδέποτε βούλονται κ. τ. λ. And 11, 17, 2 ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ὥρμησε τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ μὴ διαφυγεῖν τὸν Μαχανίδαν.

The Infinitive with τό *as Subject and Object, etc.*

The infinitive with τό as subject in nominative and accusative, and as object, etc., occurs altogether 279 times in Polybius (89 in books I–V, 190 in the rest); a frequency which shows a great fall from that of Dem., Plat., and Xenophon. Taking the proportion by the page in the Teubner text, we find the average frequency per page of the infinitive with τό in the writers just mentioned is .4, but .19 or less than half of this in Polybius. This falling off is due to a large extent to the fact that the τό-infin. especially, and the art. infin. in general, is more consonant with a didactical and theoretical subject-matter than with narration. This is very clearly shown by the case of Xenophon himself; see Birklein, Entwickl., p. 84: in the Memorabilia the frequency of the art. inf. in all constructions is 2.2, but in the Anabasis it is only .47; while, to take the τό-inf. by itself, we find its frequency in the Memorabilia is 1.07, but only .15 in the Anabasis. And in Polybius also the use of the subject infinitive with τό is chiefly characteristic of the non-narratival portions, being especially common in the digressions where Polybius explains the plan or purpose of the narrative; while the preponderance in Polybius of the narrative element accounts for the fall in the frequency of the τό-infinitive as compared with Demosthenes, Plato, and Xenophon.

1. As subject the τό-infinitive appears 151 times as nominative and 77 times as accusative. In the latter case it is the subject in an oblique sentence after νομίζω, φημί, ἡγοῦμαι, or in 'oblique narration'

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with no governing verb expressed; less frequently the governing verb is *ὑπολαμβάνω, κρίνω, εἴποι τις ἄν, πέπεισμαι, οἶμαι.*

The tense of the infinitive is generally the present, but the aorist is almost as frequent; the perfect occurs only 6 times. Often an infinitival sentence with a subject in the accusative is substantivized by the *τό*. The predicate to the infinitive-subject is often an adjective with or without *εἶναι*, but in this case the article is not so necessary with the infinitive as when the predicate is a verb.[1]

The frequent recurrence of the same or a similar predicate shows the mannerism and stereotype character of Polybius' style.

Thus with *σημεῖον*, 11, 7, 3 *τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀργιζόμενον εἰς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖν τῆς πάσης ἀλογιστίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον.* So 10, 32, 12 *τὸ λέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ᾠόμην, τίς γὰρ ἂν ἤλπισε τοῦτο γενέσθαι; μέγιστον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ σημεῖον ἀπειρίας στρατηγικῆς.* 2, 63, 5. 12, 6b, 3. 29, 5, 1. 30, 7, 8. Frag. 85. With *ῥᾴδιον*: 6, 3, 2 *τό τε γὰρ ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ γινωσκόμενα ῥᾴδιον, τό τε προειπεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος εὐμαρές.* And 5, 33, 6. 12, 20, 7. 12, 25c, 5. 25i, 9. 28, 10, 2. With *ἀναγκαῖον*: 1, 1, 1 *ἴσως ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸ προτρέπεσθαι πάντας πρὸς τὴν αἵρεσιν τῶν τοιούτων ὑπομνημάτων.* And 1, 13, 6. 3, 21, 9. 12, 25i, 5. 3, 97, 1 *νομίσαντες χρήσιμον εἶναι, μᾶλλον δ' ἀναγκαῖον τὸ μὴ προΐεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἀλλ' ἐνίστασθαι τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις*, and similarly after *νομίζω* with *ἀναγκαῖον* 1, 10, 9. 16, 25, 2. 32, 4, 2. After *ἡγεῖσθαι* 9, 36, 11. 10, 2, 1. 9, 8. 18, 32, 13.

With the perfect infinitive: 1, 4, 2 *τὸ προκαλεσάμενον ἡμᾶς πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῆς ἱστορίας μάλιστα τοῦτο γέγονεν, σὺν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τὸ μηδένα τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιβεβλῆσθαι τῇ τῶν καθόλου πραγμάτων συντάξει.*[2]

[1] The choice in such cases between the articular and the simple infinitive was no doubt often arbitrary, as, e. g. 29, 23, 3 *οὐκ ἤρεσκε διδόναι* followed by *ἤρεσκε τὸ διδόναι*. But the article was often omitted to avoid the hiatus; this is clear from such a case as 6, 56, 15 *σπάνιόν ἐστιν εὑρεῖν—σπάνιόν ἐστι τὸ λαβεῖν*. Cf. 8, 2, 6 *σπάνιον εὑρεῖν ἐστί*.

[2] 1, 35, 2 *καὶ γὰρ τὸ διαπιστεῖν τῇ τύχῃ—ἐναμγέστατον ἐφάνη πᾶσιν τότε διὰ τῶν Μάρκου συμπτωμάτων.* "Fortunae non esse confidendum manifestum" Schw. Casaubon, feeling the want of *δεῖν*, read from late MSS *τὸ δεῖν ἀπιστεῖν*, which Schweighäuser rejects, remarking that the phrase is 'proverbialiter et sententiose dictum, quo in genere amant Graeci omittere verbum *δεῖ*.' It appears to me much more probable that the original was *τὸ δεῖν διαπιστεῖν*, from which both the later variant *τὸ δεῖν ἀπιστεῖν* and the vulgate *τὸ διαπιστεῖν* would naturally arise. For the omission by copyists of *δεῖ* before *διά* and *δια-* there are several parallels; compare 9, 42, 6 and Hultsch, Praef.[2] xxxii.

23, 7, 4 *ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος καὶ Περσεὺς οὐχ ἡδέως ἑώρων τὸ γινόμενον οὐδ' ἤρεσεν αὐτοῖς, τῷ δοκεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους αὐτῶν μηθένα λόγον ποιεῖσθαι.* Here Ursinus read *τῷ*, but *τὸ* is read in O, and the latter is surely preferable. *τὸ* has the support of the following passages: 29, 23, 3 *τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα ἤρεσκε τὸ διδόναι.* 4, 49, 3 *ἠρέθιζε δ' αὐτὸν τὸ δοκεῖν Βυζαντίους ἐξαπεσταλκέναι.*

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As accusative-subject, besides the above-quoted instances the τό-infinitive occurs as follows: 2, 22, 11 *νομίζοντες συμφέρειν σφίσι τὸ διακριθῆναι πρὸς τούτους.* So 7, 4, 8. *νομίζων καθήκειν αὑτῷ* 21, 29, 12. 31, 8, 7. 37, 3, 2. And 6, 1, 6. 50, 3. 21, 13, 8. 18, 6. In 10, 7, 6 Schweigh. added *ἐπισφαλὲς εἶναι*, a conjecture which is supported by 28, 6, 4. Frag. 163. 11, 20, 6 and 28, 13, 10. *ἡγεῖσθαι σφίσι συμφέρειν* 5, 35, 12. 10, 39, 9. Similarly after *ἡγεῖσθ.* 2, 50, 6. 3, 1, 5. 5, 67, 13. 6, 42, 2.

5, 11, 4 *τὸ δὲ ναοὺς ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἀνδριάντας λυμαίνεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι τρόπου καὶ θυμοῦ λυττῶντος ἔργον*; so 9, 10, 6. 17, 9. 32, 27, 7. After *φημί* 1, 80, 1. 5, 58, 4. 6, 1, 3. 12, 28a, 2. 13, 3, 6. 18, 36, 7. 22, 8, 6. 28, 21, 3. 29, 8, 7. Frag. 13. *φάσκω* 16, 26, 1. 4, 57, 11 *ὑπολαμβάνοντες τοῦτο τέλος εἶναι, τὸ γενέσθαι τῶν πυλώνων ἐντός.* And 1, 4, 4. 2, 47, 1. 12, 28a, 4 and 5. 29, 7, 6. Frag. 46. 2, 26, 8. *τὸ μὲν διακινδυνεύειν ἐκ παρατάξεως οὐδαμῶς ἔκρινε συμφέρειν.* 3, 107, 2. 5, 22, 8. 16, 20, 6.

As subject in oratio obliqua with no principal verb expressed we find the τό-infinitive 3, 15, 7 *πάτριον γὰρ εἶναι Καρχηδονίοις τὸ μηδένα τῶν ἀδικουμένων περιορᾶν.* And 3, 63, 4 and 11. 4, 24, 6. 9, 42, 7. 18, 3, 8. 11, 8. 21, 22, 7. 22, 11, 4. 24, 14, 3. 31, 20, 6. 34, 4, 4. 37, 1, 4 and 15.

29, 19, 8 (in oratio obliqua) * * *τὸ δὲ παρέντας ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν νῦν παρεῖναι σπουδάζοντας διαλύειν τὸν πόλεμον, προφανὲς εἶναι τοῖς ὀρθῶς σκοπουμένοις διότι τὰς πρεσβείας ἐξέπεμψαν οὐ διαλύειν ἐθέλοντες τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ἐξελέσθαι τὸν Περσέα.* Here we have either an anacoluthon or some defect in the text. *τῷ δὲ παρέντας* would restore a construction, but the commencement *τὸ δὲ παρέντ.* seems to read soundly although preceded by a lacuna. Probably the sentence was begun with an infinitive with τό, and in the course of a long period the construction was forgotten.

9, 4, 6 *ἐξ ὧν συλλογιζόμενος Ἀννίβας ἀδύνατον ὑπάρχον τὸ λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν.* After *πεπεισμένος* 1, 83, 3. *οἶμαι* 12, 25k, 9.

Lastly, in two passages which may well be regarded as specimens of involved structure, we find the accus. of the art. inf. as subject of an infinitival sentence also substantivized by an article. 9, 2 4, *πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ καινῆς ἐξηγήσεως δεῖσθαι, τῷ μὴ συμβατὸν εἶναι τὸ τὰς ἐπιγινομένας πράξεις ἡμῖν ἐξαγγεῖλαι.* 22, 13, 8 *διατιθεμένων λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ—ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸ κινῆσαί τι τῶν ὑποκειμένων.*

2. As object, or in apposition to an object.

(*a*). The τό-infinitive as object is oftenest found with certain verbs indicating *rejection* of any project or plan. It thus occurs

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10 times with *ἀπογινώσκω* and 8 times with *ἀποδοκιμάζω*, and with *παρίημι*, *ἀπολέγω*, *ἐγκακέω*. 1, 44, 4 *τὸ μὲν διακωλύειν τὴν ἐπίπλουν τῆς βοηθείας ἀπέγνωσαν*. So 1, 48, 10. 2, 65, 13. 3, 21, 6. 74, 5. 5, 1, 5. 70, 2. 8, 36, 2. 14, 10, 10. 31, 23, 8.

3, 95, 5 *τὸ κατὰ γῆν ἅπαντᾶν ἀπεδοκίμασε*, and 1, 54, 5. 3, 86, 8. 6, 38, 1. 9, 20, 6. 10, 39, 7. 18, 48, 9. 31, 17, 3.

3, 106, 10 *τὸ πλείω γράφειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν παρήσομεν*. 2, 63, 1 *ἀπολέγω τὸ χορηγεῖν*. *ἐγκακέω* 'refuse' 4, 19, 10.

The phrase *ἐκλείπειν τὸ ζῆν* occurs three times, 2, 41, 2. 2, 60, 7 and 23, 10, 3. *περὶ πλείονος ποιοῦμαι, περὶ πλείστου ποιοῦμαι* with *τὸ* c. inf. occurs four times, 3, 84, 7 *τοῦτο δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐθισμῶν περὶ πλείστου ποιούμενοι, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν μηδὲ λείπειν τὰς τάξεις*. So 4, 61, 6. 18, 53, 3, and 24, 15, 3.

3, 81, 6 *τὸ ζῆν αὐτῶν ἀφῄρηνται*. 15, 34, 6 *ἅμα τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἀπέβαλε*. 16, 34, 11 *οὐδαμῶς ὑπέμενον τὸ ζῆν*. 11, 28, 8 *ἀποκτενῶν τοῦτον παρ' οὗ τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸς ἔλαβε*. 15, 31, 13 *περιποιήσασθαι τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον*. 3, 63, 6 *τοῖς ἑλομένοις τὸ ζῆν* 'choosing.' 10, 37, 4 *κἂν ἡ τύχη δῷ τὸ νικᾶν*. 31, 23, 8 *προορώμενοι* ('fearing') *τὸ βουληθέντες κωλύειν ἀδυνατῆσαι*. After *ζηλόω* 'strive after' 23, 11, 3. *λέγω* 12, 28a, 7. 39, 10, 8 *τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων παθεῖν ὅ τι δέοι, οὐδ' ἐν νῷ ἐλάμβανον*. 27, 9, 7 *μαρτύριον ἐποιοῦντο τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀποφάσεως τὸ παραγεγονέναι ἀλείπτην τινά*. 7, 13, 4 *τότε περὶ μὲν Ἀράτου τὸν βίον ἐφήταμεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὸ μηδὲν ἂν ποιῆσαι μοχθηρόν*. Here *τὸ* is Schw.'s emendation of MSS *τοῦ*: "His life would show in his defence that he would not have committed anything base"; but the construction is very unusual.

16, 10, 1 *ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ μάλιστ' ἄν τις καταμάθοιτο μανιώδη γενόμενον Φίλιππον τοῦτο πρᾶξαι*. So Mai edited, but Heyse corrected to *καταμάθοι τό*, which is adopted by Hultsch. It must be admitted, however, that the article has a very clumsy effect. Compare 5, 11, 7 *Μάλιστα δ' ἄν τις καταμάθοι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τὴν τότε Φιλίππου, λαβὼν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν κ. τ. λ.* Perhaps the middle voice in *καταμάθοιτο* is simply due to a copyist's mistake for *καταμάθοι*.[1]

[1] 29, 24, 3 *ἐξ ὧν ἀπεδείκνυσαν σκῆψιν οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων χρείαν πρὸς τὸ διαλῦσαι *το βοηθεῖν*. Here the article before *βοηθεῖν* was added by Ursinus, but does not improve the sense. In the sense required here, *διαλύειν* is not found elsewhere in Polybius, although it is frequently used of disbanding troops, and, in the middle voice, of raising a siege, or finishing a war. For references see Schw.'s lex. The gulf which separates these regular significations of *διαλύειν* from that which is required in this passage is thus bridged by Schweighäuser: "dissolvere vel dirimere negotium aut consilium, i. e. impedire; sic 29, 24, 3

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(*b*). Accus. of the art. inf. in apposition to a direct object: 7, 8, 9 *σκοπὸν προέθηκε κάλλιστον ἐν τῷ ζῆν, τὸ πειθαρχεῖν.* 3, 20, 4 *εἰ μὴ ἡ τύχη καὶ τοῦτο προσένειμε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τὸ φρονεῖν εὐθὺς ἐκ γενετῆς.* 12, 5, 11 *αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο διορθώσαιντο, τὸ μὴ παῖδα ποιεῖν φιαληφόρον ἀλλὰ παρθένον.* Here may be added 12, 25k, 7 *κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χάριν ἔχει τοῖς Γελῴοις, τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι τοὺς λόγους ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς.* Here the MSS have a lacuna, which Heyse supplied, reading *κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο χάριν* for *κατα . . . χάριν.* In two passages the accus. of the art. inf. is found in apposition to *πρᾶγμα ποιῶν*: 6, 1, 12 *πρᾶγμα ποιῶν φρονίμου καὶ νουνεχοῦς ἀνδρός, τὸ γνῶναι κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον ὅσῳ πλέον ἥμισυ παντός.* 18, 33, 2 *ποιῶν πρᾶγμα βασιλικόν, τὸ μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς λήθην ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ καθήκοντος.* Compare 4, 80, 4 with the nominative of the art. inf.: *καλὸν τοῦτο Λεπρεάταις ἔργον πέπρακται τὸ—ἀντιποιήσασθαι τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος καὶ μὴ προέσθαι τὰς ἐλπίδας.* Similar, but looser in structure, is 5, 11 3 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ παραιρεῖσθαι τῶν πολεμίων καὶ καταφθείρειν φρούρια κ. τ. λ.—ταῦτα μὲν ἀναγκάζουσιν οἱ τοῦ πολέμου νόμοι δρᾶν· τὸ δὲ κ. τ. λ.*, where *ταῦτα μέν* takes up the preceding *τὸ μέν*.

3. Accusative absolute.

This is a rare use of the accus. of the art. inf., which occurs also in Plato and Xenophon; see Birklein, pp. 77, 100, and compare the genitive absolute. In Polybius it occurs only 2, 61, 3 *τῆς γενναιότητος οὐδὲ κατὰ ποσὸν ἐποιήσατο μνήμην, ὥσπερ τὸ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἐξαριθμεῖσθαι οἰκειότερον ὑπάρχον τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων ἐπισημαίνεσθαι.*

4. Accusative of relation.

See Birklein, pp. 85, 97. This use of the *τό*-infinitive, in free relation with the whole sentence ("as regards"), is very common in classical prose, especially in Xenophon. Thus Cyr. 1, 6, 16, quoted by Birklein, *τὸ γὰρ ἀρχὴν μὴ κάμνειν τὸ στράτευμα, τοίτου σοι δεῖ*

διαλῦσαι τὸ βοηθεῖν est impedire ne mittatur auxilium." I think the original reading here was *διακωλῦσαι βοηθεῖν*, which gives exactly the required sense, and involves nothing more than Ursinus' addition of *τὸ* does.

For parallels compare: 4, 33, 8 *ἐκώλυον Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετέχειν τῶν σπονδῶν Μεσσηνίους.* 20, 10, 6 *τοῦδ' ἀδυνάτου κωλύσαντος βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν ἐπιταττομένων.* 18, 41a, 1 *κωλύειν τὸν Ἀντίοχον παραπλεῖν.* and 30, 9, 8. These passages show that in Polybius, as in Attic, the construction of *κωλύω* without *μή* is permissible. *μή* is, however, found in 15, 13, 9 *ἐκώλυσε μὴ παραδέξασθαι τοὺς ἐγγίζοντας*, and 22, 11, 3 *τῶν γὰρ νόμων κωλυόντων μηθένα δῶρα λαμβάνειν*, where, however, *κελευόντων* would be an improvement.

It is true that in the above-quoted passages *κωλύω*, and not its compound, is the word; but *διακωλύω* is found in Attic with the infinitive without and with *μή*, and Polyb. 1, 44, 4 is in phrase and meaning closely parallel to our passage: *τὸ μὲν διακωλύειν τὸν ἐπίπλουν τῆς βοηθείας ἀπέγνωσαν.*

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μέλειν. Of this character in Polybius is 9, 9, 2 τὸ προσβαλόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις πειραθῆναι λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὸ—ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὁρμῆσαι τὴν Ῥώμην,—τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπισημαίναιτο καὶ θαυμάσαι τὸν προειρήμενον ἐπὶ τούτοις ἡγεμόνα.

5, 31, 3 τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μὴ τῆς ἀκριβείας διαμαρτάνειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἱκανὴν τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι πεπείσμεθα παρασκευάζειν ἐμπειρίαν· τὸ δ' εὐπαρακολούθητον καὶ σαφῆ γίνεσθαι τὴν διήγησιν, οὐδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον ἡγούμεθ' εἶναι τοῦ μὴ συμπλέκειν ἀλλήλαις τὰς πράξεις. Attempts have here been made to emend the τὸ-infinitive, but Reiske's τῷ δ' gives a wrong sense, and Casaubon's πρὸς δὲ τὸ introduces a hiatus. Close parallels might be quoted to show that a final clause would be natural here; thus ἀναγκαῖον is frequently joined by P. with a final clause, e. g. with ἵνα 1, 3, 9. 3, 21, 9. 2, 56, 2., with χάριν τοῦ c. inf. 2, 14, 2. 9, 20, 2. 18, 28, 12. Very analogous too in point of phraseology are 3, 36, 1 ἵνα δὲ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀσαφῆ γίνεσθαι συμβαίνῃ τὴν διήγησιν, ῥητέον κ. τ. λ. 1, 47, 1 ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τοὺς τόπους ἀσαφῆ τὰ λεγόμενα γίνηται, πειρασόμεθα κ. τ. λ. and 32, 25, 7 συγκεφαλαιωσόμεθα τὴν ὅλην πρᾶξιν, ἵνα μὴ—εὐτελῆ καὶ—ἀσαφῆ ποιῶμεν τὴν διήγησιν. In the light of these passages the obvious correction of 5, 31, 3 would be τοῦ δ' εὐπαρακολούθητον, were it not for the clumsy and obscure construction which would result from having in the same sentence *two* τοῦ c. inf. clauses; and it seems probable that the use of τὸ c. inf. here is to be referred mainly to the wish to avoid the clumsy construction which would be involved in a final genitive of the infinitive—otherwise the natural phrase here. Hultsch rightly defends the accusative, and is supported by Krebs, P.-A. I 53, and 58 note. Krebs quotes from Dion. H. 8, 44 οὔτ' αἰδοῦς προνοούμεναι, τὸ μὴ ὁρᾶσθαι.

The τὸ-infinitive of relation was wrongly introduced by Dindorf in several passages where τοῦ μὴ is the correct reading. See under the genitive.

Genitive.

Polybius uses the articular infinitive altogether 199 times in the genitive case, 75 in books I–V, and 124 in the remaining books. This is about the same degree of frequency as in Plato and Xenophon, but is lower than in Thucydides, and still more so than in Demosthenes.

I. With verbs it occurs 79 times, a frequency lower than those of Demosthenes and Xenophon, who especially affect this construction.

The verbs which in Polybius enter into construction with the

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genitive of the articular infin. are nearly all of a character which do not admit of a construction with the simple infinitive without the article. They are joined elsewhere with a noun in the genitive, and an infinitive in construction with them has to bear the sign of its case. Consequently after verbs, except in the case of *ἄρχεσθαι*, *ἀπελπίζειν*, and *παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθεῖν*, we do not find the simple infinitive varying with *τοῦ* c. inf. as we do to some extent in the construction of nouns with the genitive of the art. inf.

As in classical writers (see Birklein, pp. 98, 99), so in Polybius we find an illogical *μή* with the genitive of the art. inf. after verbs of hindering and separation, etc. Thus: 2, 37, 11 *τούτῳ μόνῳ διαλλάττειν τοῦ μὴ μιᾶς πόλεως διάθεσιν ἔχειν τὴν Πελοπόννησον, τῷ μὴ κ. τ. λ.* 5, 4, 10 *τοὺς νεανίσκους διέτρεψαν τοῦ μὴ τελεσιουργῆσαι τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς πόλεως.* 2, 14, 6 *ὃ λείπει τοῦ μὴ συνάπτειν αὐτῷ.* 18, 22, 4 *ἐμπόδιον ἦν τοῦ μὴ τρέψασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους* (where the note in Hultsch is misprinted—*τὸ* and *τοῦ* should exchange places). In the three last of these cases Dindorf, consistently with his treatment of similar passages in Xenophon (see Dindorf's preface to his edition of Polybius I 52), substitutes *τὸ μὴ* for *τοῦ μὴ* of the original; a totally arbitrary proceeding which would introduce a construction unknown to Polybius.

Polybius' use of *τοῦ* c. inf. is characterized by the recurrence in the narrative of certain favorite phrases in which he indulges to an immoderate degree. Thus *ἀπέχειν*, *ἀφέμενος*, and *ἀφιστάναι* are, between them, responsible for five-eighths of the genitives of the art. inf. in Polybius.

τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν τοῦ c. inf. in classical prose is confined to Isocrates and Demosthenes (Birklein, p. 62), with both of whom it is a favorite expression; but neither of them is so fond of it as Polybius, who has 19 examples of the phrase. In Demosthenes and Isocrates *τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν* is the most usual phrase, but other conjuncts, such as *πολὺ ἀπέχειν* (Dem. 20, 49), *ἴσον ἀπέχειν* (Dem. 15, 1), are found. In Polybius, however, it is *always* in the phrase *τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν ὥστε* or *ὡς* that *ἀπέχειν* occurs with the genitive of the articular infinitive, except in one passage, 22, 4, 10, which is probably corrupt.

Examples: 2, 6, 9 *τοσοῦτον ἀπεῖχον τοῦ πειράζειν ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἠδικηκότας ὥστε τοὐναντίον συμμαχίαν ἔθεντο.* So 1, 31, 5. 5, 9, 9. 74, 7. 12, 4d, 2. 22, 6, 2. 23, 17, 4. 24, 10, 9. 11, 14. 32, 23, 1.

Repetitions of the same phrase are noticeable, and throw light on the fixed character of Polybius' style: 2, 57, 3 and 9, 36, 4 *τοῦ*

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παθεῖν τι δεινόν. 3, 8, 11 and 6, 58, 10 τοῦ πρᾶξαί τι τῶν προειρημένων. 15, 5, 5 and 39, 18, 6 τοῦ κολάζειν. 21, 20, 9 and 39, 15, 2 τοῦ προσδέξασθαί τι τούτων.

32, 14, 7 τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχετο κομίσασθαί τι ὧν πρότερον ἐδωρήσατο. This Bekker corrected to ἀπέσχε τοῦ κομίσασθαι κ. τ. λ., comparing the identical words in Diod. 31, 27, 7 τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κομίσασθαί τι τῶν πρότερον δωρηθέντων.

22, 4, 10 οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ τοῦ μὲν διὰ στρατοπέδων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἔφοδον ἀπέσχον, πρεσβεύτας δὲ προεχειρίσαντο πέμπειν. Here the MSS reading τῶν μὲν was corrected by Ursinus to τοῦ μὲν διά, but some further correction is still necessary. Apart from the fact that ἀπέχω everywhere else has τοσοῦτον with it—which is enough to *suggest* suspicion—the use of the active of ἀπέχω in the sense of 'refrain from' is unexampled. For parallels to ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ c. infin. Weiske, p. 500, may be referred to. But the likeliest emendation of ἀπέσχον seems to me to be ἀπέστησαν, which is one of Polybius' favorite expressions. The following passages offer a close analogy to the above-quoted 22, 4, 10, in point of structure as well as sense: 1, 39, 7 τοῦ μὲν ἔτι στόλον ἀθροίζειν ἀπέστησαν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς κ. τ. λ. 10, 15, 8 τοῦ μὲν φονεύειν ἀπέστησαν, ὥρμησαν δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἁρπαγάς. 16, 31, 8 τοῦ μὲν ἀντιμεταλλεύειν ἀπέστησαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοιαύτην γνώμην κ. τ. λ. 3, 19, 4 τοῦ μὲν διακωλυέιν τοὺς ἀποβαίνοντας ἀπέστησαν, συναθροίσαντες δὲ, ὥρμησαν, and similarly 14, 5, 5.

ἀφιστάναι τοῦ c. inf., like ἀπέχειν, is a favorite with Demosth., and occurs 9 times in Polybius. Besides the above-quoted passages it is found 1, 87, 2 οὐ μὴν ἀφίσταντο τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν. 3, 2, 5. 4, 71, 1. In 2, 35, 8 the gen. of the inf. is in apposition to the genitive governed by the verb: οὐκ ἄν τις ἀποσταίη τῆς τελευταίας ἐλπίδος, τοῦ διαγωνίζεσθαι.

Like Xenophon (see Birklein, p. 88), Polybius joins ἀπογινώσκειν both with the genitive and the accusative infin. The latter is the commoner construction and Dindorf wishes to alter the three cases where ἀπογινώσκειν has τοῦ c. inf. These are 1, 29, 5 τοῦ μὲν παραφυλάττειν τὸν ἐπίπλουν ἀπέγνωσαν. 1, 48, 1 τοῦ δὲ λυμπίνεσθαι καὶ διαφθείρειν τὰς παρασκευὰς ἀπεγνωκότων. 9, 7, 9 τοῦ μὲν ἔτι προσκαρτερεῖν τούτοις ἀπέγνω. It need hardly be said, however, that Dindorf's proposals are rejected by Hultsch and Büttner-Wobst; see Hultsch[3] on 1, 29, 5.

ἀφέμενος has τοῦ c. infin. eight times; the active participle of ἀφίημι occurs, however, once, 18, 3, 3. Examples: 2, 68, 3 ἀφέμενοι τοῦ χρῆσθαι ταῖς τῶν τόπων εὐκαιρίαις, τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν. 5, 104, 5. 6,

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1, 1. 11, 14, 6 *ἀφέμενος τοῦ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων—τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν.* and 15, 29, 7. 16, 6, 7. 20, 9, 9. 31, 7, 3.

18, 3, 3 *ἀφέντα γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον ἅπαντᾶν τοῖς πολεμίοις, φεύγοντα τὰς πόλεις ἐμπιμπράναι καὶ διαρπάζειν.* Here we find *ἀφιέναι* used intransitively with a genitive, a usage for which I can find no parallel. Possibly Aristot. Probl. 8, 9 *ἀφέντες τοῦ κινδύνου* is analogous (Bonitz).[1]

Similarly the following verbs are found with the genitive of the art. inf.: *ἀντέχομαι* 5, 100, 11 *ἀντείχετο τοῦ πράττειν τι τῶν ἐξῆς.* *ἐφίεμαι* 28, 9, 4 *ἐφίενται τοῦ μεγάλα τολμᾶν.* *ὀρέγομαι* 21, 23, 3. *ὀλιγωρέω* 5, 66, 6 *τοῦ γυμνάζειν τοὺς ὄχλους ὠλιγώρει.* and 20, 10, 16 *ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠλιγώρησαν τοῦ μηδὲν ἔχειν πέρας ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης.* *φροντίζω* Frag. 150 *φροντιεῖν τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδίκημα ποίησειν τὸν Προυσίαν.* *προνοέομαι* 12, 25k, 6 *ὅτι προνοηθεῖεν τοῦ μὴ βουλεύεσθαι τὰ πλήθη.* But *πρόνοιαν ποιοῦμαι* is commoner than *προνοέομαι* with the articular infin., and occurs so in classical prose, e. g. Demosth. 47, 80, which *προνοέομαι* does not.

μετέχω 23, 16, 13 *ὅσοι μετέσχον τοῦ—ἐπανελέσθαι τὸν Φιλοποιμένα.* *ἐγγεύομαι* "taste of" 7, 13, 7 *ἐγγευσάμενος αἵματος καὶ τοῦ φονεύειν.* *κρατεῖν* 10, 23, 9 *εἰ κρατοῦσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ σαφῶς καὶ δεόντως διδόναι τὰ παραγγέλματα*: 'if they know how to.' See Schweigh.'s note comparing 39, 12, 4 *κατεκράτησε τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου.* 4, 82, 8 *κατεκράτησε τοῦ γενέσθαι στρατηγὸν Ἐπήρατον*: "obtinuit ut." So 28, 13, 13. *στοχάζομαι* 4, 19, 10 *στοχαζόμενοι τοῦ δοκεῖν μόνον*, and 21, 28, 9. Compare Aristot. Eth. N. 4, 8, 3 *στοχάζομαι τοῦ ἡδὺς εἶναι*, and Dion. H. de Isoc. §2, p. 538, 13 *καὶ τοῦ γλαφυρῶς λέγειν στοχάζεται μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἀφελῶς.*

16, 3, 12 *αὐτὸς ἥμαρτε τοῦ τρῶσαι.* 3, 63, 12 *οὐδέποτε διεψεῦσθαι τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιταξαμένων.* 5, 4, 10 *διατρέπω.* 13, 3, 2 *τοσοῦτον ἀπηλλοτριοῦντο τοῦ κακομηχανεῖν.* 2, 37, 11 *διαλλάττει* 'differt.' 3, 32, 10 *ὅσον τὸ μαθεῖν διαφέρει τοῦ μόνον ἀκοῦσαι.* And so 16, 16, 4.

στερέομαι 23, 10, 10 *τοῦ ζῆν ἐστερήθησαν.* 11, 30, 3 *ἀπηλλαγμένοι τοῦ ζῆν.* Compare Isocr. 3, 6 *οὐ μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἀπηλλάγημεν.* *ἀποδειλιᾶν* "shrink from" 4, 11, 4 *τοῦ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις ἀπεδειλίασεν.* The only instance in classical Greek of this construction appears to be Xen. Lac. R. 10, 7, quoted by Weiske, p. 500; a parallel which renders unnecessary Schweighäuser's suggestion *τὸ μὲν ἐγχειρεῖν*, upon which, however, he does not insist. *ἀπελπίζω* has

[1] If *ἀφέντα τοῦ*, in 18, 3, 3, is to be corrected, either *παρέντα γὰρ τὸ κατὰ κ. τ. λ.* or *ἀφέμενον γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ κ. τ. λ.* would avoid the objections to *ἀφέντα τοῦ*, and of the two *ἀφέμενον* is perhaps the more probable, and might have been corrupted by confusion with the *φεύγοντα* in the following line.

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τοῦ ζῆν 15, 10, 7, but the simple infinitive 9, 6, 8 (ἀπελπίζοντες αἱρήσειν) and 16, 30, 5. For the genitive compare Diod. 11, 38, 3 τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελπίσας, but ἀπελπίσαι τὸ ζῆν Diod. 17, 106, 7. See Goetzeler, de Pol. eloc. p. 23.

ἄρχομαι 'begin' 9, 32, 2 ἤρξατο τοῦ λέγειν, but with the simple infinitive in 16, 11, 2, where, however, Schweighäuser defends πολιορκῶν.

9, 12, 8 προσδεῖσθαι τοῦ λαθεῖν. λείπειν 2, 14, 6. 10, 17, 12 λείπει βραχύ τι τοῦ διπλασίους εἶναι. 12, 18, 5 λείπει βραχὺ τοῦ ἐπάλληλον εἶναι.

παρ' οὐδὲν (ὀλίγον, μικρὸν) ἐλθεῖν τοῦ c. inf. For this construction see Kälker, pp. 254 and 302; Krebs, Präp. b. P. p. 56; Goetzeler, p. 25. The cases are these: 1, 45, 14 παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθόντες τοῦ πάσας ἀποβαλεῖν τὰς παρασκευάς, ἐκράτησαν. 2, 55, 4 παρ' ὀλίγον ἐλθεῖν τοῦ μὴ μόνον ἐκπεσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι. 11, 7, 1 παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὸν Ἄτταλον ὑποχείριον. and 10, 12, 11. 18, 19, 6. 30, 1, 5. 33, 3, 1. In the first two of these examples Cobet proposes to omit τοῦ, but the construction with τοῦ is too frequent to be so treated. The simple infinitive occurs in 1, 43, 7. 33, 1, 4, in both of which τοῦ is omitted to avoid a hiatus (Kälker, p. 254), and in 12, 20, 7; but the construction with τοῦ is paralleled by Diodor. 17, 42, 4 (Krebs, p. 57), and by C. I. G. 4896 C. 11, 12 (Kälker, p. 302).

In 6, 41, 1 ὅταν ἐγγίζωσι *τοῦ στρατοπεδεύειν, τοῦ was added by Schweigh., but Krebs, P-A. II 52, has a very plausible emendation ὅταν ἔλθωσιν ἔγγυς τοῦ στρατοπεδεύειν.

Many of the above constructions with verbs are classical, and the rest follow mostly classical analogies. παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθεῖν τοῦ c. inf. is the only noticeable novelty. For the classical parallels see Weiske, pp. 499–501.

2. With nouns.

Polybius follows classical precedent in his use of the genitive of the articular infinitive with nouns and adjectives. The construction of the art. inf. had already become established as a handy syntactical implement, and it is purely due to chance if a substantive takes the genitive of the infinitive in Polybius which is not found in a similar construction in classical authors. The only phrase which recurs with a frequency that stamps it as a characteristic is ἐλπὶς τοῦ c. inf., which is found 16 times with τοῦ νικᾶν and similar expressions. αἴτιος τοῦ c. inf., which occurs 13 times in Polybius, was already a favorite of all the classical prose-writers except Thucydides.

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After many nouns in classical prose the genitive of the articular infin. varies with the simple infinitive without the article, a variation dependent on the taste of the author (Birklein, p. 101). Thucydides, for example, consistently joins *αἴτιος* with the simple infinitive (Birklein, p. 53), while other writers show a preference for *τοῦ* c. inf. after *αἴτιος*.

A similar variety is found in Polybius. In the case of *αἴτιος* and *ἐλπίς* he prefers the genitive of the articular inf., but in other cases we often find both constructions side by side. Thus the genitive of the art. inf. is found with *ἐξουσία* in 9, 36, 10 *δι' οὓς ἔχετε τοῦ νῦν βουλεύεσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν*: 3, 29, 7 and 23, 14, 3, but the simple infinitive is found 15, 26a, 1 *ἐξουσίαν ἔσχε μηνῦσαι τὴν πρᾶξιν*. 5, 56, 8 and 32, 8, 7.

ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν 15, 1, 12 *μὴ μόνον τοῦ νικᾶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ σφαλῆναι πάλιν*, but with the simple infin. Frag. 153 *εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦλθε τὴν φρουρὰν ἀποτρίψασθαι*.

ἐπιβολή 5, 62, 7 *τοῦ μὲν ἐκ χειρὸς βοηθεῖν οὐδ' ἐπιβολὴν εἶχον*. Compare Thuc. 5, 9, 6 *τοῦ ἀπιέναι—τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν*. But in Pol. 2, 11, 2 *τὴν πρώτην ἐπιβολὴν ἔσχε πλεῖν ὁ Γναῖος ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας*, where *πλεῖν* is Reiske's correction of *πλεῖον*.

ὁρμή 15, 5, 8 *εἰς ὁρμὴν ἔπεσε τοῦ βούλεσθαι συνελθεῖν*, but in 6, 44, 4 *ὁρμὴ παραστῇ τοῖς ἐπιβάταις συμφρονεῖν*.

σημεῖον 28, 17, 12 *σημεῖον τοῦ δεδιέναι τὴν περίστασιν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους*. But 12, 6b, 3 *οὐδέν ἐστι σημεῖον ψευδῆ λέγειν τὸν Ἀριστοτέλην*. Hence Hultsch's correction is not called for in 23, 13, 1 *μέγιστον σημεῖον γεγονέναι τῇ φύσει ἡγεμονικόν*, where he supplies *τοῦ* before *γεγονέναι*.

Except *ἔννοια* and *ἐπιβολή* these nouns had all occurred in the construction with *τοῦ* c. inf. before Polybius, and the following also are classical phrases. See Weiske, pp. 497–8.

ἐλπίς occurs 16 times in Polybius with *τοῦ* c. inf., six times in the phrase *ἡ ἐλπὶς* or *αἱ ἐλπίδες τοῦ νικᾶν*. The tense following it is noticeable; the future occurs twice, the aorist only once.

(*a*) With present tense: 1, 49, 10 *τῆς τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίδα*, 3, 64, 3. 15, 11, 7. *τὰς τοῦ νικᾶν ἐλπίδας* 1, 62, 4. 16, 19, 10. 32, 2. *τὴν τοῦ ζῆν ἐλπίδα* 3, 63, 10. 6, 9, 8. *τοῦ δύνασθαι* 2, 51, 2. 63, 2. and 4, 32, 10. And in 15, 25, 29. 37, 1, 10.

(*b*) Future tense: 3, 48, 2 *τὰς μεγίστας ἐλπίδας ἔχων τοῦ κατορθώσειν τοῖς ὅλοις*. 7, 15, 4 *μίαν ταύτην ἔχοντας ἐλπίδα τοῦ κρατήσειν τῆς πόλεως*.

(*c*) Aorist: 3, 17, 5 *παρελέσθαι Ῥωμαίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ συστήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον*.

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αἰτία 4, 39, 7 and 11. 41, 3. 11, 25, 2. 18, 31, 1. 23, 2, 6. 33, 1, 5 τὴν αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μὴ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν. And in 2, 38, 9 Hultsch[3] adopts the correction αἰτίαν for αἴτιον: ταύτην ἀρχηγὸν καὶ αἰτίαν ἡγητέον τοῦ—καταστήσασθαι. This correction rests on the parallel of 2, 21, 8.

15, 34, 5 ἀδυναμία τοῦ βασιλεύειν 'incapacity for.' 22, 8, 8 ἀρχαὶ πρόδηλοι τοῦ συστάντος Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Περσεῖ πολέμου καὶ τοῦ καταλυθῆναι τὴν Μακεδόνων ἀρχήν. 3, 69, 8 ἀφορμὴ τοῦ πράττειν τι. 1, 1, 2 διδάσκαλος τοῦ δύνασθαι—ὑποφέρειν. 6, 35, 12 and 36, 5 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖται τοῦ κατὰ φιλακὴν βουκανᾶν. καιρός 1, 62, 6 τόν τε τοῦ νικᾶν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ λείπεσθαι καιρόν. 5, 98, 5 τοῦ πράττειν, 10, 19, 5 and 36, 5, 2.

λόγον ἔχειν 18, 15, 15 τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, δοκοῦν πανουργότατον εἶναι τῶν ζῴων, πολὺν ἔχει λόγον τοῦ φαυλότατον ὑπάρχειν. "Multa tamen dici posse cur stolidissimum habeatur": Schweigh. 5, 111, 7 καλὸν παράδειγμα τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις ἀπέλιπε τοῦ μὴ ῥᾳδίαν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης βαρβάρους τὴν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διάβασιν. 1, 22, 8 παρασκευὴ τοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. Frag. 76 τοῦ λέγειν ἀληθινῶς ταῦτα πίστις.

πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ c. inf.; cf. Demosth. 47, 80. Pol. 23, 17, 3 πρόνοιαν πεποίηνται τοῦ μηθένα εἰσάγειν. 36, 8, 4. Frag. 157.

The genit. of the art. inf. after πρόνοιαν εἶχε is also restored with probability by Schweigh. in 11, 2. 10 οὐχ ἧττον πρόνοιαν εἶχε καὶ τοῦ σφαλεὶς τοῖς ὅλοις ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ μηδὲν ὑπομεῖναι τῶν προβεβαιωμένων ἀνάξιον. For καίτοι of the MSS Casaubon proposed τοῦ and Schweigh. καὶ τοῦ. ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι is also a correction for ὅμως ἐχώρησε.

πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι is also joined by Polybius with περὶ τοῦ c. inf. (11, 31, 7) and ὑπὲρ τοῦ c. inf. (3, 87, 5. 5, 10, 7); cf. Krebs, pp. 42, 100. πρόφασις 3, 108, 5 πρόφασις τοῦ μὴ νικᾶν τοὺς ἐχθρούς, and 4, 17, 10. τέλος 4, 57, 11. χρόνος 3, 112, 5 ὁ τοῦ μέλλειν χρόνος.

The following nouns occur in Polybius for the first time in this construction:

2, 40, 2 βεβαιώτην τοῦ μόνιμον αὐτὴν γενέσθαι Λυκόρταν ἡγητέον. Frag. 112 τοῦ μνησικακεῖν οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν ἔμφασιν ἐποίουν. καταρχή 15, 33, 1. τὴν κυρίαν ἔχειν 6, 15, 6. πεῖρα 8, 9, 6 τοῦ πολιορκεῖν πεῖραν λαβεῖν. συνηθέια 2, 20, 8 συνήθεια τοῦ κατακόπτεσθαι. 4, 76, 6 συνήθεια τοῦ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι δεινόν. σύνθημα 8, 27, 3 ἐποιήσαντο σύνθημα τοῦ παραδέχεσθαι σφᾶς τοὺς φύλακας: "They made an agreement that the guards should admit them." Cf. Dem. 56, 1. τὴν ὁμολογίαν τοῦ ποιήσειν τὰ δίκαια. πρόληψις 16, 32, 4 (The men of Abydos preferred death) μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες ἔτι πρόληψιν ἔχειν τοῦ πεσεῖσθαι τὰ σφέτερα τέκνα ὑπὸ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐξουσίαν. παράπτωσις 12, 25k, 10 χωρὶς τῆς

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ἅλης παραπτώσεως τοῦ διατεθεῖσθαι: an instance of the epexegetical genitive 'the mistake consisting in.' Compare the same construction with ἀμαθία, Plato Apol. 29B (Weiske).

3. After Adjectives:

αἴτιος: τοῦ c. inf. is very common in classical prose after αἴτιος; see Weiske, p. 501. It is frequent in Polybius, e. g. 1, 40, 16 αἴτιος ἐδόκει γεγονέναι τοῦ πάλιν ἀναθαρρῆσαι. 9, 3, 9 τὸ παρ' Ἀννίβου σύνταγμα αἴτιον ἦν καὶ τοῦ νικᾶν τοὺς Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοῦ λείπεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. And 1, 43, 8. 57, 7. 12, 25k, 6. 13, 4, 8. 15, 33, 6. 21, 13, 10. 23, 14, 6. 24, 11, 1. 27, 15, 2. In frag. 184 αἴτιοι τοῦ is restored with great probability by Hultsch's emendation of τῷ. See under the dative. ἀλλότριος 21, 11, 2. ἐμπόδιος 18, 22, 4. ἄπειρος τοῦ νεῖν 39, 9, 12. κύριος 29, 9, 9.

4. Genitive of Price. See Lammert, Fleck. Jahrb. 1888, p. 621; Madvig, Syntax, §65b.

In Polybius occurs the first instance of the genitive of the art. inf. used as a genitive of price. 3, 96, 12 λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν χρήματα τοῦ μὴ πορθῆσαι τὴν χώραν, ἀπηλλάγη. 29, 8, 5 ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐμένης ἦτει τοῦ (MSS τὸ) μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ συστρατεῦσαι Ῥωμαίους μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν πεντακόσια τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον χίλια πεντακόσια κ. τ. λ. Compare §7 αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τὸ δοκεῖν μισθοῦ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν.

5. Final Genitive.

The use of the articular infinitive in the genitive to express purpose (and sometimes result) is remarkable as being the only case-construction which is peculiar to the articular infinitive and not shared with it by substantives. Birklein, p. 55, enumerates the different theories of its origin and gives his support to that propounded by Kviczala (Wiener Studien, I, p. 239), by whom this genitive is connected with the Latin absolute genitive of the gerundive. According to this view, from denoting the sphere to which anything belongs, the genitive of the articular infin. or the gerundive comes to be used attributively with substantives and then in free relation to verbs and a whole sentence.

In classical authors the usage is never a common one. Thucydides, with whom the final genitive first occurs, employs it oftener (proportionally) than the other classical prosaists, and usually with the negative; τοῦ μὴ c. inf. occurring 10 times, τοῦ without μὴ only twice. In all, there are 33 instances in Thuc., Demosth., Lysias, Plato and Xenophon, of which 8 only are affirmative. See Birklein, p. 102; Weiske, p. 502. As expressions of purpose

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with the articular infin. other constructions were preferred to the genitive by classical authors, Thucydides excepted, ἕνεκα τοῦ and ἐπὶ τῷ being favored by Demosthenes, ἕνεκα τοῦ by Plato and Xenophon, while Isocrates used ὑπὲρ τοῦ exclusively. With Polybius, the final genitive occurs 11 times, but is only one among several expressions of purpose with the articular infinitive; the others being πρὸς τό, εἰς τό, ἐπὶ τῷ, ἕνεκα τοῦ, and χάριν τοῦ c. infin., of which the last, with 78 occurrences, is the favorite. The negative is found with the final genitive in every case but one; τοῦ μὴ c. inf. occurs 1, 12, 6. 2, 34, 1. 4, 18, 11. 5, 31, 3. 102, 6. 7, 16, 7. 9, 36, 1. 18, 35, 3. 21, 25, 7. 28, 8, 6, and the only affirmative instance is 12, 28a, 2.

Before discussing these cases mention should be made of the ingenious but unsuccessful attempt of E. Lammert, Fleck. Jhb. 1888, p. 617, to remove every instance of the final genitive of the art. inf. from Polybius. In all the above-quoted cases except 9, 36, 1 and 21, 25, 7, which he omits to notice, L. gets rid of final τοῦ c. inf. by alteration of the text, generally by inserting χάριν. He suspects the final use in Polybius *a priori* from the preponderance of χάριν in final clauses, the preference of Polybius for prepositional constructions, and the rare use of final τοῦ c. inf. in classical Greek. In doing so, however, he fails to take into account the other final uses of the art. inf. in Polybius besides χάριν τοῦ c. inf., and understates the frequency of the final genitive in classical prose. In reality the final τοῦ c. inf. passages in Polybius are too many to admit of the shadow of a doubt of their genuineness.

In 5, 102, 6 καὶ συννοκριθεὶς ὡς ἐμβαλῶν εἰς τὴν Ἠλείαν τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν λίαν ἕτοιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν, μετὰ ταῦτα κ. τ. λ., relying on the analogy of 8, 26, 6 κατηγορίας ποιούμενοι χάριν τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν, and 14, 2, 12 τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἐποιήσατο χάριν τοῦ μὴ δόξαι παρασπονδεῖν, Lammert thinks that χάριν should be inserted before τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν. And against each of the several instances of final τοῦ c. inf. in Polybius he employs similar arguments drawn from Polybius' phraseology in other passages. 'At vero,' as Hultsch asks in his Praef.[2] xxx, 'ex ullo dicendi usu vel frequentissimo quem nos recentiores in aliquo scriptore antiquo observavimus, effici posse, ut ille omnibus eius generis locis eundem usum unice amplexus nihil praeterea, quod et apte diceretur et ornate, admiserit, quis est qui contendat?' In this particular case, as it happens, we can point to another passage, which L. has overlooked, where the same phrase τοῦ μὴ δόξαι is found in the final

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sense: 9, 36, 1 *περὶ δὲ τῶν κατ' Ἀντίγονον ἕως τούτου βούλομαι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μνήμην* [*ἕως*] *τοῦ μὴ δόξαι καταφρονεῖν τῶν γεγονότων.* In spite of Kälker (p. 274) and Stich (p. 210), who defend the text, there can here be no doubt that Hultsch is right in bracketing the second *ἕως* as spurious. The sense requires a final clause to follow *ποιήσασθαι τὴν μνήμην*, and *ἕως τοῦ* cannot stand; and for final clauses following *τὴν μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι* compare 1, 20, 8. 2, 71, 4. 3, 7, 4 with *χάριν*, and 2, 35, 6 with *ἵνα*. Assuming, on the other hand, the original reading to have been: *ἕως τούτου βούλομαι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μνήμην, τοῦ μὴ δόξαι κ. τ. λ.*, we see how easily a scribe to whom the final genitive was unfamiliar would regard *τοῦ μὴ δόξαι* as in apposition to *ἕως τούτου* and would be led to supply *ἕως* before *τοῦ*. In this way the passage provides us with a powerful argument against Lammert, for the presence of the spurious *ἕως* before the final genitive shows that *χάριν* can never have stood there. Hultsch is followed by Krebs P-A., I, p. 52, and Götzeler, p. 26. See Hultsch, Fleck. Jahrb. 1884, p. 477.

18, 35, 3 *μαρτυρίας δὲ χάριν ὁμολογούμενα δύ' ὀνόματα . . . τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδύνατα λέγειν· Λεύκιος μὲν γὰρ κ. τ. λ.* Here *τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν* also occurs, after a lacuna which is by Reiske filled up with *παραθήσομαι* or *παρέξομαι*.[1] 1, 12, 6 *ἐποιησάμεθα τὴν ἐπίστασιν, ἀναδραμόντες ἔτι τοῖς χρόνοις, τοῦ μηδὲν ἀπόρημα καταλιπεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποδείξεων.* Here L. inserts *χάριν* on the analogy of 37, 9, 7 *χάριν τοῦ καταλιπεῖν.*

28, 8, 6 *ὁ Γένθιος οὐκ ἐδόκει μὲν ἀλλότριος εἶναι τῆς φιλίας, ἐσκήπτετο δὲ τοῦ μὴ παραχρῆμα συγκατατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις τὴν ἀχορηγησίαν καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι χωρὶς χρημάτων ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν πόλεμον.* Lammert in inserting *χάριν* before *τοῦ μὴ* in this passage, quotes, it is true, the following, where *χάριν τοῦ* c. inf. follows *σκήπτομαι* or a phrase of similar import: 39, 12, 11. 8, 28, 1. 5, 74, 9. 18, 11, 8. On the other hand, we find after *συνυποκριθεὶς* final *τοῦ* c. inf. in 5, 102, 6; after *οὐκ ἠπόρουν*

[1] Lammert's proposal here is very ingenious but hardly probable; comparing 6, 54, 6 he inserts a line and reads:

μαρτυρίας δὲ χάριν [*καὶ*]
τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀδύνατα
λέγειν, ὁμολογούμενα δύ'
<ἀρκοῦντ' ἐστι ῥηθέντ'>
ὀνόματα κ. τ. λ.

To support this emendation parallels from Polybius are wanted of *ἀρκοῦν ἐστί* used absolutely; in the passage L. quotes 6, 54, 6, and in 2, 56, 5 it is followed by *πρός.*

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σκήψεων have πρὸς τὸ c. inf. in 3, 68, 9, and 29, 24, 3 σκῆψιν οὖσαν πρὸς τὸ διακωλῦσαι.[1]

7, 16. 7 τοῦ δὲ μὴ γενέσθαι μηδεμίαν ὑποψίαν τῆς ἀληθείας διέδωκε λόγον κ. τ. λ. L. here quotes χάριν τοῦ γενέσθαι in 5, 88, 6. 38, 9, 2. He has a much more complicated proposal in 5, 31, 3 and 4 αἱρουμένοι δὲ τοιαύτην ἐπίστασιν καὶ διαίρεσιν τῆς ἐνεστώσης διηγήσεως· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μὴ τῆς τῶν κατὰ μέρος καιρῶν ἀκριβείας διαμαρτάνειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἱκανὴν τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι πεπείσμεθα παρασκευάζειν ἐμπειρίαν ἐκ τοῦ—παρυπομιμνήσκειν. τὸ δ' εὐπαρακολούθητον γίνεσθαι κ. τ. λ. For the first of these two clauses, τοῦ μὲν γὰρ μὴ διαμαρτάνειν, compare 3, 21, 9 ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ μὴ παραλιπεῖν ἄσκεπτον τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἵνα μήτε, οἷς καθήκει καὶ διαφέρει τὸ σαφῶς εἰδέναι τὴν ἀκρίβειαν, παραπαίωσι τῆς ἀληθείας—μήθ' οἱ φιλομαθοῦντες ἀστοχῶσι. And for the second clause, τὸ δ' εὐπαρακ. κ. τ. λ., see under the accusative. For Lammert's proposal see his paper, p. 621.

21, 25, 7 ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, δοκῶν ἠσφαλίσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔθνεσι καὶ τόποις τοῦ μηδένα δύνασθαι κακοποιεῖν τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν. This is an instance of final τοῦ c. inf. which has escaped Lammert's clutches, and there are no parallel cases of χάριν to favor the supposition of its having dropped out here.

4, 18, 11 οἱ δὲ Λουσιᾶται νουνεχῶς δόντες τινὰ τῶν κατασκευασμάτων τῆς θεοῦ, παρῃτήσαντο τὴν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀσέβειαν [καὶ] τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἀνήκεστον. καὶ is read in the MSS, but is marked as suspicious by the 'prima manus' of the Vatican; and Hultsch brackets καὶ, and is followed by Krebs P-A, I 53 note. See Hultsch, Fleck. Jahr. 1884, p. 744. Lammert suggests that καὶ is a corruption of ἕνεκα, or that a whole line has been lost.

2, 34, 1 ἔσπευσαν οἱ κατασταθέντες ὕπατοι Μάρκος Κλαύδιος καὶ Γναῖος Κορνήλιος τοῦ μὴ συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῖς.

Lammert makes out what is prima facie a strong case against the genuineness of final τοῦ c. inf. in this passage. He attacks it on the ground that σπεύδω and σπουδάζω are never used absolutely in Polybius, but are found either with an infinitive, or with a prepositional phrase like ὑπὲρ or περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους followed by a final sentence with ἵνα or ὡς (cf. 4, 51, 2. 5, 104, 9, etc.), or with ὑπὲρ τοῦ, περὶ τοῦ c. inf., as in 16, 17, 10. 22, 4, 4. This statement of usage is not quite correct. σπεύδω is, it is true, regularly joined with the simple infinitive in Polybius, but I have found no passage except

[1] Götzeler, p. 25, mistakes the final genitive in 28, 8, 6 for a genitive governed by σκήπτομαι, which would be unique.

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the one L. quotes (4, 51, 2) where *σπεύδω* is used with *ὑπὲρ* or *περὶ τούτου—ἵνα*. In the other passages quoted by L. *σπουδάζω* is the verb, and where the question is purely one of usage, cases of *σπουδάζω* cannot be quoted to support a rule as to *σπεύδω*. Further, *σπεύδω* is never in Polybius joined like *σπουδάζω* with *ὑπὲρ* or *περὶ τοῦ* c. inf., so that there is no support from Polybius' usage for one of L.'s suggestions here, namely, to read *ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ*. Lastly, it is incorrect to say that *σπεύδω* is never used absolutely in Polybius; cf. 3, 78, 5 *σπεύδοντας δὲ καὶ μετεώρους ὄντας εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν*. 3, 92, 5 *Φάβιος δὲ μεχρὶ μὲν τοῦ συνάψαι τοῖς τόποις ἔσπευδε*. 3, 92, 4 *σπεύδειν ᾤοντο δεῖν καὶ συνάπτειν εἰς τὰ πέδια*. Thus there is no reason why *σπεύδω* should not be absolute here, with a final *τοῦ* c. inf., for in classical Greek *σπεύδω* may be so used with *ἵνα* and the subjunctive. Plato Polit. 264a; Isocr. 75a.[1]

In 12, 28a, 3 Lammert's case against final *τοῦ* c. inf. is much completer than in the other instances. It appears that *ὑπομένειν τι* is always joined by Polybius with *χάριν τοῦ* c. inf., and so L. inserts *χάριν* here: *αὐτὸς γοῦν τηλικαύτην ὑπομεμενηκέναι δαπάνην καὶ κακοπάθειαν τοῦ συνάγειν τὰ ὑπομνήματα*. He compares 18, 46, 14 *πᾶσαν ὑπομεῖναι δαπάνην καὶ πάντα κίνδυνον χάριν τῆς ἐλευθερίας*. And *πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ* c. inf. he quotes from 1, 48, 9. 4, 31, 3. 6, 54, 3. 52, 11. 29, 9, 12 (to which add 21, 33, 7 *πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τῆς ἐλευθερίας*). *τἆλλα ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ* c. inf. 6, 42, 5. And 29, 7, 4 *πᾶν τι ἐπιδεχομένων χάριν τοῦ τὸν πόλεμον διαλύσασθαι*. In 1, 31, 8. 4, 76, 7 where *ἐφ' ᾧ* c. inf. follows *ὑπομένειν*, it is in reality dependent upon *πεῖραν λαμβάνειν*, which, as 27, 15, 15 shows, Polybius is fond of joining with *ἐφ' ᾧ* c. inf. In this case there is some probability in Lammert's conjecture *χάριν τοῦ*, particularly as *τοῦ συνάγειν* is the only instance of the *affirmative* final genitive in Polybius, all the others being instances of *τοῦ μὴ* c. inf.[2].

[1] Stich (de P. dicendi genere, p. 154) and Kälker, p. 283, are not justified in assuming that *σπεύδω* here governs a genitive of the art. inf., as *ἐφίεμαι, ὀρέγομαι*, etc., for in that case we should expect to find the same construction with substantives, which we do not.

[2] In two corrupt passages final *τοῦ* c. inf. has been proposed: 10, 46, 3 *τὸ δὲ βάθος (παραπεφράχθαι δεῖ) ὡς ἀνδρόμηκες, τὸ τοὺς πυρσοὺς αἰρομένους μὲν παρὰ ταῦτα τὴν φάσιν ἀκριβῆ ποιεῖν, καθαιρουμένους δὲ τὴν κρύψιν*. Here for *τὸ* Hultsch reads *τοῦ* and Krebs (P-A, I 53, note 1) supports him. Casaubon proposed *ἐς τὸ*, Dindorf *εἰς τὸ*, and this is the more likely. See under *εἰς τὸ* c. inf.

4, 74, 8 *οὐδέποτε πρότερον εὐφυεστέραν διάθεσιν ἔσχηκε τῆς νῦν . . . παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογουμένην κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀσυλίαν*. Here Casaubon added *πρὸς τὸ* after *τῆς νῦν*; but Scaliger proposed *τοῦ*, which Krebs l. c. prefers. Hultsch is,

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For the later history of final τοῦ c. inf. see Krebs, P-A, I 54; it occurs with great frequency in the Septuagint and the New Testament.

6. Comparative Genitive.

The genitive of the infinitive after a comparative is frequent in classical authors, especially in Xen., Plato and Demosth. See Weiske, p. 501; Birklein, pp. 78, 88. In Polybius it occurs 15 times, in 7 of which the comparative is negatived. 2, 7, 10 *οὐδὲν προυργιαίτερον ἐποιήσατο τοῦ—ἐμβαλεῖν.* Thus, too, after *οὐδὲν προυργιαίτερον ποιεῖσθαι* in 4, 66, 2. 8, 27, 6. *προυργιαίτερον* 29, 9, 7. *οὐδὲν ἀναγκαιότερον* 5, 31, 4. 8, 34, 4. *οὐδὲν αἴσχιον* 6, 56, 2. *περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι* 18, 53, 3. And 2, 61, 3. 3, 8, 10. 81, 1. 111, 2. 9, 14, 10. 30, 7, 8.

In 2, 64, 6 *οὐδὲν περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος τοῦ κατὰ λόγον* **χ ρ ή σ α σ θ α ι* **τ ο ῖ ς πράγμασιν*, the MSS give *τὸν κατὰ λόγον πράγμασιν* A^1, *τοῖς κ. λ. πρ.* A^rR. The alteration *τοῦ*, and the addition of *χρήσασθαι τοῖς* is due to Schweigh. and adopted by Hultsch (q. v.) It is supported by the numerous cases quoted above of a negatived comparative with *τοῦ* c. inf.; but Krebs' proposal *τοῦ κατὰ λόγον χειρισμοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων* is attractive (Präp. bei P., p. 140).

7. Genitive Absolute.

τοῦ c. inf. as subject in the genitive absolute is never common, and though it occurs but 7 times in Polybius it is more frequent with him than with any of the Attics; see Weiske, p. 502. 1, 60, 1 *παρὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν προσπεσόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πεπλευκέναι στόλῳ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.* 6, 24, 7 *ἀδήλου γὰρ ὄντος καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι καὶ τοῦ παθεῖν τι τὸν ἡγεμόνα.* 18, 34, 7 *ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πράττειν.* And 10, 36, 1. 12, 6, 4. 15, 30, 7.[1]

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however, right in following Casaubon, not because the negative is absent here also, but because *πρὸς* is the correct expression after *εὐφυής*. See below under *πρός*.

[1] Kälker, p. 253, notes that, fond as Polybius was of the articular infinitive, 'ne huic quidem usui ita indulsit, ut hiatum admitteret'; and compares 1, 60, 1 (quoted above) with 3, 40, 2 *προσπεσόντος Ἀννίβαν διαβεβηκέναι.* But with *προσπεσόντος* the simple infinitive is the usual construction; see Götzeler's list, p. 26, from which it appears that the simple infinitive occurs, e. g. 5, 62, 4 *προσπεσόντος αὐτῷ τὸν μὲν Πτολεμαῖον ἐξεληλυθέναι*, and 2, 54, 10. 5, 46, 5. 7, 3, 7. 10, 42, 1, in all of which *τοῦ* might have stood without causing a hiatus. On this point of avoidance of hiatus see below under *πρός*, and Büttner-Wobst, Fleck. Jahrb. 1884, p. 115.

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II.—THE ACCUSATIVE PLURAL OF ɪ-, ʊ̯-, AND R-STEMS IN SANSKRIT AND AVESTAN.

Some months since, while reading the Yasna Haptanghāiti in Geldner's new edition of the Avesta, I noted the two acc. plur. forms which are now, on the authority of the best MSS, read māterąš (Y. 38, 5) and nerąš (Y. 40, 3) with final š, not s, and was struck with the importance of the new reading for determining the Aryan form. Soon after I found that Bartholomae (K. Z. 29, 483) had already made these forms the starting point of an article in which he retracts the explanation which he had once given on the basis of the reading neraṣ (Handbuch der altiranischen Dialekten, §205), and substitutes a new treatment of the acc. plur. of ɪ-, ʊ̯-, and r-stems. His theory has awakened the strong hostility of J. Schmidt in Pluralbildung der indogerm. Neutra, and a review of the subject with an attempt at a somewhat different explanation may not be superfluous.

According to Bartholomae, the coincidence of the Sanskrit and Avestan forms proves that the Aryan[1] accusatives plural were -inš, -unš, -ɾns,[2] and since the intervening nasal would prevent the change of s to š after i, u, and ɾ, the š in place of s must be due to analogy. So he thinks that -ins, -uns became -iṁš, -uns under the influence of the fem. acc. plur. -īš, -ūš after the analogy of ans : ās, and that after this the š spread even to the r-stems.

J. Schmidt (Pluralbildung, pg. 273 ff.) denies that the Aryan forms can have been -inš, -unš, not being able to accept Bartholomae's explanation, because (1) the existence of Aryan acc. plur. fem. in -īs, -ūš doubtful, Skt. -īs, -ūs probably new formations masc. -īn, -ūn on the analogy of -ās : -ān ; (2) Skt. girīn, etc., with dental n cannot be derived from an Aryan -inš: "Ehe die nasale vor folgenden zischlauten zu anusvāra wurden, hatten sie die selbe artikulationstelle wie die zischlaute . . . Das beweisen fälle wie dán(s), gen. zu dam-, agan(s) du giengst, avān(st) er verbeugte sich. Ar.*girinsh hätte also girín, nicht girín ergeben." This last objection

[1] It is perhaps scarcely necessary to state that Aryan is used in the sense of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family.

[2] In reference to the length of the vowels, cf. the excursus at end.

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has been answered, satisfactorily as it seems to me,[1] by Bartholomae himself (Indogermanisch ss, pg. 38), and on the first no very great weight can be laid. But even admitting the justice of J. Schmidt's strictures, as far as they concern Bartholomae's explanation, he is certainly unreasonable in denying the actual existence of Aryan forms with final š. As we shall see, the acceptance of these forms does not necessarily imply that -inš is the direct predecessor of Skt. īn. He admits that the Vedic Sandhi forms in -īṅr, -ūṅr before vowels can be derived only from forms in ž, not z, but considers these a special Skt. formation with transfer of the ž from the fem. The Av. forms in -iš, -uš he holds to be either

[1] Notwithstanding the retort made (since the above was written) by J. Schmidt in his lectures on Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit. At the close of some observations intended expressly to enlighten "the gentlemen who come from Leipzig" as to his reasons for still writing agni-s, etc., with dental, not lingual final, he reproduces as his best point the argument that an Aryan -inš would give Skt. -iṇ, not -iṅ, and derisively adds, "Bartholomae will diesen entwand beseitigen, indem er sagt, wir wissen nicht wie früh sich die linguale Artikulation in Sanskrit eingestellt hat. Na, dann ist, überhaupt keiner Streit mehr," implying that Bartholomae was thus receding from his own position that the Aryan form had š, not s. Such an implication can have force only for one who is laboring under a delusion referred to by Sievers (Grundzüge der Phonetik[3], pg. 122) as follows: "Hier gibt es vor allen Dingen den aus der Sanskrit-grammatik bei vielen Sprachforschern eingewurzelten Irrthum zu beseitigen, als sei 'cerebrales s' ohne weiteres identisch mit š, oder 'palatales s' mit skr. ç, d. h. als verhielten sich die drei Laute š, ç, s so zu einander wie die skr. verschlusslaute ṭ, c, t. Vielmehr existiren vollkommen ausgebildete Parallelreihen von s- und š- Lauten, d. h. es giebt sowohl cerebrale, palatale als dentale s und š." The old transcription of the Skt. sound in question, and still used by J. Schmidt, namely, sh, emphasizes the fact that it is an sh-sound, Whitney's transcription, which I have followed in this paper, ṣ, the fact that it is a lingual sound. While either of these is for practical use better than a more complicated designation, the only strictly correct transcription is that used by Brugmann in his Grundriss, ṣ̌, which makes apparent both the important factors in the sound, and if J. Schmidt, who derides all new-fangled transcriptions, had at least understood this particular one, he would not have made such short work of Bartholomae's argument. The change s after i, u, ṛ, r to š, which Bartholomae, Brugmann and others place in the Aryan period was a change to a simple sh-sound (š) and the lingual quality which the sound has in Skt. is a special Skt. development. Š would not have power to change n to ṇ until it had itself become ṣ̌, and īn might have arisen from inš before š had become ṣ̌. So I fail to see anything ridiculous in Bartholomae's argument, though I do not myself explain īn as from inš.

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directly derived from -ins, or "what is more probable" with š after the analogy of the fem. So he considers the š (ž) in both cases due to the same analogy, but working independently in Skt. and Av. Such a coincidence would be singular, though not absolutely inconceivable, but the forms of the r-stems, which J. Schmidt passes over in silence, add new difficulties to such an hypothesis. Bartholomae has called attention to the identity of Av. neraš (monosyllabic, a merely indicating the nasality of the r; cf. his Handbuch, §205) and Skt. nṝ́n a- (Rig-Veda, V 54, 15), and to the latter form we may add nṛ́ṇ p- quoted by Whitney (Skt. Gram.[2] §209 b) from the Māitrāyaṇī Saṁhita. How would J. Schmidt account for the presence of the ṣ in Skt., and š in Av.? The Skt. ṣ he might explain as due to the analogy of the fem. forms matṛ́ṣ, svásṝṣ, in case these forms are not of comparatively late origin, as Bartholomae holds them to be; but for Avestan such an explanation is impossible, for no fem. forms corresponding to Skt. matṛ́ṣ exist. We have only materąš (Yasna, 38, 5) = Skt. mātṛ́n (Rig-Veda, X 35), and mātarō, which is nom., not acc., in form.

Or are š and ṣ due to the analogy of the masculines -īš, -ūš and -īṅṣ, -ūṅṣ after they themselves had received their š and ṣ from the analogy of the feminines? That such a complicated series of analogies should have worked *independently* in both Skt. and Av. is too much to believe. The only rational theory is that already in the Aryan period masc. forms with final š existed.

Now to the main point for the consideration of which this paper is written. Is it necessary to suppose, with Bartholomae, that the š of Aryan inš, etc., is due to analogy? His point is of course that the law by which s after i, u, and ṛ became š had its period of activity in Aryan times, whereas the reduction of the nasal (which would prevent the affection of s by preceding i, etc.) before spirants belongs to the independent development of Skt. and Av., as is shown by the fact that the reduction takes place not merely in words in which the spirant is common to both languages, and therefore Aryan, but also where it is of specific Skt. or Av. origin (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, I, §199, note; in havíṅṣi, áyūṅṣi there mentioned the ṣ is due to analogy of other cases, such as havíṣām, where it is regular. But is it so certain that the affection of nasals before spirants in general and that observed in the endings -āns, -īnš, -ūnš, are one and the same phenomenon? An argument for their separation in Skt. may be

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found in the fact that those Prātiçākhyas which distinguish anusvāra and anunāsika note especially these acc. plur. forms as having nasalized vowel, not anusvāra; cf. Rig-Veda Prātiçākhya, 795, where is mentioned the *fault* of pronouncing anusvāra instead of anunāsika in certain Sandhi forms, which forms are found by reference to other rules to be exactly our accusatives plural. To be sure certain discrepancies in these authorities, added to the fact that the Atharva-Veda Prātiçākhya knows only nasalized vowels, has made Whitney skeptical as to any genuine distinction (cf his discussion with Bergaigne in Mém. de soc. ling. II, and Skt. Grammar.[2] pgs. 24, 25). But it is hard to believe that such unequivocal statements as the one just referred to are absolutely without foundation, made out of whole cloth. There must have been a real difference in the pronunciation at least in certain dialects and at a certain time,[1] and it is much easier to suppose that this was an original distinction, preserved at the time of the Prātiçākhyas in some dialects, though lost even at this early period in others (as for example that from which the observations in the Atharva Prātiçākhya were made), than that *vice versa* what was originally the same sound became in certain dialects two different sounds. What hinders us from supposing that in the Aryan period long vowels + nasal + s in final syllables became long nasalized vowels + s, while to the special development of Skt. and Av. belongs the more general reduction of nasals before spirants? The reduction of vowel + nasal to nasalized vowel is, of course, a very gradual one, and it was some intermediate stage in this second and later affection of nasals which was noted and described by the Skt. grammarians under the name of anusvāra. The precise physiological nature of this sound need not concern us here, suffice it to say that it was still sufficiently remote from the objective point of its development (simple nasalized vowel, its present value) to be distinguished from the anunāsika, which, according to my hypothesis, was already a simple nasalized vowel in the Aryan period. The fact that the anusvāra reached its objective point and so became identical with the anunāsika in some districts earlier than in others ought to be sufficient to account for their non-distinction in the Atharva Prātiçākhyas and the discrepancies in the details given by the other authorities.

[1] This view is taken by J. Schmidt in his lectures, who finds further supports for it in the fact that many MSS use different signs for anusvāra (·) and anunāsika (˜).

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Another proof that the reduction of nasals after long vowels in final syllables should be treated by itself is furnished by the following fact. The contrast of forms like dann iva (Rig-Veda, I 149, dan(n) from dans, gen. of dam) and devāṅ iva shows that the simplification of two or more final consonants is *older* than the reduction of the nasal in the combination—short vowel + nasal + s, but *later* than that in the combination—long vowel + nasal + s. So Brugmann says, "Es scheint daraus zu folgen, dass n vor nicht satzschliessendem -s früher als sonst mit dem vorausgehenden Vocal zu Nasalvocal geworden war" (Grundriss, I, pg. 496; as to the reservation which he adds in reference to the uncertainty of the antiquity of the long vowels in these cases, cf. the excursus).

Now arises the following question. If the Aryan forms of acc. plur. masc. were -ą̄s, -į̄š, -ų̄š, whence the full nasal in the common Skt. forms -ān, -īn, -ūn? To think of a restoration of the nasal from the nasalized vowel would be futile. The explanation is that the Vedic doublets -āṅ — -ān, -īṅr — -īn, -ūṅr — -ūn, reflect an Aryan, not special Skt., rule of Sandhi; -āns, -īns, -ūns became in the Aryan period -ān, -īn, -ūn as absolute finals, but -ą̄s, -į̄š, -ų̄š in Sandhi. In the Indian branch of the family, the forms in -ān had even in Vedic times enlarged their sphere, and in classical Skt. they attained the complete supremacy. In Av. the difference is clearly preserved in the a-declension, though the representative of -ą̄s is found only in the closest combinations, as with a following enclitic particle. So we have in the Gāthas -ę̄ (written -ēng) almost always with -ēn as variant = Aryan -ān, but -aŋs-ca = Aryan -ą̄s, in the later Av. -ą (also written -ąn, -ąm), but -aŋs-ca.[1] Bartholomae (cf. Handbuch, §46) considers this -ēng of the Gāthas as the representative of Aryan -ans (as he would write it now instead of -ąs) in accordance with his idea of the form of the acc. plur. in Aryan, but he elsewhere (Handbuch, §47) gives examples of ēng = Aryan -ān. In the į̄- and ų̄-declensions the Sandhi forms -į̄s, -ų̄š won the upper hand and we find -īš, -ūš in both the Gāthas and later Avesta. It is probable that the entire loss of the nasal is merely orthographical (cf. Bartholomae, K. Z. 29, pg. 455). We might see the representatives of Aryan -īn, -ūn in a few forms ending in i and u

[1] For the sake of uniformity we might be tempted to set up -ēngs (-ę̄s) as the proper Gātha form before enclitics, on the basis of yēngs-tu (Y. 46, 14), but as this form stands alone in the Gāthas against at least half-a-dozen in -aŋs-ca, it is perhaps better, with Bartholomae, to explain yēngs-tu as arisen under the influence of yēng.

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which were formerly taken as acc. plur., but they are altogether uncertain (cf. Bartholomae, K. Z. 29, pg. 456).

Excursus.—On the vowel length in the acc. plur. forms.

Both J. Schmidt and Bartholomae write the Aryan forms with short vowel, -ans, etc., and consider the long vowels of Skt. -ān, -īn, -ūn as a specific Skt. development, but neither gives any satisfactory explanation of the lengthening. J. Schmidt (in his lectures) states as a rule, "Auslautendes -ns dehnt vorhergehenden Vocal und dann geht s verloren," and gives forms like áçvān as examples. Why then do we not have a dắn from dans and ágān from ágans? Bartholomae (Indogerm. ss, pg. 37, foot-note), recognizing the impossibility of bringing the lengthening under any phonetic law, resorts to the principle of analogy. According to him, -ān borrowed its ā from the nom. plur. in -ās, and then after the analogy of devắn, etc., the long vowels were introduced into the i̯- and u̯-declensions. But what compels us to consider the long vowels as special Skt., or in other words what prevents us from considering that the Indo-Eur. forms were -ōns, -īns, -ūns? The fact that the Greek forms can be derived as well from -ōns, -īns, -ūns as from -ons, etc., is acknowledged (cf. Brugmann, Gr. Gram.[2], pg. 125), and it remains to run through the other branches of the Indo-Eur. family and discover if any one of them possesses forms which necessarily presuppose the existence of Indo-Eur. -ons, etc., with short vowel.[1] First to finish with the Aryan branch. From the Av. forms no conclusion as to the original length of the vowels can be drawn. For the ēng of the Gāthas can represent an original long vowel as well as a short, and the sign which is transcribed ą (Justi ā) is used for both long and short vowels (cf. Bartholomae, Handbuch, §§14, 32). In the i̯- and u̯-declensions the best MSS usually read -iš, -uš, but there are nearly always variants in -iš, -uš, so that I will not claim anything more than that they *can* be derived from forms with long vowels. But the Old Persian acc. plur. forms in ā (martiyā, 'men,' hamaranā, 'battles,' etc.) not only *can*, but apparently *must* be derived from Aryan -ān(s). True, an Aryan final a is represented in the Old Persian inscriptions by ā (whether or not

[1] Hannsen, K. Z. 27, p. 615, note, has already expressed himself in favor of Indo-Eur. -ōns, etc. So too Bremer, Berlin. Phil. Wochenschrift, 1887, p. 502, note, implies the same opinion, inasmuch as he mentions τους = Skt. tān in the same category with ἵπποις = Skt. áçvāiṣ.)

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the lengthening is merely orthographical does not concern us here), but an Aryan final a + cons. is not written long; cf. udapatatā, 3d sing. imperf. mid. = Skt. udápatata, but abara = Skt. ábharat or ábharan, atarsa = Skt. átrasat, etc. (cf. Bartholomae, Handbuch, §35; Spiegel, Die altpersische Keilinschriften², pg. 188). So an Aryan an(s) would give a, not ā, and martiyā, etc., can be derived only from forms with long vowel.[1]

In Armenian, mards 'men' (o-stem), sirts 'hearts' (i̯-stem), zards 'adornments' (u-stem), s is the representative of -ns, the vowels having dropped out. But long as well as short vowels in final syllables are regularly dropped in Armenian (cf. Hübschmann, Armenische Studien, I, pg. 57), so that nothing speaks against the supposition of Indo-Eur. -ōns, etc.

Returning to Europe, let us consider the forms offered by Latin and the other dialects of Italy. The long vowels of Lat. equōs, trīs, and fructūs are explained as the result of compensative lengthening after the loss of the nasal in -ons, etc., but -ons, etc., may stand for Indo-Eur. -ōns, etc., for in Lat. we have the same law as in Greek; long vowels are shortened before i̯, u, liquids and *nasals* + mute or spirant (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, I, §612). From Umbrian poplof, popluf, in which f is for ns, as regularly in Umbrian, the length of the vowel cannot be determined. In the nom. plur. poplos, poplur the o and u denote long vowels, and so they may in poplof, popluf. The same is true of the forms of the i̯- and u̯-declension, trif 'tres,' kastruvuf 'fundos.' So also in Oscan feíhoss 'fines,' leígoss 'milites delectos,' teremniss 'terminos' (if acc., not, as Bücheler thinks, abl. = terminibus), the quantity of the vowel is uncertain.

Old Irish firu 'men,' fāthi 'poets,' gnīmu 'actions,' are to be immediately derived from forms in -ōs, -īs, -ūs, since a short vowel would have disappeared completely, and that the long vowels are the result of compensative lengthening is merely possible, not necessary; -ōns could have resulted in nothing but -ōs.

The Gothic forms like dagans 'days,' gastins 'guests,' sununs 'sons' show short vowels and, as is shown by the a of dagans, these must have been short even in prehistoric Teutonic, but we have to reckon with the possibility that in the earliest period of separate Teutonic development a law was active similar to that which worked in Greek and Latin, namely, 'long vowels are shortened

[1] Of course we have to reckon with the possibility that these are nominative forms used accusatively, but if they are genuine accusatives, which we have no reason to doubt, they prove an Aryan -ān(s).

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before i̯, u̯, liquids and nasals + mute or spirant.' At least before n + mute or spirant, the only case which concerns our theory, such a shortening is made probable by Gothic vinds, Anglo-Saxon wind, as related to Skt. vānt-, pres. pple. of √vā 'to blow' (cf. Brugmann, Grundriss, I, §614).

The acc. plur. forms in the Baltic and Slavic families have always been derived from -ons, etc., but if, as Brugmann (Grundriss, I, §615) holds, original long vowels were shortened before i̯ or nasal + mute or spirant, -ons might very well stand for Indo-Eur. -ōns. There seem, however, to be some elements of uncertainty in this law, though a few forms, especially the acc. plur. of the ā stems in Lithuanian and Old Bulgarian, have as yet found no other explanation. It may therefore be worth the while to show that the Baltic and Slavic forms in question may be derived *directly* from Indo-Eur. -ōns, -īns, -ūns. The stages in the development of the Old Bulgarian forms as given by Leskien in his lectures (cf. also his Handbuch d. altbulg. Sprache, pg. 19, slightly different in the treatment of the o-stems) are as follows:

ons ...	ōns ...	ōn ...	ūn ...	y	*e. g.*	toky 'streams.'
uns ...	ūns	...	ūn ...	y	*e. g.*	syny 'sons.'
ins ...	īns	...	īn ...	i	*e. g.*	nošti 'nights.'

From this see that with the supposition of Indo-Eur. -ōns, etc., we are one step nearer the actual Old Bulgarian forms. For the -ę of the i̯o-stems, as in konję 'horses,' he gives the following development: -jons, -jèns, -jēns, -jēn, -ję. An Indo-Eur. -ōns would save one stage, for we should have jōns, jēns, jēn, ję.

We turn now to the Baltic family where matters are more complicated. In the Old Prussian forms in -ans and -ins the vowels may be long, since long and short vowels are not usually distinguished, and then they would be the regular representatives of Indo-Eur. -ōns, -īns, Prussian ā being = Indo-Eur. ō. In Lithuanian the forms of the i̯ and u̯ declensions, like akìs 'eyes,' dangùs 'heavens,' may be from Indo-Eur. -īns, -ūns, since long vowels are shortened in final syllables with "gestossenen" accent (cf. Leskien, Archiv für slavische Philologie, V 188). The acc. plur. of the o-stems ends in -ùs (-ůs-jos in definite adjective), and it is usual to derive this from an older -ans = Indo-Eur. -ons. But such a change of an to u, common enough in Lettic, would be isolated in Lithuanian, and, moreover, the acc. plur. fem. forms of adjectives, such as pirmàs, 'first,' definite adjective pirmás-es, compared with pirmans-es, which is found frequently in Old

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Lithuanian texts (sixteenth century) actually show that -ans does not give -us, -ů̃s-, but -as, -ás-. Now wherever else in Lithuanian we find an u in final syllable with "gestossenen" accent beside an ů in non-final syllable, it is always derived from Indo-Eur. ō. So, for example, in nom. acc. dual of o-stems we have dëvù 'two gods,' but in the definite adjective, in which the second element was added so long ago that the last syllable of the adjective proper is not to be considered a final, jaunů́-ju, and here, of course, ù, ů́- are from Indo-Eur. ō; cf. Gr. ἵππω. In the same way may our acc. plur. forms, as dëvùs, in def. adj. jaunů́s-jus, be derived from Indo-Eur. -ōns. So in Lettic grékus 'sins' the u is from ů by the law, "In every final syllable a long vowel becomes short, a diphthong a monophthong," and Lett. ů = Lith. ů = Indo-Eur. ō. The ů is preserved in monosyllabic words, which are exempt from the working of the above rule. So tōs, jōs etc., o after Bielenstein to represent the ů with "gedehnten" accent. In náktis 'nights,' etc., of the i-declension, the i is shortened from ī by the law of final syllables quoted above. There are no plur. forms of u-stems in Lettic.

We have now completed our survey of the various branches of the Indo-Eur. family (Albanian has no forms which have any bearing on the question in hand) *and have found no forms which cannot, without the violation of any known phonetic law, be derived from -ōns, -īns, -ūns, whereas in Sanskrit, Old Persian, and Lithuanian exist forms which cannot be "laut-gesetzlich" derived from -ons, -ins, -uns.* There ought to be no objection to admitting -ōns, etc., as Indo-Eur. on the ground that the origin of such forms is more difficult to explain. Our knowledge of the original formation of cases is too small for us to allow it to have any influence on our determination of the forms which actually existed at the period just preceding the breaking up into the various families.

BERLIN, *June* 18, 1890.

Since the above was written the new volume of Brugmann's Grundriss, which treats of declension, has appeared, and in this I see that some of my results have been anticipated. Brugmann also has concluded that the š of Aryan -īnš, etc., is not due to analogy, but arose phonetically owing to an earlier reduction of nasals after long vowels. The fact that he has reached this result without the aid of what was to me the chief argument, namely, the distinction between anunāsika and anusvāra, may in itself help to prove that this argument is correct. Perhaps the chief reason of

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Whitney's scepticism as to any real distinction (aside from his well-founded distrust of the Hindu grammarians on general principles) lay in the fact that there was apparently no raison d'être for any such distinction. In Mém. de la soc. ling. II, pg. 197, he says in regard to our attitude toward the statements of the Rig-Veda Prātiçākhya, "Un pas important serait de déterminer s'il est dans la nature de la chose une raison quelconque pour que le peu de cas dans lesquelles la voyelle nasale est admise produisent une altération différente du reste. Je n'aborde point cette discussion, me bornant à observer que je ne puis voir aucun motif de faire une telle distinction."

But now we have a reason. Those few cases in which the nasalized vowel is admitted are exactly the ones in which the nasal suffered an earlier reduction than elsewhere. To illustrate my idea of the process I take the acc. plur. form of aṅsa, "shoulder," using ą to denote the nasalized vowel, and a^{n} for an intermediate stage between an and ą, a stage in which the nasal still preserved something of its quality as an independent element.

I.	ansā^{n}s	in Sandhi,	ansān	as absolute	final.
II.	a^{n}sąs	"	a^{n}sān	"	"
III.	ąsąs	"	ąsān	"	"

The statements of the Rig-Veda Prātiçākhya are in agreement with II, those of the Atharva-Veda Prātiçākhya with III, in which the nasal had become as thoroughly merged with the vowel in the first syllable as in the second and, there no longer existed any genuine distinction between anunāsika and anusvāra.

In regard to the vowel length, Brugmann leaves it an open question whether the endings were -ons, etc., or -ōns, etc., but gives the forms with short vowels the preference. He has anticipated me in rejecting the usual derivation of Lithuanian -ùs-, ũs- from -ăns = Indo-Eur. -ons, but says it is equally impossible to derive it from -ōns since this would also have become -ăns. He therefore explains the ů as a transfer from the loc. plur. in -ůsu, -ůse, but even here the ů is not original, but, according to Brugmann, due to proportional analogy with ā-stems. Further, this newly created -ůns reacted on the locative and gave rise to the nasal in the dialectic vilkunse. This explanation has nothing improbable in it and, though complicated, seems the only possible one, if -ōns would, as Brugmann holds, have resulted in -ăns. But this point does not seem to me to be definitely settled. That long vowels were shortened in Baltic before i̯ + cons. can scarcely be

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denied in face of vilkaīs = Skt. vṛkāiṣ, Indo-Eur. -ōis, but that this shortening also took place before nasal + cons. is, I think, not strictly proved. Osthoff (M. V. II, pg. 129) set up the law, "ā wird in der stellung vor sonorlaut in derselben Silbe verkürzt," but some of the forms which are used to prove this are sufficiently explained by Leskien's law, which had not been discovered at that time. In Geschichte d. Perfect, pg. 85, he thinks the law is possibly to be amended to "langer vocal vor einem sonorlaut und hinterher folgenden geräuschlaute ging in die entsprechende kürze über," and this is essentially the form in which it appears in Brugmann's Grundriss (I §615). The forms which are there given as coming under this law are (as far as nasal + cons. is concerned): (1) gerunds of denominative verbs as jẽszkant from -ōnt; (2) acc. plur. of ā-stems. As for the acc. plur. forms Prof. Brugmann, who has had the kindness to look through the proofs of the above article, informs me that he now no longer considers these as examples of this law. The nouns never had a nasal, as is shown by the fact that the dialects which preserve a nasal show no trace of one in this case (cf. Grundriss II, §327), and the case of pirmans-es is involved in so many uncertainties that it can hardly be used for or against the law. So the case rests simply on gerunds of the type of jẽszkant, and these at least *admit* of another explanation, namely, that they are formed after the analogy of simple thematic verbs. Osthoff (M. V. II, pg. 130), to be sure, thinks this improbable, inasmuch as the i-verbs show no such influence; cf. mýlint, but the *possibility* of such an explanation can scarcely be denied. A phonetic law which is not strictly proved may be judged by its fruits, that is, we should weigh that which it explains against that the explanation of which it makes more difficult. The law in point explains jeszkant, but makes the explanation of Lith. -ūs less simple, and forces us to separate Lith. -us from Old Prussian -ans in one or two other cases. If we deny the law we make jẽszkant difficult, but explain -ūs-, -ùs as regular forms. In this case we should consider these the source of the -ů- in the locative ending, instead of vice versa, as Brugmann, who is obliged to suppose two processes of analogy as explained above. Moreover, if we deny the law we are not forced to separate the Lith. dat. plur. ending -mus from the Old Prussian -mans. I would not, however, lay much stress on this point, for the forms of this ending in Balto-Slavic are in such a tangle that it is only a small gain to bring any two of them under one head.

CARL D. BUCK.

LEIPZIG, *Oct.* 22, 1890.

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III.—THE VALUE OF THE MEDIAE (*b, d, g*) IN OLD LATIN AND ITALIC.

Every one knows that the symbol C represents a *g* in the regular Latin abbreviations for the proper names *Gaius* and *Gnaeus*, and the fact that the Greek sign for the guttural media was used in the Latin alphabet to represent originally both the media and the tenuis, and finally only the tenuis, is one of the paradoxes that have ceased to be surprising to us through long familiarity. Yet it certainly needs explanation, and those that have hitherto been offered hardly do more than recognize the difficulty.[1] The reason seems to be that if we confine our attention to Latin alone there is no explanation to be had, but if the fact be put into connexion with similar but still more striking phenomena in the allied dialects, we are led to a general conclusion which is of some importance. I believe it can be demonstrated from the evidence, which is of many different kinds and comes from very various sources, that *the Mediae* (b, d, g) *were originally voiceless in Italic and retained their voiceless character in the separate dialects* (*Latin and Umbro-Samnite*) *for a considerable time after their separation, and longer in Oscan and Umbrian than in Latin*, where in the historical period they became voiced.

If it be necessary to explain what is meant by a voiceless media, a few words may be quoted from the *Grundriss der Vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft*, Vol. I, §§16 and 322 (pp. 20 and 260 in the English translation): 'When the breath is checked in the larynx in such a manner that the vocal chords, which in a state of

[1] Corssen (Aussprache, I 10) regarded the confusion as simply an archaic inaccuracy which was discarded when the Latins began to be familiar with Greek. But 312 B. C., which is probably the date when the new sign G was introduced (v. infra), is surely a little too early for such an assumption. And why did not the inaccuracy extend also to *b* and *p*, *d* and *t*? Corssen is followed by Jordan and Seelmann, but the latter adds: 'Wahrscheinlich standen sich einst der harte und der weiche Gaumenlaut überhaupt näher, und kam erst später, als die sprachliche Entwickelung die Kluft vergrösserte, auch dem gewöhnlichen Beobachter der Unterschied beider Laute grell genug zum Bewusstsein, um auf einen entsprechenden orthographischen Unterschied zu dringen' (Aussprache, p. 343 ff.)

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rest are apart, are brought so far together as to come into rhythmical vibration, a musical sound arises which is called Voice.' 'The characteristic feature [of the distinction between Tenues and Mediae] is the greater or less tension to which the parts of the mouth are put in forming the explosive, e. g. a more energetic closing and opening of the lips takes place with *p* than with *b* . . . The mediae may be produced with or without voice.' The point is a little difficult for English-speaking students to grasp, as we grow up in the assumption that all mediae are voiced as they are in our own language. All voiced sounds must be mediae, that is, they must be pronounced with relatively less force than they would be if they were voiceless, since the current of breath loses part of its strength in setting the vocal chords in vibration: but the converse of course does not hold good; all mediae are not necessarily voiced; the greater gentleness or 'softness' of the stream of breath may be due to other causes than the interference of the vocal chords, for instance, simply to a less energetic exspiration.

To begin then with the evidence in Latin. The third sign of the Greek alphabet was used by the Romans till the end of the fourth century B. C. to denote indifferently the guttural media and tenuis. This is expressly recorded by several ancient grammarians (cited by Seelmann, p. 342 f.) and illustrated by a large number of examples of C = *g* on inscriptions; see the Index of the Corp. Inscr. Lat. I, p. 601. Now if at the time that the Greek alphabet came into use the Latins possessed two sounds as clearly distinguished as, say, *c* in Eng. *call* and *g* in *gall*, and found this distinction regularly represented by K and C in the alphabet they were adopting, is it conceivable that they should have arbitrarily taken only the second symbol to denote them both? On the other hand, if the difference between the Latin *c* and *g* was, so to speak, only one of degree, not of kind, if they were both voiceless and only distinguished by the strength of their articulation, it is natural enough that two signs should seem superfluous. The variation is not greater than that of quantity whether in consonants or vowels, which as a rule we find unexpressed in writing, at least in primitive alphabets; in Latin we know that long or doubled consonants did not come into use until towards the end of the second century B. C., and the short-lived attempts at a similar notation for vowels date from about the same period.

It must be observed, however, that the signs for *d* and *t*, *b* and

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þ were not confused,' as we should expect them to have been if all the mediae were voiceless. To this I should reply that the change from the voiceless to the voiced sound need not necessarily have taken place at exactly the same time in all the three classes of explosives. There are very similar variations in the history of the Lautverschiebung in the Germanic dialects (see the *Grundriss*, §§530, 537). For example, the spirants *þ* and *ƀ* became *b* and *d* initially in the prehistoric period of West-Germanic (A. S. *bītan* 'to bite,' root *bheiḍ-*, *dæȝ* 'day,' root *dheǧh-*), whereas ȝ in the same position was still preserved in Anglo-Saxon though later it became *g* (A. S. *ȝōs* 'goose,' *ȝiest* 'guest'). Here the phonetic conditions are precisely the same except for the difference in the class of sound affected. In Latin I suppose that *d* and *b* had become voiced rather earlier than *g*, and that the Greek alphabet had begun to be used in the interval. This agrees fairly well with such evidence as we have for the early history of the Latin characters. The invention of G to denote the voiced media as distinguished from C is ascribed by Jordan (Krit. Beiträge, p. 157) to Appius Claudius Censor 312 B. C. (it first appears in the epitaph of Scipio Barbatus Censor 290 B. C.), and we must allow some time for the inconsistency in writing to make itself felt

[1] The traces of any such confusion are far too scanty and uncertain to be trusted. In the Song of the Arval Brethren (C. I. L. I 28) *advocapit* may stand for *advocabit* (?), but we cannot tell how ancient the form may be. *poplices* is, of course, the original form of the later *publicus*, which must owe its *b* as well as its *u* to the influence of some analogy. *propom* 'probum' (C. I. L. I 19) is practically Oscan, v. infra. Festus gives a form *sibus persibus* 'sapiens' which may possibly be the same word as Osc. *sipus* 'sciens,' where the *p* is certain y original, as it is an old perf. partc. act. of *sapio*. The *t* in *Alixentrom*, C. I. L. I 59, if it is not a mere mistake, is possibly an attempt to Latinize the unfamiliar ending *-dro-*. The only examples free from doubt are one or two of *d* for *t* finally. *fecid*, in an early inscription, C. I. L. I 59, no doubt shows the original ending of the 3d person of secondary tenses, which is found in the Duenos and Numasioi inscriptions, and regularly in Oscan. The difference between *fecid* and *dedit* on the well-known Praenestine cista (ib. 55) is explained by the relative position of the two lines, which seems to show that they were written at different times and by different persons. In he artist's signature we may suspect a little archaism. Two more examples, *quod* for *quot*, *at* for *ad* (C. I. L. I 1016, 1252) date from the end of the Republic, when it is well known that final *-d* was often confused with *-t* as in *haud*, *haut* (Seelmann, 358 f.). I know of no other examples. Hence it seems to me far more probable that *d* and *b* became voiced sooner than *g*, than that all three remained voiceless till the same date, and that the symbols B and P, D and T were kept distinct by a mere accident.

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after the new sound had become established. That brings us within reasonable distance of the date which we may assume for the introduction of the Greek alphabet. In the *Numasioi* inscription, which is referred by archaeologists to the end of the sixth century B. C., we have still a Greek, not a Roman character, as appears from the use of *Fh*, not *F*, to denote *f* (Darbishire, *Journal of Philology*, XVI, p. 196). It is worth noting, however, that *d* is represented twice by δ as we should expect; *g* does not occur, but *fhefhaked* 'fecit' gives us κ for *c*. In the *Duenos* inscription, which probably belongs to the first half of the fourth century, *t* and *d* are regularly distinguished,[1] > appears for *g* and for *c*, but in the latter use it is twice a correction of a K which was written first and is only half erased. This seems to show that the sound of *g* had already become clearly separated from that of *k*.

In the Faliscan alphabet again, which is closely akin to the Latin, we have no signs for either *b* or *g* (*cupat* 'cubat,' *Ca.* 'Gaius'), though *d* occurs. In a Latin inscription, written by Faliscans (Zvétaieff, *Inscrr. Italiae Inferioris Dialecticae*, 72*a*), a votive offering made by a college of cooks, which can hardly be earlier (*pace* Seelmann, p. 344) than 200–150 B. C., *g* is twice written for *c* (*gondecorant*, *Volgani*). This possibly indicates that even at that date the tenues and mediae were not sharply distinguished in Faliscan itself, but since the letters are used regularly in the rest of the inscription, no great stress can be laid on these two examples, which may be merely slips of the engraver. See Seelmann, loc. cit.

In Umbrian the facts are striking. There are no signs in the native alphabet for either *d* or *g* which appear simply as *t* and *k*, and the sign for *b* is rarely used and alternates with *p* (*habinaf* Ia 27, *hapinaf* Ia 24).[2] But when the later stage of Umbrian is written in Latin characters (Tab. V iii, VI and VII) we have the two classes of sound distinguished with general though not absolute regularity: *apruf* 'apros' I b 24=*abrof*[3] VII a 3, *titu* 'dato' I a 33=*ditu* VI b 10, *kumiaf* 'gravidas' I a 7=*gomia* VI a 58, etc.

[1] Assuming that the explanation of *mitat* as 3d pl. (A. J. P. X, p. 452) is correct. *d* is regularly represented by Δ twelve times in other words in the inscription.

[2] It is, however, always written *b* when it represents an original *g* (*bum* 'bovem,' *benus* 'veneris'). It seems to me possible that here it represents a different sound, the labial spirant *b* (Engl. *v*).

[3] The tenuis is of course original in this word, but all tenues became mediae in Umbrian after *n* and before *r* (Brugmann, *Grundriss* I, §499).

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This of course shows that the two were not absolutely identical even in the period when they were represented by the same symbols. The few exceptions there are (*totcor* VI a 12 beside *todceir* VI a 10 al., *entelust* VI b 50 beside *endendu* VI b 40 al., *Iapusco* VII a 47 beside *Iabuscer* VII a 12, etc.) may be merely accidental lapses into the spelling of the archaic version of the ritual of which tables VI and VII were a reconstruction. On the other hand they may indicate that even in later Umbrian the sound of the mediae was not quite the same as it was in Latin. In any case the evidence of the Umbrian alphabet is surely enough to show that originally the sound of the mediae was not very widely removed from that of the tenues. The Greek-Etruscan alphabet, from which the Umbrian was derived, possessed signs for the mediae at the time of the transference (see Mommsen, Unterital. Dialekte, p. 21, and Kirchhoff, *Stud. z. Geschichte d. Gr. Alphabets*, ed. 4, p. 127 ff.); and even if it had not, the Umbrians would surely have invented new symbols for *g* and *d* if they were separated from *k* and *t* by as definite a line as that between breathed and voiced sounds, just as they did for *ç* (𐌃) and *f* (8).

It should be noticed further that this confusion in writing between tenuis and media occurs between the spirants derived from them. *ç* (𐌃) is properly the spirant derived from *k* before palatal vowels (*ç e r s n a-* = Lat. *cena-*), while *i* is used to denote the parallel modification of *g* (*muietu* partc. beside *mugatu* imperat.). But we find them used interchangeably: *i* for *ç*, e. g. in *u s a i e* (I b 45) = *u s a ç e* II a 44 'yearly,' which is formed with the ordinary adjectival suffix *-ko-*, and also, I believe, in *p u r t i i u s* I a 27 al. = *p u r t i n ç u s* I b 33 al., a second future derived from the *-nk-* perfect (cf. Osc. λιοκ-ακ-ειτ), from a present **purtueo*;[1] in the first form the nasal is omitted, as it frequently is before consonants. Conversely we have *ç* for *i* in *a ç e t u s* (II a 14) 'agentibus' beside the imperative *a i t u* (I b 49 al.), which

[1] Imperat. *p u r t u v e t u*, partc. *p u r d i t o m*. The long *-ī-* appears to be the regular Umbrian representative of *ū* in unaccented syllables (i. e. in all but the first) as well as in monosyllabic words (*pir* 'πῦρ,' etc.); cf. *statita* = Lat. *statuta*, and the oblique cases of *u*-nouns which have regularly *-i-*, *mani* 'manu,' *trefi* 'tribu,' *aḍputrati* 'arbitratu,' *ahtim* 'actum' beside the dative *ahtu* (I a 10) where the *-u* perhaps represents a diphthong. *cehefi* = **censu* 'accendendo,' *trahvorfi* = **transversu*. From *purtu-* we have also *p u r t i f e l e* 'porricibilem.' In the compound *purtupite*, as in the impv. *purtuvetu*, the *u* is no doubt short. The change should probably be assumed for Oscan as well; *castrid* abl. beside *castrovs* genitive.

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is a contraction for **aj-itu* from **agetōd*. *deitu* 'dicito' may be most simply explained, I think, in the same way, as standing for **dēçtu* from **deicetod*.[1]

The Oscan system of orthography is exceedingly precise (for example, the glide *u̯* is regularly written between the vowel *u* and a following vowel, *eítiuvam*), and we should expect to find that the distinction between tenuis and media was regularly maintained in writing, even though it were only one of degree. This is so to a remarkable extent; but the fact that when Oscan is written in Greek or Latin characters the two classes of sound are at once confused, is in itself an important piece of evidence in favor of the theory we are considering. The details of this confusion we must examine shortly, but we may notice first what evidence may be found in Oscan itself. To begin with, there are one or two doubtful forms in which the two classes of sound appear to be confused even in the local alphabet. The least uncertain is [*l*]*úfríkúnúss* (Zvét. It. Inf. 95, the well-known fragment from Pietrabbondante), which is generally taken as equivalent to *liberigenos*. The other two are *akenei* on the Tabula Agnone (Zv. It. Inf. 87), which Bücheler renders 'agine,' i. e. 'in agonio,' 'in sacrificio,' and *deketasiúí* (Cipp. Abell. 5), generally rendered 'digitario' 'τῷ πεμπάζοντι,' 'the financial officer,' an epithet of *medix*. Both of these are uncertain. It must be noticed, however, that in all three the sign of the tenuis is substituted for that of the media, and not vice versa.

Another point which seems to me of considerable importance is the frequency of words in the few Oscan inscriptions that there are, in which a tenuis immediately follows a media, or vice versa. If the two sounds were of really different character we should certainly expect an assimilation, such as we find in Latin. It will be seen from the nature of the words that they cannot be explained in the same way as such spellings as *scribsi* in Latin, i. e. as being merely attempts at etymological correctness, since the syllable in which the combination occurs does not vary in inflexion. The examples are: *metd*. (an abbreviation for *meddix* Zv. Inscr. It. Inf. 94;[2] the first half of a doubled consonant would naturally seem to be pronounced more emphatically than the second); *aídafed* (Zv. It. Inf. 93), *liganakdikei* (Tab. Agn., Zv. It. Inf. 87),

[1] *Feitu fetu* are puzzling. Is *fetu* formed directly from the root *dhē-*, and *feitu* a re-formation, on its analogy, of an older **faitu *façtu* = Lat. *facito*?

[2] Cp. Brugm. Grundriss II, §163 ad fin. p. 493 in the English edition.

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Anagtiai (Zvét. It. Inf. 107), *Pupdiis* (ib. 226), *Maakdiis* (ib. 266), *sebsik* (ib. 154), *igipaarigtis* (ib. 175), and *Albsi patre* in Aequian (ib. 46). Compare also the Umbr. *todceir*.

There are one or two examples of an *h* added to the tenuis, which may, I think, be naturally regarded as due to the desire to express its emphatic pronunciation as contrasted with the media: two are in one inscr., *Perkhen*. and *Aphinis* (Zvét. It. Inf. 166). The third is on the Tabula Bantina, in Latin alphabet, where *phim* 'quem' stands simply for *pim*. A curious spelling in Greek characters Αππελλουνηι (ib. 232) seems to be another method of expressing the distinctive character of the Oscan tenuis, by doubling the letter. We have the same spelling once in the Oscan alphabet (*Appelluneis*, ib. 156 *a*) in an inscription from Pompeii. This, it must be admitted, may be merely a trace of the old Italic first syllable accent.

Not the least important part of the evidence for the theory in Oscan is the representation of the Oscan mediae by tenues in foreign alphabets. The converse, i. e. a tenuis represented by a media, nowhere occurs. The coins of 'Atella,' as the Latins called it, show the legend *Aderl*. (Zvét. It. Inf. 271).[1] In the Tabula Bantina, beside words in which the Oscan mediae are represented by the Lat. *b*, *d*, *g* (*Bansae*, *angetuzet*, etc.), we have *acum* for the regular infinitive = 'agere,' *licud* (as well as *ligud*) = 'lege,' *cebnust*,[2] i. e. **gebnust* = 'venerit,' and the difficult *hipid* = 'habuerit.' This is the regular subjunctive form from a perfect stem *hīp-* = **hēp-*, like *ēgi*, *cēpi*, etc. But whence comes the *p*? Goth. *haban* shows that the Lat. *b* in *habeo* must represent I.-Eu.

[1] *Combulteria* (Liv. 23, 39), *Cubulterinus* (Pliny) are the later Latin forms of *Compulteria* (Liv. 24, 20). The Oscan coin-legend *Kupelternum* (Zv. It. Inf. 268) of course corresponds to the older form. The change of tenuis to media in Latin is regular between a nasal and a liquid; cf. *singuli* for **sem-cloi*.

[2] This difficult form I believe may be safely explained by supposing that when two consecutive syllables began with a velar in early Oscan the first lost its velar character and became an ordinary guttural; *cebn-* = **gegn-*. This is supported by the form *po-capit* 'quom-cunque,' where *-capit* = **quam-quid*. There are no forms in Oscan which would contradict such a rule. Oscan *b*, of course, regularly represents an original velar *g*. Indeed it seems to do so not only where it became *v* in Latin (*venio* : *benust*) but also where it became *g*. The word *brateis* of the Tab. Bant. (*brateis auti cadeis amnud* 'amicitiae aut inimicitiae causa') may be simply explained as = Lat. *grati* (neut.) (: Skr. *gūrtás*, I.-Eu. **gr̥tós*) or **gratis* (sing. fem.) which would give us exactly the sense that is wanted.

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bh. I believe both the Oscan and the Umbrian word (*habetu*, *habust*, etc.)[1] were borrowed from Latin and pronounced in provincial fashion, that is, with as near an imitation of a voiced media as Oscan and Umbrian throats could attain to. There is an exact parallel to this in the coin-legend *Benventod*: *propom* (C. I. L. 1, 19), i. e. 'a Benevento: probum,' where the Latin word is pronounced in Oscan fashion and spelled accordingly. The use of the ablative on a coin proves the Oscan influence. *hipid*, etc., have an official meaning (*comono hipust* 'comitia habuerit'), and so belong to the class of words that are most frequently borrowed; cf. *kvaistur*, *aidil.*, neither of which can be genuine Oscan. The difficulty of explaining these perfect forms has been increased by the future form '*hafieist*' or '*hafiert*' (sic), where the *f* has been regarded as the original Oscan sound. I believe it is as much a blunder of the engraver as the *i* or *r* (whichever it is) of the last syllable, as the *p* instead of *f* in '*fepacust*' a few lines later on, which, happily, no one has attempted to treat seriously. The Umbrian *habiest* shows us the true form which in the Osco-Latin character of the Tabula Bantina would have been written *hapiest*. A glance at the text of this inscription will convince the most confiding student that its engraver has very little character to lose. In this case, however, the mistake may have been simply a confusion between the Oscan 8 (*f*) and P in reading the original copy of the Oscan version, which in the first instance would naturally be written in Oscan characters. The same sign in Umbrian is confused with ⊖ (*h*) in the form '*erafont*' (Tab. Ig. VI b 65) for the usual *erahunt erahont.*

Finally, we have a set of examples which are especially interesting as they form the only exceptions to a rule of Italic accidence which itself is of considerable importance, generally known as Bugge's canon (K. Z. XXII 385). He first pointed out that the secondary tenses and the subjunctive were distinguished in Oscan and the other dialects by special endings in the 3d person sing. and pl.; the primary tenses have *-t* in the singular and *-nt* in the plural, the secondary (and the subjunctive) *-d* and *-ns* respectively. This rule is without exception in the inscriptions in

[1] The difference between Osc. *hipust* and Umbr. *habust* may be compared with that between Osc. *fefacust* and Umbr. *fakust*. The Umbr. impv. *hahtu* 'capito' seems to show the original Umbr. word in a non-thematic conjugation.

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Oscan character;[1] there are 22 examples of *-d* in secondary tenses and the subjunctive. Primary tenses do not occur so often; if we do not count the future and future perfect, which always end in *-st*, there are only three examples[2] in Oscan (*staít, sakruvit, faamat*), but the last word occurs several times. In Umbrian, where final *-t* has a weak sound, there are two presents in which it is written (*tiçit, trebeit*); but final *-d* was completely lost, and hence we should expect the third person of the secondary tenses always to end in a vowel, as it does without exception. There is a present in *-t* in Marrucinian (*feret*) and in Vestinian (*didet*). The rule for the plural is absolute in all the Umbro-Samnite dialects. Hence when we find *-τ* in Greek character (3 times, λιοκακειτ, λειικειτ, δεδετ) and *-t* once in Latin (*tadait* 'aestimaverit') beside *-d* (*deivaid fuid*, etc.) with other examples of final *-τ* and *-t* for Osc. *-d* (πωτ = *půd* 'quod,' εσοτ 'illud,' *pocapit* (Tab. Bant.) = *púkkapíd* on the Terminus Abellanus), we have a right to conclude that the variation is due to the difficulty of representing the Oscan sound in the foreign alphabets. This was Bugge's view long ago, even though he had no explanation of the difference.

It is possible that in the originally voiceless character of the Oscan mediae we have the explanation of the change of tenuis to media in a few proper names and other words in passing from Greek into Latin, *Burrus* = Πύρρος, *Bruges* = Φρύγες, *gubernare* = κυβερνᾶν. The names were probably first used in Southern Italy, and the Greek tenuis may have sounded to Oscan ears more like a media than a tenuis in their own language. They reached Latin through oral intercourse, probably before the date at which the Latin mediae became voiced; even if it was later, it is quite conceivable that in popular Latin the Oscan mediae should be regarded as voiced sounds, while the official interpreters were in doubt whether to represent them as breathed or voiced.

It must be admitted, I think, that taken altogether the evidence is very strongly in favour of the theory that the Italic mediae were originally far nearer to the tenues in character than they appear in classical Latin. Exactly how much nearer it is not quite easy to define. For simplicity's sake I have spoken only of 'voiced'

[1] Unless we are to count as such *kakad* and *dadid* (*pon kakad, svai peip dadid*) in the Curse of Vibia, which, however, I regard as subjunctives. *pon* regularly takes the subjunctive in Oscan.

[2] Not counting the doubtful ακετ or σακετ 'agit'? (Zv. It. Inf. 247).

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and 'voiceless' sounds, but I should be content to regard those we have been discussing as 'whispered'[1] rather than absolutely voiceless. Indeed, the former alternative is perhaps more probable, considering the regularity with which they subsequently developed into voiced sounds.

May we venture to draw any conclusions from the Italic phenomena as to the nature of the mediae in proethnic Indo-European? I cannot help thinking it would be a very pardonable heresy to believe that there also the mediae were voiceless or whispered. Would not this make it easier to understand how they became voiceless in Armenian (Brugmann, Grundriss, I §484) and Germanic? And why the original tenues, strongly pronounced as compared with the mediae, became affricatae (*κχ*, *ts*, etc.) and then fricatives in the same branch of language? There are still voiceless mediae in High German dialects (in the Harz and in Bad Ems; see Vietor, Phonetische Studien, I, p. 216 ff., and III, p. 128). Again, on this supposition Verner's Law would be simply the change of a strongly articulated to a less strongly articulated fricative, due to its position in an unaccented syllable. Finally, would it not be easier to conceive how the aspirated mediae were actually pronounced, and why they all became voiceless in Greek, and, originally, in Italic? These points I must be content to leave as suggestions; but I cannot think we shall be wrong in starting from the assumption that the mediae were either voiceless or whispered in proethnic Italic.

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[1] A 'whispered' sound is produced when the vocal chords are approximated but not stretched. The result is a kind of rustle, intermediate between breath and voice.

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IV.—THE CODEX MATRITENSIS OF PLUTARCH AND PLUT. CIC. 29.

After relating the well known adventure of P. Clodius Pulcher at the festival of the Bona Dea and his subsequent failure to prove an alibi because Cicero expressly testified to his presence in Rome on the day in question, Plutarch (c. 29, 11 sqq.) continues as follows:

"Οὐ μὴν ἐδόκει μαρτυρεῖν ὁ Κικέρων διὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα Τερεντίαν ἀπολογούμενος. Ἦν γὰρ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὸν Κλώδιον ἀπέχθεια διὰ τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐκείνου Κλωδίαν, ὡς τῷ Κικέρωνι βουλομένην γαμηθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο διὰ Τύλλου τινὸς (Cod. Mat. add. Ταραντίνου) πράττουσαν, ὡς ἑταῖρος μὲν ἦν καὶ συνήθης ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Κικέρωνος, ἀεὶ δὲ πρὸς Κλωδίαν φοιτῶν καὶ θεραπεύων ἐγγὺς οἰκοῦσαν ὑποψίαν τῇ Τερεντίᾳ παρέσχε."

The particular cause here assigned to this famous feud, which was destined to prove so disastrous to Cicero, is not found elsewhere. There are, however, as may be remarked in passing, strong grounds for believing Suetonius to have been Plutarch's source of information.[1]

About ten years ago, the late Charles Graux found a Greek MS at Madrid which contained a number of Plutarch's Lives, among them those of Demosthenes and Cicero. An accurate collation of this MS,[2] designated as Cod. N or Cod. Matritensis, having brought to light a few variants undoubtedly superior to the received text, Graux, superlatively elated at his discovery, at once jumped to the conclusion that this Madrid MS represented a more reliable and authoritative text than the codices of Plutarch hitherto known, and, true to this conviction, he did not hesitate to make the MS in question the basis of an edition of the Lives of Cicero and Demosthenes (Hachette, Paris, 1887, 1889).

It were an extremely easy task to show that Graux greatly exaggerated the value of his new MS. At present, however, we are chiefly concerned with the following reading in the passage just quoted in full. Cod. N: διὰ Θύλλου (sic!) τινὸς Ταραντίνου; libri nostri ad unum omnes: διὰ Τύλλου (or Τούλλου) τινὸς.

[1] Cf. the author's article on a "New Source in Plutarch's Life of Cicero" (Transact. of Am. Phil. Ass. Vol. XX, p. 139 sqq.)

[2] Revue de Philologie, Vol. V 1.

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I shall endeavor to prove, in the first place, that the addition Ταραντίνου is an interpolation, on the ground that the Codex Matritensis, however acceptable some of its variants may be, is *altogether untrustworthy in its proper names.* The spuriousness of the Ταραντίνου once demonstrated, the way will be clear for an emendation, the presentation of which is the primary object and only excuse for the publication of this paper.

As Graux evidently regarded the text of the Dem. and Cic. as best representative of the character of his new MS, I shall draw my examples from these vitae only.

Vita Cic. c. XXVII 29: Cod. N—ἀκυλῖνον pro ἀκύλλιον.

Id. c. XXXVI 16—Καὶ κιλίου pro Καιλίου.

Id. c. XLVII 9—καὶ ἦτας pro Καιήτας (καπίτας).

Comp. Dem. et Cic. I 14—Κεκιλίου pro Καιλίου.

Dem. c. 25 ad fin.—Θεόφραστος pro Θεόπομπος without any apparent reason, in spite of Graux' vigorous defence.

In Dem. c. V 11 Plutarch quotes Hermippos, the well known writer and pupil of Callimachus, as his authority for the statement that Demosthenes had been a hearer of Plato (Ἕρμιππος δέ φησιν). Now the scribe of the Cod. N, or one of his predecessors, remembering in an evil hour that there existed also a poet of the old Attic comedy by that name, calmly inserted ὁ ποιητής, which, of course, renders the whole passage most ridiculous.[1]

In Dem. c. X 14 sqq. Theophrastus is quoted for two anecdotes, the second being very properly introduced by the words ὁ αὐτὸς φιλόσοφος. This reading apparently did not satisfy the rigid demands for perspicuity made by our learned scribe, for he felt himself called upon to write ὁ αὐτὸς Θεόφραστος.

In a passage of the Vita Ciceronis c. 36 ad fin., the interpolator is caught in flagrante delicto, as it were. The biographer, after having narrated Cicero's campaign in Cilicia, concludes by saying, that after remaining some days in Athens, on his way home, he returned to Rome, where all things were just as in a flame (. . . "εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπανῆλθεν, ἤδη τῶν πραγμάτων ὥσπερ ὑπὸ φλεγμονῆς ἀφισταμένων ἐπὶ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον"). Now these words are almost a literal translation of a passage in one of Cicero's letters, relating to the identical circumstance (Ad fam. XVI 11: "*ego ad urbem accessi sed incidi in ipsam flammam civilis dis-*

[1] Schenkl's conjecture (Bursian Jahresber. 1884, p. 218), ὁπήποτ', cannot be defended except on purely apologetic grounds. The same applies to Graux' ποτέ τισιν.

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cordiae vel potius belli"). All our MSS correctly write πόλιν; the copyist of N, however, rashly substituted εἰς Ῥώμην, not dreaming that the πόλιν is an excusable Latinism, occasioned by a too literal translation of the well known idiom which makes urbs = Roma. A few lines previous, where Plutarch is not translating, εἰς Ῥώμην is used very properly.

A still more flagrant instance of this copyist's untrustworthiness in the matter of proper names is furnished by Dem. c. 23 ad fin. The Codex N here reads Φωκίων in place of Δημάδης. The correction is so manifestly impossible that the context would have imperatively demanded the restoration of Δημάδης, even if all our MSS had been unanimously in favor of the reading Φωκίων, as the most cursory perusal of the passage in question will show:

"Βουλευομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ διαπορούντων ὁ Δημάδης λαβὼν πέντε τάλαντα παρὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὡμολόγησε πρεσβεύσειν καὶ δεήσεσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἴτε τῇ φιλίᾳ πιστεύων, εἴτε προσδοκῶν μεστὸν εὑρήσειν ὥσπερ λέοντα φόνου κεκορεσμένον. Ἔπεισε δ' οὖν καὶ παρῆτήσατο τοὺς ἄνδρας ὁ Δημάδης [Cod. Mat. Φωκίων!] καὶ διήλλαξεν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν."

As in the similar case of Ἕρμιππος ὁ ποιητής, quoted above, the semi-learned librarius probably remembered having read somewhere that Phocion had also been one of the members of this embassy, and accordingly inserted his name in place of Demades, either with a view to displaying his learning or, what appears even more likely, because he wished to give the credit and honor of so eminently successful a mission to Phocion as the worthier man of the two, for upon your monkish scribes such ancient paragons of virtue as Aristeides and Phocion were sure to exert a particular fascination.

Finally, I adduce Dem. c. 14, 23. In this paragraph, Theopompus, according to our MSS, is quoted for a statement which is in the highest degree complimentary to Demosthenes. The Cod. Mat., however, again writes Θεόφραστος. As Graux (l. c. p. 47) takes special pains to show that here his Madrid MS has preserved the original reading, it will be necessary to dwell upon this point somewhat more in detail. His chief argument in favor of the new variant seems to be that Theopompus, being a most bigoted partisan of Macedon, would scarcely have said anything so complimentary of Philip's greatest opponent. The assertion, however, that blind partisanship necessarily incapacitates an author from doing justice to a great opponent by occasionally chronicling a noble trait of his character is absurd. It is, more-

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over, sufficiently refuted in the case of Theopompus by three passages in the Life of Demosthenes,[1] and is primarily the result of a most profound misconception of Theopompus' character. For if the historian had really been the man Graux assumes him to have been, how then, I ask, are we to explain away the statement of Polybius[2] that Theopompus had also attacked his great hero, the Macedonian Philip, for the extreme laxity of his morals? Surely the historian who did not shrink from upbraiding the mightiest man of his own party cannot have been constitutionally incapable of occasionally praising a great opponent.

But even supposing for a moment such to have been the case, it was certainly incumbent upon Graux to show that if the reading Θεόπομπος is wrong, that of Θεόφραστος is pre-eminently right. He did not, however, even so much as attempt to do this. As a matter of fact, it is so far from being the case that the critic would actually have found himself compelled to decide in favor of the accepted reading, if our MSS had been divided upon this point instead of being altogether unanimous. For if Theopompus was partial to Macedon, this was unquestionably true, in no less degree, of Theophrastus, the pupil and life-long friend of Aristotle, who throughout all his voluminous writings has never so much as an allusion to Demosthenes, not even in his Rhetoric, although this work, as Dionysius[3] has clearly demonstrated, was published when the fame of the orator had long been established. And if we further add that among the pupils of Theophrastus, himself a friend of Antipater, there were not a few who openly espoused the Macedonian cause, while his greatest pupil, Demetrius Phalereus, actually governed Athens for ten years in the interest of Cassander, we will not be inclined to attribute to the teacher any pronounced love of Athenian democracy. On the contrary, Theophrastus had, if anything, which cannot be said of Theopompus, ample grounds for cherishing a decided resentment against an immediate descendant of Demosthenes, the well known Democharcs. In the year 306, one Sophocles succeeded in carrying a law that no one of the philosophers, on penalty of death, should preside over a school unless the council and the people had passed a resolution sanctioning his doing so.[4]

[1] Cf. ch. 3, 18. 23; 21, 14.

[2] VIII 11.

[3] Dionysius, Ep. ad Amm. c. XI sqq.

[4] Cf. Diog. Laert. V 38; Pollux, IX 42; Athen. XIII 610e; Wilamowitz, Antigonos, p. 270.

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Theophrastus, fearing for his life, fled from Athens. Sophocles was a year later accused παρανόμων, and his defence, though unsuccessful, was undertaken by none other than the above-mentioned nephew of Demosthenes. If additional evidence were needed to show that Theophrastus cannot have been particularly well disposed toward the greatest of Athenian orators, it is furnished by two passages of Plutarch's biography (c. 10, 14 sqq.), in one of which the philosopher is reported to have given his preference to the notorious Demades as against the patriotic Demosthenes. Other things, therefore, being equal, the reading of the Madrid MS cannot possibly command our approval, even if it were more strongly supported by MS authority than it is.[1] In fact, the examples which have been adduced possess sufficient argumentative validity to justify the contention that *we are not at liberty to accept as genuine any proper name if found only in the Codex Matritensis, unless it can be demonstrated by internal evidence of an overwhelming nature that the reading of our other MSS is altogether untenable*, and hence we conclude that inasmuch as no such evidence can be found in favor of the Ταραντίνου, it must unhesitatingly be rejected as an interpolation.[2] What may have prompted the scribe to make the addition in question cannot, of course, be asserted with confidence. I am, however, strongly inclined to believe that it owed its origin to a dittography of the τινός, a conjectural effort at all events not unworthy of him who inserted ὁ ποιητής and Φωκίων.

The Ταραντίνου being disposed of, I may now take up the reading of our MSS, διὰ Τύλλου τινὸς. This individual is absolutely unknown to us, and yet we might suppose that the writer of this recondite piece of family history might have been more definite as regards the name of this accommodating postillon d'amour, instead of still further evaporating him, as it were, by an addi-

[1] The error was an easy one, as the names of Theophrastus and Theopompus are frequently confounded; cf. Vita Dem. c. 25; Diog. Laert. V 126.

[2] Perhaps an additional argument for the spuriousness of Ταραντίνου may be derived from the fact that he is called Τύλλος, it being rather improbable that a Tarantine should rejoice in so old, so patrician, and above all so *rare* a cognomen. For with the exception of Tullus Hostilius and Attius Tullus (provided Attius Tullius be not the proper form here), it seems to occur only in the family of the Volcatii (Cic. ad Att. VIII 9, 3 et saepius) and in one Cluilius Tullus mentioned by Cic. Phil. IX 2, 4. 5, while in the *entire C. I. L.* we meet with it but *four times* and once as a praenomen; cf. C. I. L. V 7545, 2; VII [794] 1336, 1136; VIII 2556, 4, and I 1120–21 (Tullus Tullius).

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tional τινός. Some such reflection may have induced Xylander, one of the first editors of Plutarch, to conjecture Τυλλίου for Τύλλου, in order that, as he says, "*libertus aliquis Ciceronis intellegatur.*" This conjecture is, however, altogether improbable, as might easily be demonstrated by the very context of the passage, but even if we read Τυλλίου, we should be simply substituting the name of one unknown individual for another equally unknown. Nevertheless, all subsequent editors, although they were careful not to receive Xylander's emendation into their texts, have without exception given it a place in their critical annotations. As this was scarcely done out of any respect for the "manes" of the old critic, which would have been altogether too touching and unique a phenomenon in the history of philology, it must be taken as a sort of tacit indication that all editors of Plutarch instinctively felt something to be wrong, but hitting upon no satisfactory remedy they left the text undisturbed.

Now I venture to suggest that Plutarch wrote διὰ Κατύλλου, and not διὰ Τύλλου, as all our MSS have it. From a palaeographical point of view the emendation is so ridiculously simple as scarcely to deserve the name of a correction. The corruption arose out of a *dittography in a minuscule MS.* The archetypon had it διακατυλλου. This very easily became διαιατυλλου, the confusion between ι, κ and τ in minuscule writing being notoriously frequent, in fact they cannot be distinguished in nine cases out of ten, the sense alone determining which letter was intended. Now a later scribe simply omitted the apparently superfluous ια, and this the more readily as he could never have suspected that the name of Catullus lurked beneath the corruption, the works of this poet having been quite unknown throughout the middle ages. On the other hand, διὰ Τύλλου had a genuine Roman ring to it, and in consequence could not but prove acceptable to subsequent copyists. But if the emendation just proposed commends itself by reason of its remarkable palaeographical simplicity, it receives most weighty additional confirmation from the *context* itself. In the first place, Cicero and Catullus are known to have been acquainted, as is demonstrated by the famous eucharisticon (Carmen 49) of the poet, for I have never been able to find any really plausible reason for regarding the poem as ironical. Again, Plutarch is speaking of events which took place about the year 62 B. C., and curiously enough this is the very year which is generally assigned by scholars to Catullus' arrival in Rome and to the beginning of his

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acquaintance with the lady whom he immortalized in his poems. It was perhaps by some such service as that spoken of by Plutarch that he ingratiated himself into Lesbia's favor. But, be this a mere fancy, the coincidences just pointed out are altogether too remarkable to be attributable to mere accident, and, when added to the simplicity of the correction itself, are well calculated to make the emendation proposed all but certain.

If the outcome of this whole discussion had been nothing but the restoration of a genuine reading to the text of Plutarch it were indeed much ado about nothing. This is, however, far from being the case, for with the acceptance of my emendation the famous controversy as to the identity of Catullus' Lesbia and Clodia is once for all decided in favor of the affirmative, for, while the testimony of Apuleïus and the inference drawn from the Lesbius Pulcher, mentioned by the poet (Carm. 79, 1), furnished, after all, but circumstantial though very strong evidence in proof of this identity, we now find Catullus for the *first time* brought into direct and, as it were, historical connection with Clodia as her lover.

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V.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE INTERPRETATION OF THE VEDA.

Second Series.

The series of six Vedic studies here offered continues the work commenced in the article entitled 'Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda,' A. J. Ph. vii. 466–88. The circumstance which characterizes and binds together both series is the constant attention to the ritual practices which accompanies the recital of the hymns. The present series differs from the first in that it is not restricted to the Atharva-Veda, but includes some studies—notably the fifth—in which it is made manifest that the mantras of the other Vedas may obtain such illumination from the practices in which they were enveloped, as to render the interpreter dependent upon these for the understanding of the hymns.

Unquestionably much help in the exegesis of the Vedas may be expected from this quarter: a single touch in the practice may crystallize into plain, tangible reality some effusion which seems without it vague, nebulous, or apparently even nonsensical. There is, too, no doubt in the mind of the writer but what this side of Vedic study—the study of the antiquities, the 'realien'—has been unduly neglected. The charge which is brought against Vedic interpreters with greatest frequency and predilection is that their translations are vaguely general, offering not infrequently a more or less unintelligible jingle of words in the place of plain sense. We may not hope to remove this difficulty with the aid of ritualistic studies alone, but it is believed that such studies will assume a place of growing importance in the workshop of the Vedic student, and that they will contribute largely to set aside the justice of this accusation. The ritualistic employment of the hymns is often very external, often very symbolic and secondary, but it is frequently also very direct. And even the most secondary application of a mantra-passage may be suggestive: the very error in viewing the hymn—conscious or unconscious on the part of the Vedic priest—may yield that subtle suggestion which renders clear the sense of a passage previously considered as pregnant with obscure and complicated sentiment— a condition which

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we may regard with growing certainty as indicating every time that a given passage is simply misunderstood. The writer bespeaks for this second series a reception as friendly as that which was accorded to the first, and hopes that his methods may incite others to avail themselves of the valuable tools for the exegesis of the mantras which are stored away in the works of the brāhmaṇa and sūtra literature.

I.

On the jāyānya-charm, AV. vii. 76. 3-5, and the apacit-hymns (vi. 83; vii. 74. 1-2; vii. 76. 1-2) of the Atharva-Veda.[1]

The charm directed against the *jāyā́nya*, AV. vii. 76. 3 fg. is, in difficulty of explanation, not surpassed by any hymn of the AV. The Pet. Lex., and Böhtlingk in the abridged lexicon of the Petersburg Academy, gloss the word simply by 'eine bestimmte krankheit.' Adalbert Kuhn, in Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, xiii. 155, and Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 377, regard it as identical with a disease called *jāyénya* in TS. ii. 3. 5. 1–3; 5. 6. 4–5; the *jāyénya* is there mentioned in connection with diseases called *yákṣma* (*rājayakṣmá*, *pāpayakṣmá*, etc.), which are currently believed to be designations of consumption. Ludwig, Der Rig-Veda iii. pp. 342, 500, explains it as being directed against poisonous insects. In translating the hymn, I shall for the present leave *jāyā́nya* untranslated, as also the second half of stanza 4, containing the word *akṣita* which has hitherto been misunderstood by the translators.

3. 'The *jāyā́nya*, which crushes the bones of the back, which penetrates the *talíḍyà*, also whatever one is fixed upon the head, every one I have driven out.'[2]

5. 'We know, O *jāyānya*, thy origin, whence thou didst spring; how canst thou strike here, in whose house we offer oblations?'

The fourth verse begins: 'The *jāyānya*, furnished with wings, flies, he settles down upon man'; the second half of the stanza reads: *tád dkṣitasya bheṣajám ubhdyoḥ súkṣatasya ca.* The Petersburg lexicons, and Whitney in the Index, read *dkṣitasya* without emending; the former translate the word by 'unverletzt,' which yields no clear meaning, when applied to the passage: 'this is the

[1] Presented to the American Oriental Society at its meeting, October, 1887.

[2] For the explanation of *talíḍyà* and *nír ástam* of the MSS of the vulgate see the next number of this series.

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remedy for him who is not injured (?) and also for him who is injured.' Both Zimmer and Ludwig recognize the antithetical character of *á-kṣitasya* and *sú-kṣatasya*, and they emend each in a different direction: Ludwig reads *súkṣitasya* to correspond to *ákṣitasya*, Zimmer *ákṣatasya* to correspond to *súkṣatasya*. Ludwig then translates: 'das ist das mittel gegen den nicht festsitzenden, und auch gegen den festsitzenden.' Zimmer finds support for his reading *ákṣatasya*, and at the same time for his theory that the charm is directed against a kind of consumption, in the word *kṣata*, which is reported by Wise in his 'Commentary on the Hindu system of medicine,' p. 321, to have the special value of 'rupture, or ulcer of the respiratory organs.' Zimmer translates accordingly: 'hier habe ich ein heilmittel für den menschen, der den *kṣata* noch nicht hat und den, der schwer an ihm erkrankt ist.'

The ritual offers us a suggestion which points in a very different direction. In the Kāuçika-sūtra 31. 11, and in Dārila's comment to Kāuç. 32. 11, 13, we find mention of a disease called *akṣata*. The phrase *akṣatabhāiṣajyam*, which Dārila employs, can have but one value, that of 'remedy for *akṣata*.' Moreover, the passage 32. 11 fg., which is entitled by Dārila *akṣatabhāiṣajyam*, describes the ritual connected with the charm under discussion. We are left, however, to find the real character of the disease by implication from the practices reported in the ritual. The clearest passage is Kāuç. 31. 11 fg.:

11. *idam id vā ity akṣatam mūtraphenenā 'bhyudya.*

Dārila: *mānuṣamūtraphenena aruṁdhuṁ (?) kledayati* 'while reciting the hymn AV. vi. 57 he moistens the *akṣata* with the urine of a human being.'

12. *prakṣipati.* Dārila: *tato mūtram prakṣipati pāṇinā* 'he throws the urine with his hand (upon the *akṣata*).'

13. *dantarajasā 'vadegdhi.* Dārila: *dantamalinā "limpaty akṣatam* 'he smears the *akṣata* with the scourings from teeth.'

Much less simple and clear is the ritual connected with the *jāyānya*-charm, Kāuç. 32. 11 fg.:

11. *yaḥ kīkasā iti piçīlavīṇātantrīm badhnāti.* Dārila: *piçīlavīṇā tasyās tantrīm badhnāti, akṣatabhāiṣajyam.*

12 *tantryā kṣitikām.* Dārila: *tasyā* (Cod. *tarasyā*) *vīṇāyāḥ kṣitikāṁtayāi 'va taṁtryā badhnāti kṣitikārabhasyopari tṛṇaḍaṁkha-* (! for *-khaṇḍa-*?) *rohyādanārthaḥ (?).*

13. *vīriṇavadhrīṁ svayammlānaṁ triḥ samasya.* Dārila: *badhnāti, akṣatabhāiṣajyam.*

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The practice described in Kāuç. 31. 11 fg. is clear in one regard: it refers to some external trouble; and we are certainly not too bold if we allow the obvious etymology of *dkṣata* 'not cut, not wounded,' to guide us. The assumption that *akṣata* means 'a tumor, boil,' or the like, not caused by a weapon, seems almost unavoidable as far as the ritual is concerned.[1]

The same result, in a less severely technical form, must be applied to the passage of the AV. under discussion. It is to be translated as follows, after emending *dkṣitasya* to *dkṣatasya*:

'Here is a remedy both for (boils or sores) not caused by cutting, as well as for wounds sharply cut.' And there seems to be no ground to doubt the intelligence of the Sūtra, when it states that the hymn was directed against such a disease as tumors. We are thus led to identify *jāyánya* with *dkṣata*, or at least we are justified in believing that the *jāyānya* refers to some external skin disease.

Ludwig's interpretation of the *jāyānya*-charm, as being directed against an obnoxious insect of that name, evidently rests upon two grounds. First, the statement in the fourth verse: *pakṣí jāyányaḥ patati sá á viçati púruṣam*, which he translates 'der vogel Jāyānya fliegt, und komt in den menschen hinein.'

The sentence has been translated above more literally, 'the *jāyānya*, furnished with wings, flies, he settles down upon man'; and it is evident that a disease which manifests itself externally may easily have been conceived as having flown on to the body. It will appear below that similar expressions have given rise to what I cannot but regard as an erroneous explanation of the *apacit*-hymns.

An absolutely certain case in which disease, not insects, is conceived as flying forth when it leaves the body, is contained in RV. x. 97. 13: *sākáṁ yakṣma prá pata cāṣeṇa kikidīvínā sākáṁ vátasya dhrájyā* 'O *yakṣma*, fly forth, fly with the blue jay, fly with the current of the wind'; cf. KZ. xiii. 70.

Secondly, the first part of the hymn is actually devoted to a charm against the *apacit*, which Ludwig, together with all other interpreters, also believes to refer to noxious insects. This brings us to the second part of our enquiry.

[1] This explanation was advanced by the author in the P. A. O. S. for Oct. 1887 (Journal, vol. xiii. p. ccxvi), before he had access to the paddhati of Keçava. The latter says at Kāuç. 31. 11: *akṣitavraṇabhāiṣajyam ucyate . . . yasya vraṇasya mukhaṁ nā 'sti, akṣataduṣṭavraṇe bhāiṣajyam.* See also Keç. at 31. 15; 32. 11 fg.

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The AV. contains three charms against *apacit*: vi. 83; vii. 74. 1, 2; and vii. 76. 1, 2, the first part of the hymn just discussed. Aside from these passages, the word *apacit* is referred to incidentally in vi. 25; it does not occur in any other Saṁhitā in this form. The two Petersburg lexicons, Kuhn in KZ. xiii. 155, Ludwig in Rig-Veda iii. 342, 500, Zimmer in Altindisches Leben 54, 97, and Florenz in Bezzenberger's Beiträge xii. 280, regard the *apacit* as a certain noxious insect. The internal evidence of the hymns, which seems at first sight to make for such an interpretation, is as follows. In vi. 83 the *apacit* are called upon to fly away: vi. 83. 1, *ápacitaḥ prá patata suparṇó vasatér iva*, 'fly away, O ye *apacit*, as a bird from its nest'; vi. 83. 2, *asúlikā rāmāyaṇy àpacít prá patiṣyati glāur itáḥ prá patiṣyati*, 'the *apacit*, the daughter of the black one, without bearing offspring, shall fly away; the *glāu* (Pet. Lexicons and Zimmer, 'the boil'; Ludwig, 'the owl') shall fly away.' It is to be noted that these passages regard *apacit* from a point of view converse to that from which *jāyānya* is viewed in vii. 76. 4: 'the *jāyānya*, winged, flies, he settles down upon man.' The *jāyānya* is depicted in the act of coming on before the exorcism has been performed; the *apacit*, as going away after the potent influences have been set to work. Ludwig consistently regards one and the other as referring to insects; Zimmer sees insects in the *apacit*, consumption in the *jāyānya*.

Aside from these passages, there is but one phrase, not at all free from obscurity, in vi. 25, which can be employed to support this view of the *apacit*:

1. *Páñca ca yáḥ pañcāçát ca saṁyánti mányā abhí,*
   itás táḥ sárvā naçyantu vākā́ apacítām iva.
2. *Sápta ca yáḥ saptatíç ca saṁyánti grāívyā abhí, itás táḥ*, etc.
3. *Náva ca yá navatíç ca saṁyánti skándhyā abhí, itás táḥ*, etc.

'The five and fifty which assemble upon the back of the head, let them pass away from here *vākā́ apacítām iva*.'

Kuhn, in KZ. xiii. 130, translates: 'wie die schwärme der apacits.' The Petersburg lexicons, and Florenz ibid. translate: 'as the buzzing of the apacits,' a translation supported only by the supposed etymology of the word (root *vac*), aside from the preconceived notion that the *apacit* are insects. The stem *vākā́* occurs nowhere else in the meaning 'buzzing'; it means 'formula, recitation,' and the like.

Against this feeble testimony the remaining context of the hymns themselves protests most emphatically. I claim for *apacit*

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the meaning of 'sore, pustule, boil,' or the like. AV. vii. 76. 1, 2 is to be translated somewhat as follows:

1. 'The *apacit*, which are more evil than the evil ones (i. e. the most virulent), those which are drier than the *sehu* (an obscure designation for a part of the human body, mentioned in the Kāṭhakasaṁhitā 34. 12 along with the spleen, *sehuç ca plihā ca*: Ludwig translates it by 'harz'), those which are moister than salt, these fall off more easily than the easily falling one (i. e. fall off most easily; read perhaps, in accordance with the demands of the metre, *á susrásaḥ susrastarāḥ?*).

2. 'The *apacit* which are upon the neck, and those which are upon the breast, and those which are upon the *vijāman* (Ludwig, 'knöchel'; Pet. Lex., 'members of the body which are in pairs'), fall off by themselves.'

The implication in both verses is that the *apacit* will fall off easily owing to the potency of the charm. Surely there can be no insects implied; difficult as it may be to imagine that there are insects which are drier than the *sehu* and moister than salt, the applicability of such adjectives to sores or boils is very palpable. The subdivision of flying insects into such as belong to the neck, to the breast, etc., is also extremely doubtful, but most natural in the case of different phases of some skin-disease.

AV. vii. 74. 1, 2 may be translated as follows:

1. 'We have heard it said that the mother of the black *apacit* is red; with the root found by the divine sage do I strike all these.

2. 'I strike the foremost one of them, and I strike also the middlemost one of them; this hindmost one I cut off like (i. e. as easily as) a bunch of hair.'

And AV. vi. 83:

1. 'Fly away, O ye *apacit*, as a bird from the nest; may the sun effect a remedy; may the moon shine you away.

2. 'One is variegated, one is white, one is black, and two are red; I have caught the names of all of them. Go away, ye slayers of men.

3. 'The *apacit*, the daughter of the black one, without bearing offspring, will fly away; the boil will fly away, the *galunta* (swelling?)[1] will perish.'

[1] Wise, p. 311, has, "*Gilin.* The swelling in this disease is like the swelling of a plum, not painful, but hard; and is produced by diseased phlegm, and blood." Or is this rather *gilāyu* 'a hard boil in the throat'? see Pet. Lex. sub voce.

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Here the manifestation of a certain kind of insect in so many different colors is improbable; at the best it would be necessary to see in the name *apacit* a very generic term for insects. On the other hand, the emphatic mention of different colors—black, red, white, variegated—is a likely product of even superficial observation in the case of skin-diseases, and is paralleled by i. 23, a charm directed against *kilāsa*, leprosy or the like:

1. 'By night thou didst grow, O plant, thou sable one, dark one, black one; do thou, who art full of color, stain the leprous, gray spot?

2. 'Drive away from here what is leprous and gray, and also what is variegated; may your own color settle down upon you, and cause the white spots to fly away.'

In the ritual to i. 23 and 24 (Kāuç. 26. 22 fg.), after dung has been rubbed upon the discolored spot until it becomes red, the sores are cut off: 22. *naktaṁjātā suparṇo jāta iti mantroktaṁ* (Dārila: *çvitraṁ*, Cod. *svitraṁ*) *çakṛd ā lohitam* (Dār. *yāval lohitaṁ çvitrasthānam* [Cod. *svitra-*] *āgatam*) *praghṛṣyā "limpati. 23. palitāny ācchidya.* With this last phrase we may compare directly the pāda *á chinadmi stúkām iva* in the *apacit*-hymn (vii. 74. 2[d]).

We are not favored by the ritualistic writings of the AV. with a distinct explanation of the term *apacit*.[1] But an unbiased application of the statement of the sūtra will not fail to corroborate the interpretation which is here advanced. Kāuç. 31. 16 fg. rubricates two of the *apacit*-hymns: 16. *apacita ā susrasa iti kiṁśyādīni* 'with the two hymns vi. 83 and vii. 76 he applies the performances which begin with the use of the shell.' Kāuç. 30. 16 tells what these performances are: *kiṁśya-çvajāmbīlo-'dakarakṣikā-maçakādibhyāṁ* (*!*) *dañçayati.* 'He rubs (the place) with (moisture from a) shell (Dārila: *kiṁśyaḥ çaṁkhaḥ, . . . kiṁśyenā "lepanaṁ*), smears it with the saliva of a dog, then subjects it to the bite of leeches, gnats, etc. (? Dārila: *udakarakṣikā jalūkādigṛhakolikā*). Kāuç. 31. 17 continues: *lohitalavaṇaṁ saṁkṣudyā 'bhiniṣṭhīvati.* Dārila: *sāindhavalavaṇaṁ cūrṇīkṛtyā 'paciti kṛtvā tam abhimukhe niṣṭhīvet.* 'Having ground up rock-salt, having placed it upon the *apacit*, he spits against that (salt).'

The entire treatment seems to be in accordance with modern ideas of therapeutics. The boil is softened by mucous applica-

[1] Keçava's paddhati does explain the term very directly by *gaṇḍamālā*; see 31. 16 fg.; 32. 8 fg.

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tions, then leeches are applied, after which a sort of poultice of ground rock-salt, rendered soft and pulpy by saliva, is placed upon the opening, for astringent purposes.

The ritual which the Sūtras present for vii. 74 is less pointed, but certainly contains nothing which militates against our view. The passage is Kāuç. 32. 8 fg.: 8. *apacitām iti vāiṇavena dārbhyūṣeṇa* (var. *-ūṣeṇa*) *kṛṣṇorṇājyena kālabundāi stukāgrāir iti mantroktam.* Dārila: *dhanuṣadorbhyuṣaṇa* (! for *dhanuṣā dārbhyuṣeṇa?*) *darbhavikārā darbhirajjuḥ . . . kṛṣṇorṇā jyā yasya tasya tat . . . tena dhanuṣā kālabundāir bundā iṣavaḥ tāiḥ kṛṣṇavarṇāiḥ stukāgrāiḥ, ūrṇāstukāgrāi stukā jaṭo 'cyate tāir mantroktaṁ vidhyati, apacitam ity arthaḥ.*

9. *caturthyā 'bhinidhāyā 'bhividhyati.*

10. *jyāstukājvālena.* Dārila: *jyāyā stukayā 'vajvālaḥ . . . tena avasiñcati apacitam.*

Here the practice is rather symbolical than therapeutical. With black arrows, which have flakes of wool tied to their points (cf. vii. 74. 2[d]: *chinadmi stukām iva*) and which are shot from a bow made of reed, furnished with a *dārbhyūṣa* (*? darbhirajjuḥ*) and with a bowstring made of black wool, he strikes the *apacit* (cf. vii. 74. 2: *vídhyāmy āsām prathamắm*, etc.). With the fourth (verse of the hymn?), having laid on (an arrow?), he hits against the *apacit.* Finally he washes it off with a lotion produced by heating the bowstring and dipping it into water, which is thus made warm; cf. Kāuç. 27. 29 and 33.

In support of this explanation I am fortunately able to bring the authority of the medical Çāstras, which seems to have escaped the eyes of the earlier interpreters of *apacit.* Wise, in his digest of Hindu medicine—a work whose value would be increased manifold if it were provided with an index of its countless names of diseases, plants, and remedies—has a most significant passage bearing upon this point on p. 315:

"Scrofulous swellings (*Gandamālā*).

"When many small tumors like plums appear in the axilla, neck, back, and groins (!), they are produced by diseased fat and phlegm. They suppurate slowly, and continue to appear and suppurate for a long period, when it is called *Apachi* (!)."

Some of the features of the treatment are worthy of notice for their coincidence with the practice of the sūtras:

"Different *fomentations . . . and poultices* are applied, and

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when they (i. e. the tumors) suppurate, open, and discharge the matter, wash the wound with a decoction of *bilwa*, etc. . . . A poultice made of tila, and the leaves of the castor-oil tree *mixed with salt*, and applied to the part (!) . . . When the disease is produced by bile, *apply leeches.*"

After this exposition of the nature of the disease, we need hardly beg indulgence for the following etymology. Kuhn, KZ. xiii. 155, explains the word as 'die abmagernden (sc. insecten).' The first value of root *ci* with *apa* in the Pet. Lex. is 'ablesen,' 'pick off.' The disease seems to be viewed as 'an act of scaling or paring off' the foreign excrescences on the body. We may compare semasiologically Lat. *scabies*, *scabere*, Germ. *die schabe*, *schaben*, Engl. *scab*.

At VS. xii. 97 we find mention of the disease *upacit* in juxtaposition with *balāsa*, *drças*, etc. I make no doubt that this is the same disease with its name altered by a popular etymology, which is probably felt correctly by Mahīdhara, when he glosses thus: *upacinvanti çarīraṁ vardhayanti 'ty upacitaḥ* '(they are called) *upacit*, because they cover over the body and cause it to swell.'

Returning now to the hymn AV. vi. 25, in which the *apacit* are mentioned incidentally, we find that the translators have failed to define its purpose sufficiently. Kuhn, KZ. xiii. 128, treats the hymn under the head of 'Sieben und siebzigerlei krankheit'; he compares it with Germanic formulas directed against fever and other diseases, which are often described as being of seventy-seven varieties. Florenz, in Bezz. Beiträge xii. 281, does not feel quite certain that the charm is directed against disease at all, but thinks it possible that some febrile disease, accompanied by eruptions, is in question. There is, however, no indication, either in the hymn or in its ritual, of the presence of fever in connection with the disease. The hymn simply states that the fifty-five which are upon the back of the head, and the seventy-seven which are upon the neck, and the ninety-nine which are upon the shoulders, shall pass away. The ritual is clearly directed against a disease similar to the *apacit*, a kind of boil or tumor. Kāuç. 30. 14 fg. is as follows:

14. *pañca ca yā iti pañca pañcāçalam paraçuparṇān kāṣṭhāir ādīpayati.* 'With AV. vi. 25 he kindles by means of pieces of wood fifty-five palāça-leaves, which have the form of an axe.

15. *kapāle praçṛtaṁ* (Dār. *parṇarasam*) *kāṣṭhenā "limpati.* 'The sap of the leaves which has boiled forth from the leaves he smears upon the tumor.'

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16. Continues with the same process which figures prominently in the treatment of the *apacit*, the smearing with the fluid from a shell, etc., as described above.

Neither the sūtras nor Ḍārila, however, report anything directly about the symptoms or the name of the disease.[1] I believe, however, that a part of the deficiency can be supplied from the Çāstras. Wise, ibid. p. 316, reads as follows:

"Tumors of the neck (*Manskunder*).

"Is a variety of the Gandamālā or scrofulous swellings. They are hard and large, and when they suppurate they should be opened. After which the cavity is to be cleaned with astringent washes."

The suggestion that '*manskunder*' veils the words *mánya* and *skándhya* contained in this hymn will scarcely fail to gain assent. It would seem perhaps too that we must supply with the words *mánya*, *grāivya*, *skándhya* some word having the meaning of 'tumor' or the like, not 'sinews' or 'muscles,' as the previous translations have done. To such a construction points also the statement of the Anukramaṇī, *pañca ca yā iti mantroktamanyāvināçanadevatyam.*

The word *vāká* in the refrain, *vāká apacítām iva*, is translated by Kuhn as 'swarms (of *apacit*)'; by the Pet. Lexicons and Florenz, as 'buzzing.' With the change of attitude towards the hymn which is here recommended, neither of these translations is acceptable. As it seems impossible to retain the word, we may perhaps resort to an emendation based upon the well-known confusion in the MSS of *v* and *p*:[2] we read *pāká apacítām iva* 'may they (the tumors) pass away like the pustules of the *apacit*.' The implication would then be that the tumors in question are 'hard and large' (Wise, ibid.), and that the *apacit* are more easily brought to the point of breaking open.

II.

On the ἅπ. λεγ. talidyà, AV. vii. 76. 3.[3]

In the preceding article we endeavored to explain AV. vii. 76; in the third stanza of the hymn certain words were left undiscussed. To these we now return.

[1] Keçava, however, says outright: *atha gaṇḍamālābhāiṣajyam ucyate* (30. 14).

[2] Cf. *upolava* and *upolapa*, Kāuçika-sūtra, introduction, p. xlviii.

[3] Presented to the A. O. S. at its meeting, October, 1890.

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ydḥ kíkasāḥ praçṛṇáti talīḍyàm avatiṣṭhati
nír ástaṁ sárvaṁ jāyányaṁ yáḥ káçca kakúdi çritáḥ.

As *jāyánya* is masculine, *sárvaṁ jāyányaṁ* are accusatives, and Whitney's hesitating emendation to *nirastam* 'has been expelled,' is unacceptable. See Index Verborum to the AV. p. 43*. I emend to *nír āstham*, first person singular of the aorist of that root[1] *asth* whose existence Pischel has recently established in the Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen of June 20, 1890, Nr. 13, p. 530 fg.; *nír āstham . . . jāyányam*, 'I have driven out the *jāyánya*,' is a perfect pendant to *vy àsthan* (*ví āsthat*) *mṛ́dhaḥ*, 'he has driven apart the enemy,' AV. xiii. 1. 5, and *mṛ́dha evá vy àsthata*, 'the enemy he has driven apart,' MS. iii. 1. 4 (5. 2). Cf. also Ludwig, Der Rig-Veda iii, p. 500. We may now translate: 'I have driven out every sore which causes to crumble the bones of the spine (so according to Böhtlingk's lexicon: *kíkasa* 2, 'Wirbelsäule'), also that which goes down to the *talīḍyà*, also whatever one is fixed upon the head.'

No one has hitherto ventured to translate the word *talīḍyà*: see Pet. Lex. and Bö. Lex. *sub voce*, and Ludwig, Der Rig-Veda iii. p. 500. If we consider that *kíkasāḥ* represents the trunk (middle) of the afflicted body and *kakúd* the head (top), it is *a priori* probable that *talīḍyà* represents the bottom of the body. The parallelism between *talīḍyàm avatiṣṭhati* and *kakúdi çritáḥ* is that which prevails in very many familiar expressions and proverbs which aim to emphasize the fact that the *entire* human body is meant: 'from head to foot'; 'vom scheitel bis zu den zehen'; *ab imis unguibus usque ad verticem summum* (Cic. p. Rosc. Com. 7. 12); *talos a vertice ad imos* (Hor. Ep. ii. 2. 4); ἐκ κεφαλῆς εἵλυτο διαμπερές ἐς πόδας ἄκρους (Hom. Il. 16. 640); ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν ἐς τὴν κεφαλήν σοι πάντ' ἐρῶ (Aristoph. Plutus 650), etc.

The Petersburg Lexicon cites the word *talahṛdaya*, 'die mitte der fusssohle,' from Hemacandra's Abhidhānacintāmaṇi. Böhtlingk, in his minor lexicon, stars the word to indicate that it cannot be quoted from the literature. The word, however, must occur in the medical çāstras, since it is quoted by Wise, Hindu System of Medicine, p. 70. It appears there as one of the *marmāṇi*, the vital parts of the body, and is described as being the part of the sole 'under and behind the fourth and fifth toe.' This refinement of the çāstra may be quietly set aside; but we

[1] Or perhaps better stem? Cf. the Greek formations in θ: νή-θω, ἐ-νη-θη, etc.

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may consider it as certain that the sole of the foot, or some part of it, was called in classical Sanscrit *talahṛdaya*. With this Vedic *talīḍyà* is perhaps identical, and, if so, it is likely that *talahṛdaya* is the product of the former by popular etymology. Hence too may come the specialization of the meaning which the çāstra attaches to the word (*tala* + *hṛdaya*). Whether *talīḍyà* independently of its possible offspring, *talahṛdaya*, is to be connected with *tala*, 'sole of the foot' (*pāda-tala*), Lat. *talus*, need not be decided in this connection. And if, as is by no means impossible, *talīḍyà* and *talahṛdaya* are of independent origin, I should nevertheless adhere to the translation of the former by 'sole of the foot.'

III.

On the so-called fire-ordeal hymn, Atharva-Veda ii. 12.[1]

This hymn has been invested in the past with quite unusual interest, because it has been translated no less than five times, aside from many chance references to it, and because it has been considered very generally as an incantation accompanying a fire ordeal, pronounced by the person undergoing the ordeal against his accusers. It was, moreover, thus rendered prominent as containing the earliest intimation of the existence of ordeals in general, and furthermore the only distinct allusion to the ordeals in the Vedic Saṁhitās.

So far as the existence in the Vedic period of the fire ordeal, in a germinal form at least, is concerned, we have the distinct report of the Pañcaviṅça-brāhmaṇa (xiv. 6. 6). Two Brahmans of the race of Kaṇva, Vatsa and Medāhtithi by name, are disputing, and in the course of the dispute Medhātithi accuses Vatsa of not being a Brahman, his mother having been a Çūdra-woman. Vatsa proposes an ordeal of fire to decide which one of them be the one more versed in brahmanical knowledge. Vatsa entered the fire singing the *Vātsa sāman*, i. e. a sāman-song of his own composition, and not a hair on his head was burned (*tasya na loma canāu "ṣat*). This, and a passage in the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad (6. 16) in which the guilt or innocence of a thief is determined by letting him carry in his hands a red-hot axe, are genuine Vedic (in the wider sense) instances of the existence of ordeals in general, and fire ordeals in particular. The later law books, furthermore, are quite explicit

[1] Presented to the A. O. S. at its meeting, October, 1887.

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in their treatment of various other ordeals—they recognize nine altogether—such as licking a red-hot ploughshare, getting a metal coin from a kettle of hot melted butter, immersion into water, administering of poison, etc.

Standing upon such ground, the supposition that a Vedic hymn might be found which accompanied this religious and judicial act was very natural. It was accordingly made for this hymn, first by Emil Schlagintweit in an address before the Royal Bavarian Academy on the occasion of the 170th anniversary of its foundation, in March, 1866, entitled 'Die Gottesurtheile der Indier.' In 1873 Albrecht Weber translated the hymn a second time in his Indische Studien, xiii. p. 164 fg., supporting in all essentials Schlagintweit's view. Later, Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 184, and Ludwig, Rig-Veda iii. p. 445, also gave in their adhesion to this interpretation. Still more recently Kaegi in his excellent treatise entitled Alter und Herkunft des germanischen Gottesurtheils (Festschrift zur Begrüssung der xxxix. Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Zürich; September, 1887), p. 51, has characterized the eighth verse of the same hymn as an utterance spoken over one about to pass through a fire-ordeal. Against this authority there has been but one dissenting voice. J. Grill, a disciple of Roth, has translated the hymn in his 'Hundert Lieder des Atharva-Veda,' p. 16 (cf. now also the second edition, pp. 47. 87), and cautiously places it, along with a number of other hymns, under the heading 'Feinde'; i. e. he supposes it to be directed against enemies. In his notes he expresses himself as not altogether convinced that the view of his predecessors is incorrect, but he cites an oral statement of Prof. Roth to the effect that he finds himself unable to detect anything pertaining to a fire-ordeal in the hymn.

I believe that the character of this hymn can be settled definitely by considering its treatment in the Kāuçika, which a literal unprejudiced translation of the hymn itself will exhibit as perfectly intelligent; in all probability the ritual application and the diaskeuasis, which united the somewhat variegated materials of which the hymn consists, sprung up at the same time and as the result of the same ideas and needs. It is a fierce imprecation against an enemy who is thwarting some pious work with unholy practices. Accordingly it is treated in the sixth book of that treatise, which professes in its opening sūtra that it is devoted to *abhicāra*, witchcraft and incantation. In such practices our hymn

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must have held a very prominent position, as it has a special and very significant name, which is the privilege of only a few favored and commonly employed hymns. It is called (Kāuç. 47. 12) *bharadvājapravraska* 'the hewer or cleaver of Bharadvāja' (who is the author; cf. ii. 12. 3). The passage in question is a paribhāṣā-sūtra introductory to the sixth book, and reads as follows: *bharadvājapravraskenā"ṅgirasaṁ daṇḍaṁ vṛçcati.* Dārila glosses: *dyāvāpṛthivī urv antarikṣam iti sūktam bharadvāja(pra)vraskam bharadvājasampratyayārtham.* A literal translation of the sūtra is: 'With the cleaver of Bharadvāja (i. e. with the hymn AV. ii. 12) he cuts a staff for practices pertaining to witchcraft.' The real value of the passage is as follows: 'When in the course of rites described in the following book (the sixth, devoted to *abhicāra*) a staff for witchcraft[1] is needed, then this staff is to be cut with the hymn called the 'cleaver of Bharadvāja,' i. e. ii. 12. Cf. especially verse 2d: *vṛçcāmi táṁ kúliçene 'va vṛkṣáṁ yó asmā́kam mána idáṁ hinásti* 'I cut him who interferes with this our plan, as one cuts a tree with an axe.' A staff so procured is then employed variously in Kāuç. 47. 14, 16, 18; 48. 22. In 47 16 the function of this staff is sketched clearly as follows: *vajro 'si sapatnahā tvayā 'dya vṛtraṁ sākṣīya . . . iti daṇḍam ādatte*, the person about to practice with such a staff takes it up while reciting the verse: 'Thou art a thunderbolt, a slayer of rivals, with thee may I to-day overcome an enemy, etc.' In 47. 18 the staff is employed actively in connection with the dire imprecation AV. vi. 134: *ayaṁ vajra iti bāhyato daṇḍam ūrdhvam avāgagraṁ tisṛbhir anvṛcaṁ nihanti*, reciting the hymn AV. vi. 134 ('May this thunderbolt satiate itself in *ṛtam*; may it overthrow the empire and destroy the life of this one. May it break necks and crush skulls, as the Lord of might [Indra] crushed [the neck and skull] of Vṛtra, etc.) he stands outside holding the staff high in the air, the point downward, and strikes it into (the ground) three times, once after each verse of the hymn.'

[1] My authority for translating *āṅgirasa* rather freely by 'pertaining to witchcraft' is Kāuç. 47. 2 (also a paribhāṣā-sūtra of the sixth book): *dakṣiṇataḥ saṁbhāram āharaty āṅgirasaṁ* 'utensils for the practice of witchcraft are brought on from a southerly direction.' Dārila's gloss is: *ghoradravyāṇām āharaṇaṁ vidhānāt.* Cf. also the three names of one of the five so-called *kalpas* of the Atharva-Veda: *āṅgirasa-kalpa, abhicāra-kalpa*, or *vidhāna-kalpa* (J. A. O. S. xi. 378). In the ritual of the Atharvan the word *āṅgirasa* generally means 'pertaining to witchcraft.' Cf. also Rig-vidhāna iv. 6. 4.

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Equally clear is the direct ritual application of the hymn. It is rubricated in Kāuç. 47. 25 fg.

25. *dyāvāpṛthivī urv iti paraçupalāçena dakṣinā dhāvataḥ padaṁ vṛçcati.*

Dār. *paraçuḥ kuṭhāraḥ palāçaṁ kuṭhāramukhaṁ dakṣiṇāyāṁ diçi dhāvataḥ dveṣyasya padam pādasthānaṁ chinatti.*

'One cuts the footprint of his enemy, as he runs in a southerly direction, with the blade of an axe, while reciting the hymn ii. 12.'

26. *anvak tris tiryak triḥ.*

Dār. *chedanavidhim āha: anupadarekhābhiḥ* (Cod. *anvupa-*) . . . *triḥ pṛthutvena tribhiḥ* (*!*).

'He cuts three (lines) along (the length of the footprint of the running enemy) and three (lines) across (the same).'

27. *akṣnayā* (thus emended: two MSS *akṣṇayāṁ;* five others *ayakṣṇayāṁ*) *saṁsthāpya.*

Dār. *akṣṇaḥ koṇaḥ koṇe na samāpanaṁ koṇa dvitvā* (! for *koṇe chittvā ?*) *dvayo rekhayoḥ kriyā pratirekhaṁ* (Cod. *-rcṣaṁ*) *sūktāvṛttiḥ, saṁsthāpye 'ti vacanaṁ prativraçcanagrahaṇam mā bhūt.*

Further on, sūtra 28 and 29 describe a method of testing the efficacy of this hostile practice:

28. *āvraskāt pāṁsūn*[1] *palāçam* (var. *palāça*) *upanahya bhraṣṭre* (var. *bhraṣṭe*) *'bhyasyati* (var. *nyasyati*).

Dār. *vṛçcitā adanyāṁçūn* (! for *vṛçcitād anyapāṁsūn?*) *gṛhītvā badhakaparṇe baddhvā* (Cod. *vadhvā*) *bhraṣṭe* (!) *lokaprasiddhe kṣipati.*

'He ties other dust obtained from the cut footprint into a leaf of the palāça-tree, and throws it into a frying-pan.'

29. *sphoṭatsu sṛtaḥ.*[2]

Dār. *çabda aṁçuṣu mṛto dveṣya iti jñeyaṁ.*

'If the dust crackles (in the pan) then (the enemy) has been overthrown.'

The sūtra then proceeds to prescribe still more elaborate and potent charms for the purpose of bringing the enemy down. But these do not cast any additional light upon the hymn.

In considering the hymn itself the first verse may be left aside for the present, as it is peculiarly the one upon which the explana-

[1] This reading, suggested in the note at Kāuç. 47. 28, is rendered certain by Keçava's explanation: *tasmāc chedāt pāṁsuṁ ca gṛhītvā . . .*

[2] So two MSS; three *çṛtaḥ;* one *sṛtaḥ;* one *srutaḥ;* one *smṛtaḥ.*

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tion as a fire-ordeal has sprung up. The translation of the remaining verses is as follows:

2. 'Hear this, O ye revered gods! Let Bharadvāja sing praises to you for me. May he who injures this our plan be bound in fetters and joined to misfortune.'

Schlagintweit translates the pāda *yó asmā́kam mánа iddʰ́ hiṅsti* by 'der diesen (unsern) geist beschädigt (d. i. schwur bezweifelt),' a translation and exposition absolutely arbitrary. Weber: 'Wer diesen meinen sinn beschädigt, d. i. meinen schwur antastet, mein wort bezweifelt.' Ludwig: 'der diesen meinen sinn anklagt (verläumdet).'

3. 'Hear, O soma-drinking Indra, what with eager heart I clamor for. I cleave, as one cleaves a tree with an axe, him who injures this our plan.

4. 'With the aid of thrice eighty sāman-singers, with the aid of the Ādityas, Vasus, and Angirases—may the pious merit of the (departed) fathers aid us—do I seize this one with fateful grasp.'

Schlagintweit supplies 'firebrand' in the last pāda, and translates: 'nehme ich jenen (feuerbrand) an mich mit göttlicher inbrunst.' Weber, in still more direct adherence to the hypothesis of a fire-ordeal, supplies 'glühendes beil' with *amum*, and translates 'mit göttlicher gluth nehme ich diesen an mich.' Ludwig: 'jenen (den verläumder) erfasse ich mit der göttlichen glut.' Zimmer: 'halte ich jenen (? feuerbrand? axt) mit göttlichem griff.' Grill: 'mit göttlich mächtigem griff erfass ich diesen.'

5. 'Let heaven and earth look after me, may all gods assist me. O ye Angirases, O ye fathers delighting in soma, may he who does harm enter into misfortune.

6. 'O ye Maruts, he who despises us, he who abuses the holy work that is being done (by us), may (our) zealous deeds be destructive for him, may the heavens burn the one hostile to holy acts.'

Then the poet takes the offensive; the metre changes. The passage is unmistakably employed in the sense claimed for the preceding verses by the diaskeuasts of the Atharvan, whatever the original purpose of its composition may have been.

7. 'I cut with my prayer your sevenfold breaths, your eightfold marrow; go to the seat of Yama, fitly prepared with Agni as guide.

8. 'I set your footstep upon the kindled fire. May Agni surround your body, may your voice go to the spirits.'

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Schlagintweit translates pādas 3 and 4, doing violence to the sense by supplying two conjunctions not in the text, '(entweder) soll das feuer in deinen leib einkehren, (oder) deine rede gehe zu leben.' The sense he imagines to be: 'If the word of the accuser is true, then he shall remain unharmed; if not, he shall be injured by fire.' Essentially in the same spirit are Weber's, Zimmer's, and Kaegi's renderings; while Ludwig, though he regards the hymn as a fire-ordeal, translates: 'Agni umhülle deinen leib, selbst die stimme geh.'

In Seven hymns of the Atharva-Veda, American Journal of Philology, Vol. vii. p. 476 (p. 11 of the reprint), I expressed the belief that the last two verses of this hymn are verses adapted for this imprecation from the funeral ritual. Grill had previously expressed the same view on p. 50 of the work cited above, and this view is supported by certain other instances quoted in my article, in which the secondary employment of verses belonging to the burial service may be assumed with some degree of certainty; cf. now No. 4 of this series.

The first verse is to be translated as follows: 'Heaven and earth and the broad mid-air, the goddess of the field and the wonderful far-stepping one (Viṣṇu),; the broad mid-air, guarded by the wind: may these be inflamed when I am inflamed (with fury).'

Schlagintweit: 'May these be burned here, if I am burned.' So also Weber, Ludwig, and Zimmer. Grill correctly: 'Die sollen glühen wenn mich Glut verzehret.' The appeal to heaven and earth and the misinterpreted fourth pāda are really the sole cause of the hypothesis of a fire-ordeal. The appeal to heaven and earth is in western minds strongly associated with asseverations of innocence. A similar construction of it for India is clearly unwarranted: at least this is certainly true so far as this hymn is concerned.

We must finally not ignore the negative evidence of the Kāuçika so far as ordeals in general are concerned. Though the book is perhaps the most comprehensive encyclopaedia of the manners and customs of India which we possess, there appears in it, as far as I am aware, no instance of an ordeal. There is mention, however, of a *prāyaçcitta*-ceremony, which is performed for a person over whom an accusation or evil reports are pending. The passage is Kāuç. 46. 1–3:

1. *utā 'mṛtāsuḥ çivās ta ity abhyākhyātāya prayacchati.* Dārila: *pratiṣiddhakarmakartṛtvenā 'bhiçastaḥ abhyākhyātaḥ tasmāi man-*

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thāudanāu (? Cod. *manthanāu*) *prāyacchati prāyaçcittaṁ* 'while reciting AV. v. 1. 7 and vii. 43. 1 (etc.) one gives (a stirred drink and a porridge?) to the person accused (of the performance of forbidden deed), as an expiatory act.'

2. *drughaṇaçiro rajjvā badhnāti* 'one ties an amulet consisting of the head of an axe with a string (to the accused person).'

3. *pratirūpam palāçāyolohahiraṇyānāṁ*. Dārila: *drughaṇaçiraḥsadṛçaḥ pālāçaḥ* (!) *prasiddhaḥ, ayaḥ kṛṣṇaloham, tāmraṁ hiraṇyaḥ suvarṇam etebhyaḥ drughaṇaçira iva kṛtvā badhnāti, abhyākhyātaprāyaçcittaṁ* '(that is) the image of an axe prepared out of palāça-wood, iron, copper or gold is tied to the accused, as an expiatory act.'

The entire performance seems to be undertaken for the purpose of reëstablishing a soiled reputation. The amulet in the form of the head of an axe is perhaps intended to symbolize the act of cutting away or warding off the evil reports circulating about the person.

IV.

Women as Mourners in the Atharva-Veda.[1]

In the Atharva-Veda xiv. 2. 59–62 we read as follows:

59. *yádī 'mé keçíno jánā gṛhé te sam ánartiṣū ródena kṛṇvantò 'ghám: agniṣ ṭvā tásmād énasaḥ savitā́ ca prá muñcatām.*

60. *yádī 'yám duhitā́ táva vikeçy árudad gṛhé ródena kṛṇvaty àghám: agniṣ ṭvā*, etc.

61. *yáj jāmáyo yád yuvatáyo gṛhé te sam ánartiṣū ródena kṛṇvatīr aghám: agniṣ ṭvā*, etc.

62. *yát te prajā́yāṁ paçúṣu yád vā gṛhéṣu niṣṭhitam aghakṛ́dbhir aghám kṛtám: agniṣ ṭvā*, etc.

This group of mantras form part of the wedding stanzas of the AV. They have been translated by Weber, Ind. Stud. v. 214; Ludwig, Der Rig-Veda iii. 475; Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 288–9. Ludwig's translation of the first three of these stanzas is as follows:

'Wenn hier langbehaarte leute bei deinem hause einen tanz aufgeführt haben, mit weinen böse vorbedeutung beabsichtigend (böses anstellend), soll Agni dich von dieser befleckung und Savitar befreien.' 59.

'Wenn hier deine tochter (sogar) mit zerstreutem haar beim

[1] Presented to the A. O. S. at its meeting, October, 1890.

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haus geheult, mit weinen böse vorbedeutung verursachend, soll Agni dich, etc.' 60.

'Wenn verwandte (schwestern sogar) junge frauen einen tanz bei deinem hause aufgeführt haben, mit weinen böse vorbedeutung verursachend, soll Agni dich, etc.' 61.

It is extremely difficult to imagine the situation depicted in Ludwig's version. He has not added any commentary, and in the absence of it one cannot see what particular part of the wedding rites are supposed by the translator to be implied in the recitation of these verses. Weber regards the stanzas as connected with expiatory performances in the house of the father, after the departure of the bride, and translates:

'Dass diese Haargeschmückten Leut' in deinem Haus zusamm' getanzt, Sünde thuend durch ihr Gejauchz,'— | Von diesem Uebel mög' Agni und Savitar freimachen dich.' 59.

'Dass diese deine Tochter dort im Hause weint' mit losem Haar, Sünde thuend durch ihr Gewein,'— | Von diesem Uebel, etc.' 60.

'Dass die Schwestern, dass die Jungfrau'n in deinem Haus zusamm' getanzt, Sünde thuend durch ihr Gejauchz,'— | Von diesem Uebel, etc.' 61.

The most notable feature in his version is the double translation of the word *ródena*: this is rendered by 'Gejauchz' in vss. 59 and 61, and by 'Gewein' in 60. Weber does not support his translation of the word *ródena* by 'gejauchz'—the word and the root *rud* in general mean 'howling, wailing'—by any other passages. He simply remarks that *ródena* in 59 (and 61) could refer to 'tears,' but that this does not fit in with the word 'dance' in the same stanza. Undoubtedly the difficulty of the passage as well as its solution are to be looked for at just this point—the reconciliation of the words *ródena* and *sam ánarṭiṣus*. Zimmer's translation agrees in all essentials with that of Weber: he also adopts the translation 'Gejauchz' in vss. 59 and 61, although his own doubts manifest themselves in a mark of interrogation after it. We may sum up Weber's and Zimmer's versions by stating that they regard 59 and 61 as *prāyaçcitta*-stanzas for boisterous merriment at the wedding, while 60 is by them viewed as a stanza uttered in expiation of the wailing of the bride as she leaves the paternal house.

Not so the sūtra. At Kāuç. 79. 30 stanza 59 is rubricated along with the pratīka of that most perplexing verse AV. xiv. 1.

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46=RV. x. 40. 6, *jīvaṁ rudanti*. This latter is employed at Çāṅkh. Gṛ. i. 15. 2 and at Āçv. Gṛ. 1. 8. 4. In both the stanza is recited by the bridegroom as he leaves with his newly married bride the house of her parents: *jīvaṁ rudantī 'ti prarudantyām* (Çāṅkh.); *jīvaṁ rudantī 'ti rudatyam* (Āçv.). 'If she cries, let him recite the verse which begins with the words *jīvaṁ rudanti*.' The passage Kāuç. 79. 30 reads *jīvaṁ rudanti yadī 'me keçina iti juhoti*. 'With the stanzas whose pratīkas are *jīvam rudanti* (xiv. 1. 46) and *yadī 'me keçinaḥ* (xiv. 2. 59) he pours an oblation of ghee (cf. Kāuç. 7. 3). Keçava's commentary plainly interprets the passage in accordance with the other sūtras: . . . *nīyamānāyāṁ pitṛgṛhe yadi rodanam bhavati tadā idaṁ prāyaçcittam . . . jīvaṁ rudantī 'ty ekayā yadī 'me keçina iti catasṛbhir etābhir ājyaṁ juhoti . . . rudana* (!) *-prāyaçcittaṁ samāptaṁ*. 'When the bride is led away, if wailing arises in the paternal house (of the bride), then this expiatory performance takes place. He pours an oblation of ghee, uttering the verse beginning with *jīvaṁ rudanti* (xiv. 1. 46), and the four verses beginning with *yadī 'me keçinaḥ* (xiv. 2. 59-62). Keçava's explicit statement that the four verses 59–62 are employed together in this *prāyaçcittam* is well worth noting; he is quite right, for nowhere else in the sūtra is there any mention of any other use of the three verses following 59. The next stanza rubricated in the Kāuçika is 63. See Kāuçika-sūtra, index D, p. 410, column 1.

If we cling to the indications of the sūtra, it becomes clear that there is in these mantras no allusion to wedding festivities and merry-making of any sort, as is assumed by Weber and Zimmer. We may also safely assume that their sense in the eyes of the redactors of the Atharvan was just the same as that in which the Kāuçika employs them. But it does not follow that this was their primary value. The Atharvan often adapts for its immediate practical uses mantras which originally were constructed for a purpose altogether foreign to that in hand. We have dwelt upon this point especially in Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, American Journal of Philology, vii, pp. 466 and 467 (pp. 1 and 11 of the reprint); the mantras in question represent a conspicuous instance of secondary adaptation to the purpose indicated by their ritual application.

Where shall we look for the situation originally depicted in these stanzas? Evidently we must seek an occasion at which wailing and dancing went together. This occasion is afforded by

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certain funeral practices recorded in the AV. and one or two sūtras. The verses which allude to them seem to have been generally misunderstood. AV. 12. 5. 48 states this quite clearly:

kṣiprám vái tásyā "dáhanam pári nṛtyanti keçinīḥ:
āghnānắḥ pāṇínó 'rasi kurvāṇắḥ pāpám āilabám.

This is a threat against the oppressor of Brahmans: 'Promptly do the women with their hair unloosened dance about his funeral pyre, beating their breasts with their hands and making an evil wailing.'[1] Every feature of the verse plays a part in the funeral ceremonies: 1. the funeral pyre; 2. the dance of women about the same; 3. the unloosened hair of the dancers; 4. the beating of the breasts of the women; 5. the wailing of the women. AV. xix. 32. 2 reads:

nắ 'sya keçắn prá vapanti nó 'rasi tắḍam ắ ghnate:
yásmā achinnaparṇéna darbhêṇa çárma yachati.

Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, p. 70, translates this verse quite erroneously as follows: 'wem dies gras schutz gewährt, dem raufen die leute die haare nicht aus, noch schlagen sie ihn auf die brust.' In fact the stanza contains the promise that he who uses *darbha*-grass shall not die and be buried: 'They do not cut his hair,[2] they do not beat their breasts for him whom (the priest) protects with *darbha*-grass whose leaves are uncut.' Here we have 6. an additional feature of the funeral ceremonies: the cutting of the hair of the corpse, in conjunction with 4. the beating of breasts. AV. viii. 1. 19 introduces features 3 and 5 again, palpably in allusion to funeral rites:

út tvā mṛtyór apīparam sáṁ dhamantu vayodhásaḥ:
mắ tvā vyastakeçyò mắ tvā 'gharúdo rudan.

'I have passed you over death . . . , may the women with disheveled hair not wail over you, may the women who bewail misfortune (or who wail ominously) not wail over you.' Similarly AV. xi. 2. 11: *paró yantv agharúdo vikeçyàḥ*,[3] 'may the females who wail ominously, they with disheveled hair, go away from

[1] Similarly the oppressor of Brahmans is threatened with a suggestion of his own funeral rites at AV. v. 19. 12 (cf. also xii. 5. 15). See P. A. O. S. for October 1889, Journal, Vol. xiv, p. clv, and below, p. 355.

[2] Cf. Āçv. Çr. vi. 10. 2: . . . . *pretālaṁkārān kurvanti keçaçmaçrulomanakhāni vāpayanti*. Also Āçv. Gr. iv. 1. 16.

[3] Grill, Hundert Lieder des AV.[2] p. 90, seems to put *agharúdo vikeçyàḥ* into agreement with *kroṣṭárāḥ*, in spite of the difference in gender.

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us,' *i. e.* 'may we not die.' Finally, AV. xi. 9. 14 presents features 3, 4 and 5, possibly also feature 2, if we admit the parallelism of *sam dhāv* with *sam nart* in xiv. 2. 59 fg. and *pari nart* in xii. 5. 48:

pratighnānā́ḥ sám dhāvantū 'raḥ paṭā́urāv[1] *āghnānā́ḥ:*
aghāríṇīr vikeçyò rudatyàḥ púruṣe haté radité arbude táva.

'Let those who beat against themselves run together striking their breasts and thighs, unanointed, with disheveled hair, wailing when a man has been slain, bitten by you, O Arbudi.' Stanza 7 of the same hymn contains the same statement paraphrased:

pratighnānā́ 'çrumukhī́ kṛ́dhukarṇī́ ca kroçatu:
vikeçī́ puruṣé haté radité arbude táva.

'Let her who beats herself, let the tear-faced, and the one with short ears (who has cut her ears?) shout; let her with disheveled hair shout when a man has been slain, bitten by you, O Arbudi.' Cf. also AV. xi. 10. 7:

dhūmā́kṣī sáṁ patatu kṛ́dhukarṇī́ ca kroçatu:
triṣandheḥ sénayā jité aruṇā́ḥ santu ketávaḥ.

'May she with suffused eyes (lit. having smoke in her eyes) hurry on, may she with short ears hurry on, when (the enemy) has been conquered by Triṣaṁdhi's army . . .'

The passages assembled above do not all of them bear upon our custom with equal directness. In one or the other we may perhaps have before us not so much the mourning women with their wailings as the notion of other uncanny spectral beings, to which the transition was an easy one. The enemy and the unholy wizard, the uncanny and the demoniacal, are conceptions which constantly interlace in the Atharvan. Such secondary extension may underlie the immediate meaning of the last two passages (xi. 9. 7; xi. 10. 7) and of xi. 2. 11 above.

The sūtra-ritual has a trace of the same practice. At Āçv. Gṛ. iv. 6. 3 the mourners go about the ashes of the deceased guru three times from right to left, beating with their left hands upon their left thighs: *tríḥ prasavyam pariyanti savyā́iḥ pāṇibhiḥ savyā́n ūrū́n āghnānā́ḥ.* And at Kāuç. 84. 10, in the course of the preparation of the *çmaçāna*, it is stated explicitly that women

[1] Böhtlingk: 'ein bestimmter körperteil.' Our translation of the obscure word is based upon Kāuç. 84. 10: *tríḥ prasavyaṁ prakīrṇakeçyaḥ pariyanti dakṣiṇā́n ūrū́n āghnānā́ḥ.* The word seems to contain *úru* with some modifying adjective, perhaps *pṛ́thu*, in a Prākṛtic form.

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with disheveled hair are the performers: *triḥ prasavyaṁ prakīrṇakeçyaḥ pariyanti dakṣināṉ ūrūn āghnānāḥ.*[1] Cf. with this last especially AV. xi. 9. 14.

Returning now to verses xiv. 2. 59–61 of the wedding stanzas, it seems very likely that their original purpose was expiation (*prāyaçcittam*) for the noisy practices at the funeral. The evil which the wailing women have brought on when they danced about with their hair unloosened, from this evil Agni and Savitar are called upon to free the family. The verses were adapted to the purpose for which they are employed by the Atharvavedins simply because they contained words for 'wailing.' This is precisely such a case as the secondary employment of the hymns AV. i. 2 and 3 as battle-charms: see Seven Hymns of the Atharva-Veda, p. 467 (2 of the reprint). In the Sūtras verses are frequently employed in connection with certain practices because they contain some single expression which suggests the practice. The untrammeled symbolism which runs riot in the Brāhmaṇas is at work in many ways also in the Sūtras, notably in the employment of the mantras, which are made to serve not only as what they really are, but in any significance which can for the moment be trumped up for them or for a part of them; often the relevance of the application of a mantra is to be sought in a single word occurring in the mantra—usually in its opening strain, its pratīka—and this single word may be employed for the moment in a false sense or in a sense which it may have in some other connection, but does not bear in the mantra in question. See *e. g.* Çāñkh. Gṛ. i. 15. 3, where the pratīka *akṣann amīmadanta* (RV. i. 82. 2) 'they have eaten, they have rejoiced,' is employed in connection with the application of axle-grease to the wagon (*rathākṣasyo 'pāñjanam*) simply because of the assonance of the words *akṣan*, 'they have eaten,' and *akṣa*, 'axle.'

I do not wish to exclude the possibility that a practice similar to the funeral dance may have been adopted among the Atharvavedins along with the verses on the occasion of the bride's departure. Cf. Çāñkh. Gṛ. i. 11. 5. The words *gṛhé te* in stanza 59 lend a certain plausibility to such a view. At any rate the custom as well as the verses belongs fundamentally to the funeral rites of the Vedic Indians.

[1] Unloosened hair as a sign of mourning also at Āçv. Gṛ. iv. 2. 9.

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V.

On a Vedic group of charms for extinguishing fire by means of water-plants and a frog.[1]

On various previous occasions I have endeavored to show that our understanding of the Atharva-Veda—the Veda of practical performance *par excellence*—depends upon a knowledge of the ritual which accompanied the recitation of the hymns. The boundary line between the Rig-Veda and the other Vedic *saṁhitās* is not absolute: large parts, if not all, of the Rig-Veda must have been accompanied by performances, and these must be instructive whenever recorded with any detail. That the Rig-Veda was not compiled for literary delectation is a view which I have held from the time of my earliest studies of that remarkable document. Professor Hillebrandt, in the preface to vol. i of his edition of Çāṅkhāyana's Çrāuta-sūtra, p. xv, says: "It must be borne in mind that the Rig-Veda and the Atharva-Veda are for the most part prayer-books, and that these were but links in a long chain of more or less developed ceremonies. Herein, therefore, I agree fully with Professor Bloomfield, who, in his . . . studies on the Atharva-Veda, advocates the same view.' I shall now endeavor to add one more instance in which a mantra passage, presented in somewhat varying forms by Rig-Veda, Atharva-Veda and Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka, obtains its true definition by careful observation of the practices reported in connection with it: incidentally, a curious practice, reaching back to the earliest Vedic times, will be shown to have prevailed in almost all the Vedic schools.

The RV. passage of principal importance (x. 16. 13, 14) reads as follows:

yáṁ tvám agne samádahas tám u nír vāpayā púnaḥ:
kíyambv átra rohatu pākadūrvā́ vyàlkaçā.
çítike çítikāvati hlā́dike hlādikāvati:
maṇḍūkyā́ sú sáṁ gama imáṁ sv àgníṁ harṣaya.

The corresponding passage of the AV. (xviii. 3. 6, 60) is as follows:

yáṁ tvám agne samádahas tám u nír vāpayā púnaḥ:
kyā́mbūr átra rohatu çāṇḍadūrvā́ vyàlkaçā.
çáṁ te nīhāró bhavatu çáṁ te pruṣvā́ 'va çīyatām:
çítike çítikāvati hlā́dike hlādikāvati:
maṇḍūky àpsú çáṁ bhuva imáṁ sv àgníṁ çamaya.

[1] Presented to the A. O. S. at its meeting, October, 1890.

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The Tāit. Ār. vi. 4. 1. 2, 3 reads:

yáṁ tvám agne samádahas tvám u nír vāpayā púnaḥ :
kyámbūr átra jāyatām pākadūrvā́ vyàlkaçā.
çítike çítikāvati hlāduke hlādukāvati :
maṇḍūkyàsu saṁgamáye 'máṁ sv àgníṁ çamáya.

Ludwig's translation of the Rig-Veda version, vol. ii, p. 564, is as follows: 'wo du, Agni, zusammengebrannt hast, dort säe wieder aus, kiyāmbu wachse hier, essbare dūrvā, vyalkaçā. Im külen, das voll külung, im erfrischenden, das voll erfrischung, kom mit dem froschweibchen zusammen, und erfreue diesen Agni.'

Grassmann's translation, vol. ii, p. 304, is as follows: 'Den du verbrannt, O Agni, hast, den fächle hold nun wieder an; dort geh die Wasserlilie auf, die Hirse und das Mannagrass.'

'Sei kühlungsreich, O kühles Kraut, erquickungsreich, erquickendes, verein dich mit dem Wasserkraut, erfreue diesen Agni schön.'

Each of the two translations approaches the true sense at some points, and recedes from it at others. But they are both, as they stand, unintelligible simply because they lack the background of realistic practice without which the verses never had nor could have had any sense. Hence Lanman, in the Notes to his Chrestomathy (p. 380[b]), says of the second stanza, rather prematurely: 'The stanza seems to be meaningless rubbish.' The situation is simply as follows: After the fire has consumed the corpse, water is poured upon it in order to extinguish it. Then furthermore certain water-plants are put there. In addition to these a frog—here a female, elsewhere a male—is put upon the place where the fire has burned. These, as representatives of life in the waters, are symbolically supposed both to prevent and to extinguish fire; they are put there to clinch matters (*sv àgníṁ çamaya*), lest perhaps the fire kindle anew and injure the person who is now to pass on to Yama's realm. RV. x. 16. 13 is to be thus translated: 'O Agni, do thou again extinguish him whom thou hast burned up; may the *kiyāmbū*, the small millet,[1] and the *vyalkaçā* grow here.'

[1] Thus, rather than 'edible millet' (Ludwig: Sāyaṇa, *paripakvadūrvā*), because of *bṛhaddūrvā* mentioned in the extract from the two paddhatis of the Kāuçika below. So also Sāyaṇa at Tāit. Ār. vi. 4. 1. 2: *pākadūrvā alpayā dūrvayā yuktā.* Note also his gloss on *kyāmbū : kiyatā "mbunā yuktā kācid oṣadhiḥ.* And Sāyaṇa at RV. x. 16. 13: *kiyatpramāṇam udakaṁ yasmin.*

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Ludwig in his translation has followed Sāyaṇa quite closely; the latter has altogether failed to understand the passage. At Tāit. Ār. vi. 4. 1. 2 he glosses *nir vāpayā* by *itaḥ sthānāt niḥ sāraya*; hence Ludwig's 'dort säe wieder aus.' But *nir vāpayā* here means simply 'extinguish.' See AV. vi. 18.1[cd]: *agnim̐ hṛdayyàm̐ çókam tám̐ te nir vāpayāmasi*, 'the fire (of jealousy) which is in your heart, the chagrin, that do we extinguish for you.' At Çāñkh. Çr. iv. 15. 13 the words are translated plainly: *yam̐ tvam agna iti dvābhyām̐ sakṣīreṇo 'dakenā 'sthīni nirvāpya*, 'while reciting the two stanzas, RV. x. 16. 13, 14, the bones (of the corpse) are extinguished with water mixed with milk.' At Āçv. Gṛ. iv. 5. 4, where, to be sure, only the second of the two Rig-verses (14) is rubricated, milk and water are also sprinkled upon the bones: *kṣīrodakena çamīçākhayā triḥ prasavyam̐ parivrajan prokṣati çītike çītikāvati 'ti*. And Tāit. Ār. vi. 4. 1. 1 expresses the act in mantra-form: *yám̐ te agnim ámanthāma vṛṣabhā́ye 'va pā́ktave, imám̐ tám̐ çamayamasi kṣīréṇa co 'dakéna ca*. 'The fire which we have churned for you, as if for the purpose of roasting a bull, that fire do we quench with milk and with water.'

Thus the meaning of the first verse is clear. The second verse of the RV. version is to be translated: 'O cool [plant], full of coolness, O moist plant, full of moisture, do thou come right along with the female frog,' gladden much (euphemistic for 'extinguish,' *çamaya*, of the other versions) this fire here.'

In the first place, it is quite certain that the vocatives *çītike*, etc., are addressed to a plant.[2] The performance which is connected with the two corresponding verses of the AV. at Kāuç. 82. 26, 27 is as follows: *upa dyām̐ çam̐ te nīhāra iti mantroktāny avadāya kṣīrotsiktena brāhmaṇasyā 'vasiñcati madhūtsiktena kṣatriyasyo 'dakena vaiçyasya*. Two paddhatis, the Antyeṣṭikarma and the Ātharvaṇīya-paddhati explain as follows: *upa dyām iti dvābhyām̐ . . . çam̐ te nīhāra ity ekayā mantroktānām oṣadhīnām udakam̐ kṣīram̐ cāi 'katra kṛtvā brāhmaṇasyā 'sthīni siñcati, madhūtsiktena kṣatriyasyo 'dakena vāiçyasya*. We may paraphrase sūtra and

[1] Thus correctly Sāyaṇa at RV. x. 16. 14: *maṇḍūkyā maṇḍūkastriyā vṛṣṭipriyayā*.

[2] Sāyaṇa at Tāit. Ār. vi. 4. 1. 3 notwithstanding: *çītena jalena yuktā bhūmiḥ çītikā, hlādakāriṇā kṣīreṇa yuktā bhūmiḥ hlādukā . . . çitikāvati çitikābhūmiyukte sthāne. . . .* Interesting is Stenzler's translation of the pratīka at Āçv. Gṛ. iv. 5. 4: 'O bleiche erd' mit bleichem laub.' Even in the later classical period the stems *çītala* and *hlādin* are standing epithets and designations of various cooling plants. See Pet. Lex. sub vocs.

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comment as follows: 'With the verses AV. xviii. 3. 5, 6, 60 (the last two concern us here) the plants mentioned in the mantras are cut off and put into a mixture of milk and water in order to sprinkle the bones of a Brahman, into a mixture of honey and water to sprinkle the bones of a Kṣatriya, into simple water to sprinkle the bones of a Vāiçya.'

The paddhatis then go on to give a catalogue of the plants (and other materials), the most characteristic of which are the reed-plant *vetasa*, the *bṛhaddūrvā* (see the mantras), the *avakā* (see below), and the *maṇḍūkaparṇī*, evidently also a water-plant. Neither Kāuçika nor his commentary here mention the frog; it is possible that the word *maṇḍūkī* was understood by them merely as an additional water-plant: see Pet. Lex. sub voce and *maṇḍūkaparṇī* of the paddhatis.[1] But at Vāit. Sū. 29. 13 the frog and the water-plants appear in company: *idaṁ va āpo himasya tvo 'pa dyām upa vetasam apām idam iti maṇḍūkāvakāvetasāir dakṣiṇādik pratidiçaṁ vikṛṣyamāṇāṁ.* 'While reciting AV. iii. 13. 7; vi. 106. 3; xviii. 3. 5 (6); vi. 106. 2 he scatters the fire (on the altar) by means of a frog, *avakā* and *vetasa*-reed into every direction, beginning at the south.' Further and plentiful evidence in favor of our translation of the word and our conception of the rite is not wanting.

The Vājasaneyins, Tāittirīyakas and Māitrāyaṇīyas practiced with a somewhat different yet closely related charm when extinguishing sacred fires. The mantras which bear upon the practice occur in VS. xvii; TS. iv. 6. 1; MS. ii. 10. 1: the chapter is designated in the TS. as *agnisaṁskṛtiḥ, pariṣecanavikarṣanādayaḥ* (sc. *mantrāḥ*):

samudrásya tvā 'vakayā 'gne pári vyayāmasi:
pāvakó asmábhyaṁ çivó bhava.
himásya tvā jarāyuṇā 'gne pári vyayāmasi:
pāvakó asmábhyaṁ çivó bhava.
úpa jmánn úpa vetasé 'va tara[2] *nadīṣv ā́:*
ágne pittám apā́m asi máṇḍūki tā́bhir ā́ gahi:
sé 'maṁ yajñáṁ pāvakávarṇaṁ çivám kṛdhi.
apā́m iddháṁ nyáyanam samudrásya nivéçaṇam:
anyā́ṁs[3] *te asmát tapantu hetáyaḥ pāvakó asmábhyaṁ çivó bhava.*

[1] The Tāit. Ār. which reads *maṇḍūkyàsu*, is thus glossed by Sāyaṇa: *maṇḍūkyāsu maṇḍūkaplavanayogyāsv apsu saṁgamaya prāpaya.*

[2] TS. *'vattaraṁ.* [3] TS. *anyáṁ.*

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'With the *avakā*-plant of the sea do we, O Agni, envelop thee; be thou to us a purifier, be thou kind to us.

'With a covering of coolness do we, O Agni, etc.

'Do thou descend to the earth into the reed-plant on the rivers; thou art, O Agni, the sap of the waters.[1] O female frog, do thou come with these (waters); do thou here render this sacrifice pure in aspect and propitious.

'Here is the gathering place of the waters, here is the dwelling place of the sea; may your missiles (O Agni) burn other persons than us; be thou to us a purifier, be thou kind to us.'[2]

The central figures in this charm, as in that of the RV. and AV., are Agni, the water-plant *ávakā*, and the female frog. That the last two are symbols of the water which is to quench the fire Mahīdhara recognizes clearly. At VS. xvii. 4; *samudrasya* (*samundati klinnaṁ karoti samudro*) *jalaṁ tasyā 'vakayā* (*çevālena*) *tvā* (*tvāṁ*) *pari vyayāmasi* (*parito veṣṭayāmaḥ*). And at xvii. 4. 6: *evam agniṁ saṁbodhya maṇḍūkīm āha: he maṇḍūki* (*maṇḍūko bhekas tasya strī maṇḍūkī*) *tatsaṁbuddhāu he maṇḍūki tābhiḥ pūrvoktābhir adbhiḥ saha ā gahi* (*āgacha*). The TS., in its brāhmaṇa-chapter, v. 4. 4, works up this charm, and while its explanation of the symbolism involved is as far from the mark as is usual with these productions, it yet states clearly that the fire was actually put out with the aid of the *avakā*-plant and the frog: *apắṁ vá etát púṣpam yád vetasò, 'pắm çáró 'vakā, vetasaçākháyā cá 'vakābhiç ca ví karṣaty, ắpo vái çāntắḥ, çāntắbhir evá 'sya çúcaṁ çamayati, yó vá agníṁ citáṁ prathamáḥ paçúr adhikrắmati "çvaró vái táṁ çucá pradáho. maṇḍúkeṇa ví karṣaty, eṣá vai paçūnắm anupajīvanīyó ná vá eṣá grāmyéṣu paçúṣu hiló ná "raṇyéṣu, tám evá çuc[a] 'rpayati.* 'The reed-plant is the flower of the waters, the *avakā* the reed of the waters: with the reed-plant and with *avakā*-plants does he scatter the fire. Holy (*çāntắḥ*) are the waters: with holy ones (*çāntắbhir*) then does he quiet (*çamayati*) its heat. Whatever animal is the first to step over the heaped fire, that he is able to burn with his heat. He scatters the fire with the frog; for this one does not furnish sustenance to animals, he does not count among the tame nor among the wild animals: upon him (the frog) does he cause the heat to go.'

Blowing aside the chaff of Talmudic wisdom, we are left with the

[1] Literally 'gall of the waters.' Mahīdhara, *apāṁ tejo 'si*.

[2] 'Heiliger Sanct Florian
Schütz' unser haus zünd' andre an.'

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incidental and therefore trustworthy statement that the fire was put out with the aid of the *avakā* and the frog. Very similar and more explicit is the statement in Çat. Br. ix. 1. 2. 20: *áthāi "naṁ vikarṣati, maṇḍūkenā 'vakayā vetasaçākhdyā*, 'thereupon he scatters the fire by means of a frog, an *avakā*, and the branch of a reed.' The motive assigned is in a vein similar to the extract from the *brāhmaṇa*-passage of the TS. And at Kāty. Çr. xviii. 2. 10 the same proceeding is formulated in sūtra-form: *maṇḍūkāvakāvetasaçākhā veṇāu baddhvā 'vakarṣati*, glossed: *maṇḍūkādīn veṇāu baddhvā 'gniṁ vikarṣati.* 'Having tied a frog, an *avakā*, and the branch of a reed to a bamboo-cane, he scatters the fire.' And almost identically Āp. Çr. xvii. 12:— *avakāvetasaçākhāṁ maṇḍūkaṁ ca dīrghavaṅçe prabadhya samudrasya tvā 'vakaye 'ti saptabhir aṣṭabhir vā 'gniṁ vikarṣati.*

The Atharvan and the Rig have each preserved one more charm against fire: they are closely related in character to those cited above. AV. vi. 106 reads as follows:

1. *áyane te parâyaṇe dûrvā rohatu puṣpíṇī:*
   útso vā tátra jâyatāṁ hradó vā puṇḍárīkavān.
2. *apâm idáṁ nyáyanaṁ samudrásya nivéçanaṁ:*
   mádhye hradásya no gṛhâḥ parācínā múkhā kṛdhi.
3. *himásya tvā jarâyuṇā çále pári vyayāmasi:*
   çītáhradā hi no bhúvo 'gniṣ kṛṇotu bheṣajáṁ.

RV. x. 142. 7, 8 reads as follows:

apâm idáṁ nyáyanaṁ samudrásya nivéçanaṁ:
anyáṁ kṛṇuṣve 'táḥ pánthāṁ téna yāhi váçāṅ anu.
âyane te parâyaṇe dûrvā rohantu puṣpíṇīḥ:
hradâç ca puṇḍárīkāṇi samudrásya gṛhâ imé.[1]

The Atharvan version may be rendered thus:

'On your way hither and on your way off from here may the blooming *dūrvā* grow; may a well-spring here spring forth, or a lotus-laden pond.

'Here is the gathering place of the waters, here is the dwelling-place of the sea. In the midst of the pond may our house be, turn (O fire) away your face.

'With a covering of coolness do we envelop thee, O house,'[2]

[1] Cf. with both passages Mahābh. i. 8520 fg.

[2] This half-verse is especially characteristic for the secondary manipulation of mantra-material on the part of the Atharvavedins: there can be no doubt that the version of this line presented by the Yajus-saṁhitās, above, is the older and original form of the mantra. They have *dgne* for *çále*: the former furnishes the proper contrast with *himásya*.

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cool as a pond be thou for us. Agni shall furnish remedy (*i. e.* not destruction).'

The Rig-Veda version may be translated as follows:

'Here is the gathering place of the waters, here is the dwelling-place of the sea. Find (O fire) a path away from here, travel that as you please.

'On your way hither and on your way off from here may the flowery *dūrvā* grow. Let there be pools and lotus-flowers; these here are the chambers of the sea.'

There is, to my knowledge, no report as to the special employment in practice of the RV. stanzas; they occur at the end of an Agni hymn, and it may be taken for granted that at some stage in the use of the hymn over a fire the quenching of the fire formed a part of the practice: for this the last stanzas of the hymn were called in. The Atharvan version, as may be seen from the bent given their form and contents by the Atharvan-ṛsis themselves, was intended as a charm to protect house and home from fire. As such it is employed at Kāuç. 52. 5 fg.,[1] and it is of great interest to find the *avakā*-plant holding a prominent place in the performance:

52. 5. *āyana iti çamanam antarā hradaṁ karoti.* Keçava's gloss: *agnidāvarakṣārtham ucyate . . . udakam abhimantrya garte prakṣipati . . . udakapūraṇaṁ karoti*, 'with the hymn AV. vi. 106 he performs the act of extinguishing fire within a pond.'

52. 6. *çāle(?)ca.* Keç. *çālāmadhye . . . udakam abhimantrya garte prakṣipati*, 'and he performs the rite in the house also.'

52. 7. *avakayā çālāṁ paritanoti.* Keç. . . . *agnyupasarga etat karma*, 'he envelops the house with the *avakā*-plant.'

The frog does not appear in this quench-charm, but both the frog and the *avakā* appear once more in a closely kindred rite at Kāuç. 40. 1 fg. This is a charm for conducting a river into a new channel, performed in connection with AV. iii. 13; the point is the same: to produce water where formerly there was none.

40. 1. *yad adaḥ samprayatīr iti yene 'chen nadī pratipadyete 'ti prasiñcan vrajati*, 'while reciting the hymn AV. iii. 13 he walks sprinkling the path which he wishes a river to travel.'

40. 2. *kāçadividhuvakavetasān niminoti*, 'he sticks up the grasses and reeds called *kāça*, *dividhuvaka*[2] and *vetasa* (on this path).'

[1] Two verses of the hymn are rubricated in the passage from the Vāit. Sū. quoted above.

[2] Dār. *kāçaḥ prasiddhaḥ.* Keç, *diviçevālaparṇim* (Cod. *-sevāla-*), evidently a water-plant: the *çevāla* and the *avakā* are synonymous; see below.

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40. 3. *idaṁ va āpa iti hiraṇyam adhidadhāti.* Dārila: *nadīmukhopari sthāpayati,* 'while reciting the first pāda of the seventh stanza of the hymn he places gold upon the mouth of the river (*i. e.* the point from which the river shall branch into the desired channel?).'

40. 4. *ayaṁ vatsa itī 'ṣīkāñjimaṇḍūkāṁ nīlalohitābhyāṁ sūtrābhyāṁ sakakṣaṁ*[1] *baddhvā,* 'with the second pāda of the seventh stanza he ties a frog who is striped like the reed *iṣīkā* at his forefeet with two threads, one blue and the other red.'

40. 5. *ihe 'ttham ity avakayā prachādayati,* 'with the third pāda of the seventh stanza he envelops (the frog) with an *avakā*-plant.'

The symbolism of these acts is unmistakable: they anticipate the presence of the river with all its life. The gold anticipates the golden-colored waters—*hiraṇyavarṇāḥ çucayaḥ pāvakāḥ . . . āpāḥ,* AV. i. 33. 1; the river grass and the reeds symbolize the vegetation. And above all, the frog, securely tied so that he cannot leap away,[2] and the water-bringing *avakā* reach back to that early conception which, as we have proved, exists in the hymns themselves.

The *avakā* (Blyxa octandra) is the plant which is known in later literature by a group of slightly differentiated names. At Āçv. Gṛ. ii. 8. 14; iv. 4. 8, it is glossed in the text itself by *çīpāla* (*avakāṁ çīpālam iti*), a form which occurs also in the RV. Elsewhere the forms *çevāla* (*çebāla*), *çevala*, *çāivāla* (*çāibāla*), *çāivala;* see Pet. Lex. sub vocs. The plant scarcely ever appears without the mention or suggestion of water in its train. At RV. x. 68. 5 light drives darkness from the atmospheric circle just as the wind blows the *çīpāla* out of the water: *dṛpa jyótiṣā támo antárikṣād udnáḥ çípālam iva vấta ājat.* At AV. viii. 7. 9 are mentioned plants whose womb is the *avakā* (i. e. which are of the *avakā*-class), whose very essence is water: *avákolvā* (bahuvrīhi) *udakấtmāna óṣadhayaḥ.* At AV. iv. 37. 8 the Gandharvas who are particularly associated with the waters (*apấṁ gandharvấḥ,* RV. ix. 86. 39: *gandharvó apsú,* RV. x. 10. 4; AV. xviii. 1. 4), who dwell on the banks of the rivers like the Apsaras (Pischel, Vedische

[1] Dār. here: *saha kakṣābhyāṁ baddhvā, kakṣā prasiddhā.* At Kāuç. 32. 17, *çakunīn iva karoti.* At. 48. 40. *saha bāhubhyāṁ baddhvā.*

[2] Cf. also AV. iv. 15. 12: *dva nícir apấḥ sṛja vádantu pṛçnibāhavo maṇḍúkā íriṇā́ 'nu.* Pour downward (O Asura pitar, Jupiter, Zeus) the waters; may the speckle-footed frogs croak in the ditches.' Cf. also RV. vii. 103.

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Studien i. p. 79), are called *avakā*-eaters (*avakādá*). So also at iv. 37. 10 the Will o' the wisp, or Jack o' the lanthorn is called *avakādá*; see Roth, Festgruss an Böhtlingk, p. 97 fg. At VS. xvii. 4; TS. iv. 6. 1. 1; MS. ii. 10. 1, the plant is spoken of as 'the *avakā* of the sea': *samudrásya tvā 'vakayá*. At Çat. Br. vii. 5. 1. 11; viii. 3. 2. 5, the *avakā* is identified outright with water: *ápo vá ávakāḥ*. At Āçv. Gṛ. ii. 8. 14, when building a house an *avakā* is placed into the cavities of the timbers, 'for it is known that no conflagration will befall him': *garteṣv avakāṁ çípālam ity avadhāpayen na há 'sya dāhuko bhavatī 'ti vijñāyate*. And ibid. iv. 4. 8 an *avakā* is placed in a cavity, from which the cremated corpse is supposed to ascend heavenward. The *avakā* is supposed to quench the burning body: *uttarapurastād āhavanīyasya jānumātraṁ gartaṁ khātvā 'vakāṁ çípālam ity avadhāpayet tato ha vā eṣa niṣkramya sahāi 'va dhūmena svargaṁ lokam etī 'ti ha vijñāyate*. Cf. with this last extract Çāṅkh. Çr. iv. 15. 13, above.

We return from this long excursion to the Rig-stanzas which form the text of the investigation. It is evident that the scenic properties which form the corporeal part, as it were, of the verses have been found. There is but one step left to take—it is not a bold one—i. e. to identify the plant addressed in x. 16. 14 as *çítike hlādike* with the *avakā*. The verse then joins the group of Yajus-verses quoted above: its ritual, though not reported in detail, as far as we know, by the brāhmaṇas and sūtras of the Rig-Veda, is doubtless the same as that of the Yajus and Atharvan schools.

VI.

On the Vedic instrumental paḍbhís and the word páḍbīça.[1]

The instrumental plural *paḍbhís* occurs six times in the RV. It is wanting in the AV., and we do not know how often it occurs in the remaining *mantra*-literature. The writer knows of it at VS. xxiii. 13, and Kāuç. 44. 17. It is mentioned in the fourth chapter of the *nāighaṇṭavas* (4. 2), erroneously ascribed to Yāska;[2] the

[1] Presented to the A. O. S. at its meeting, October, 1889.

[2] The 48th pariçiṣṭa of the Atharva-Veda contains a collection of glosses similar to that upon which Yāska has commented. The author is said to be Kāutsavaya. The glosses are divided into 69 paragraphs; they exhibit some words characteristic of the Atharvan, e. g. *nilāgalasālā* and *kunakhin* in §66,

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chapter contains a collection of words which were regarded very early as cruces. Yāska, Nirukta i. 20, speaks of them as words which admit of various interpretations; and accordingly he offers at Nir. v. 3 no less than three explanations of the word in connection with RV. x. 99. 12: *pānāir iti vā spāçanāir iti vā sparçanāir iti vā*, all of which are obviously useless. On the other hand, Sāyaṇa in his commentary to the RV. and Mahīdhara at VS. xxiii. 13 gloss the word with *pādāis*, or something very like; and the latter explains it by *padbhis*, the ordinary instr. plur. of *pād*, the *ḍ* being, according to him, a peculiarity of the *mantra*-language: *padaçabdasya ḍāntatvaṁ chāndasaṁ*.

The western interpretation of the word, begun by Roth (Nirukta v. 3, Erläuterungen, p. 54), for a long time was content to believe that Sāyaṇa's and Mahīdhara's explanation was in general correct: only for RV. iv. 2. 12 Roth posits a stem *paç* 'glance,' which interpretation is repeated with more or less confidence by later authorities. Ludwig denies in his translation of the RV., iv. 309, the derivation of *paḍbhis* from *pād* 'foot' or *pāç* 'glance'; he assumes instead a stem *paç* 'rope'=*páça*; later, v. 626, he still denies the equation *paḍbhis* = *padbhís*, but admits the stem *paç* = *spáç*. Quite recently, Bartholomae has reviewed the question in Bezz. Beitr. xv. 3 fg., concluding that *paḍbhis* cannot by any known phonetic process be derived from *pād* 'foot,' that the current translation 'with the feet' is untenable, and that the word is to be referred in part to *paç* 'glance,' and in part to *paç* 'rope, snare' (ibid. p. 8). Pischel, Vedische Studien (Pischel and Geldner), i. 105, also assumes a meaning akin to 'rope' (zügel), translating *paḍbhír gṛ́dhyantam* (RV. iv. 38. 5) by '(das ross) ungeduldig in den zügeln'; cf. the very different result obtained by Bartholomae, Bezz. Beitr. xv. 7. Still more recently, Pischel, in Vedische Studien i. 228 fg., has devoted a learned and ingenious study to the same question: some of his results the writer accepts unhesitatingly; others seem to him untenable.

Ludwig's and Bartholomae's suggestion that *paḍbhis* never means 'with the feet' in the Rig-Veda is improbable on a priori

but repeat in general the material of the other collection, distributed differently. The text is contained in two MSS of the pariçiṣṭas, belonging to the Bombay government; copies of it are in my possession, but an edition of the glosses is impossible, owing to the excessive corruption of the MSS. In the Berlin MSS of the pariçiṣṭas the nirukta does not appear; apparently the leaves containing it have been cut out. The word *paḍbhis* I have not been able to find in this text. See now P. A. O. S. for October 1890, No. 4.

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grounds. It would be a curious freak of chance that the instrumental plural of *pād*, which is found four times in the AV., should be wanting entirely in the RV., while, on the other hand, the instrum. plural of *paç* 'glance' and *paç* 'rope' should be equally wanting in the AV. Bartholomae's efforts to dispose of every case of *paḍbhís* fail in the case of the passage VS. xxiii. 13, *eṣá syá rāthyó vṛ̍ṣā paḍbhiç catúrbhir é'd agan.* This he fairly gives up (p. 8). Yet it can have but one sense: 'This steed, fit for the chariot, has come here indeed with four feet.' AV. iii. 7. 3 offers a close parallel, reading *padbhís* without cerebral *ḍ: dnu tvā hariṇó vṛ̍ṣā padbhiç catúrbhir akramīt* 'the strong antelope has come after you with four feet.' Cf. also AV. iv. 14. 9. At Kāuç. 44. 17, while the *vaçā* is slain the following mantra is recited: *yad vaçā māyum akrata uro vā paḍbhir āhata agnir mā tasmād enasaḥ viçvān muñcatv aṁhasaḥ* 'if the *vaçā* have bleated, or have struck the breast with their feet, may Agni free me from this sin and release me from every evil.' The MSS are divided pretty equally between *paḍbhir* and *padbhir:* the editor has adopted the lectio doctior *paḍbhir.* The parallel versions—TS. iii. 1. 4. 3; KÇS. xxv. 9. 12; ÇÇS. iv. 17. 10 (or 12); GGS. iii. 10. 28: Mantra-Br. ii. 2. 8—read *padbhir*, without cerebralization.

This proves sufficiently that *paḍbhís* in certain cases is related to *pād* 'foot.' Pischel also admits this value for *paḍbhís* in RV. v. 64. 7; x. 99. 12, and VS. xxiii. 13; but he believes that the *ḍ* is borrowed from *paḍbhís*, instr. plur. of *paç* 'eye' and *paç* 'rope,' which were falsely understood by the diaskeuasts as equal to *padbhís* 'with feet.' Bartholomae, loc. cit., had previously made the same suggestion as a dernier ressort to explain VS. xxiii. 13, he having previously explained all the six instances of *paḍbhís* in the RV. as derived from *paç* 'rope' and *paç* 'eye.' Bartholomae gives up, as already noted, the explanation of the passage from VS. The expression *paḍbhiç catúrbhiḥ* seems to him quite inexplicable, and it is indeed at first sight useless. As it occurs several times—see the passages from the AV. presented above—it is likely to have some sense, and I believe that it may help in the exegesis of some of the passages in the RV. The phrase *paḍbhíç catúrbhiḥ* expresses the simple notion that the speed of animals is due to their character as quadrupeds. Animals run swiftly with their four feet, and because of their four feet. If the notion is generalized, *paḍbhís*, when used of human beings, may have been felt in contrast to *padbhyā́m* to mean 'with (four) feet,' and thus

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'quickly, nimbly, briskly,' etc. RV. v. 64. 7 *c d*, *á paḍbhír dhāvatam narā bíbhratāv arcanānasam* 'run hither nimbly, O ye two heroes, to preserve Arcanānas.' RV. x. 99. 12, *evá mahó asura vakṣáthāya vamrakáḥ paḍbhír úpa sarpad índram* 'thus, O Asura, did great Vamraka quickly come to Indra for prosperity.' It seems difficult to imagine another meaning of *paḍbhís* in these two passages, especially the last. Pischel has left it untranslated, though admitting that *paḍbhís* comes from *pād* 'foot'; it seems simply inane to translate 'Vamraka went to Indra with his feet (plural!).'

We venture the same exegesis for *paḍbhír* in RV. x. 79. 2: *dtrāṇy asmái paḍbhíḥ sáṁ bharanty, uttānáhastā námasā 'dhi vikṣú* 'nimbly do they carry together fuel for him,' etc. Bartholomae and Pischel follow Ludwig in regarding *paḍbhíḥ* as a ritual expression, equivalent to *idhmasaṁnahana*, and translate 'they bring together his fuel with ropes,' etc. But the hymn is mystical, and it seems unlikely that a dry technical detail of the ritual should appear singly in such connection. We may rather compare the adverb *tṛṣú* 'nimbly' in verse 5: *yó asmā ánnaṁ tṛṣv ādadhāti*, etc. 'he who nimbly (or eagerly) puts on fuel for him,' etc. Cf. also x. 115. 6: *vājínatamāya sádhyase . . . tṛṣú cyávāno ánu jātávedase . . .* Agni is voracious (RV. i. 58. 2, 4; vii. 3. 4; x. 91. 7; 113. 8) and needs to be supplied expeditiously.

The remaining three passages which exhibit the word *paḍbhíḥ* are RV. iv. 2. 12, 14; 38. 3. Pischel shows conclusively that *paḍbhíḥ* in the first two passages means 'with the eyes,' and we may regard this as the most certain of all the results which have accrued from the repeated discussion of the word in recent times. Add to the citations on p. 230 a passage from Kāuç. 42. 17: *yad vratam atipede citíyā manasā hṛdā*. On the other hand, there is nothing convincing in either Bartholomae's or Pischel's renderings of RV. iv. 38. 3: *paḍbhír gṛ'dhyantam medhayúṁ ná çúram*; see Bezz. Beitr. xv. 7; Vedische Stud. i. 105, 232. I see no objection to the translation '(the horse) impatient with his feet, as a hero (is impatient) when eager for strife' (*medhayú = saṁgrāmechu*, Sāyaṇa).

We may note the juxtaposition of *paḍbhíḥ* with the stem *hasta*, or a derivative of it, in three of the six passages from the RV.: iv. 2. 14 (*paḍbhír hástebhiḥ*); v. 64. 7 (*hastíbhir . . . paḍbhíḥ*); x. 79. 2 (*paḍbhíḥ . . . uttānáhastāḥ*). It would seem from this that the word under discussion must have suggested strongly either by sound or meaning the ordinary *padbhíḥ*.

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The words *pádbīça* (RV.), *paḍvīça* (VS.), *paḍviñça* (LÇS. and Mantra-Br.), and *pádgṛbhi* have been regarded generally as compounds, containing in their first member the stem *paḍ* = *pad* 'foot.' Pischel has undertaken in the same paper (p. 333 fg.) to prove that the first part of the word is the stem *paç* = *páça* 'rope,' so that *pád-bīça* is in effect about the same as *páça*. It seems to me that all he succeeds in showing is that the strictly etymological value of the word according to the old explanation is not always kept up. So e. g. in the passage from the Mantra-Br. i. 2. 10, *annam prāṇasya paḍviñçaḥ*, the last word has certainly the general value 'fetter.' But such passages are no more calculated to disprove the original meaning 'foot-fetter' than ἱππο-βουκόλος 'horse-herd' disproves the etymology of βου-κόλος. Pischel attaches importance to the passage MBh. iii. 297. 16, where it is said that Yama draws the souls of men from their bodies, and binds them with fetters; he concludes from this that the Vedic view was the same, and that we must shut out the notion that Yama fetters the foot of the dead. But AV. viii. 8. 16 reads: *imá upṡá mṛtyupāçá yán ákramya ná mucyase* 'here are thrown the snares of death, stepping into which thou shalt not be released.' Obviously the snare of death is here supposed to be directed against the foot stepping into (*ákramya*) it. At Kāuç. 16. 15, 16 these *pāçāḥ*, along with *āçvatthāni kūṭāni* (traps made of açvattha-wood) and *bhāṅgāni jālāni* (nets of hemp) are placed in the way of an advancing enemy. Cf. also Kāuç. 14. 28: *bhāṅgamāuñjapāçān . . . senākrameṣu vapati*. Another and the more specific designation of this *mṛtyupāçá* is *mṛtyóḥ pádbīça* and *yamásya pádbīça*; but the parallelism must not be employed to prove that *pádbīça* has just the same value as *páça*. That *páça* and *pádbīça* are not identical seems to be shown conclusively at AV. xvi. 8. 27, where *pádbīça* occurs side by side with *páça*: *sá mṛtyóḥ pádbīçāt pāçān má moci*. The word *pádbīça* occurs only in connection with *mṛtyú* in this hymn; of all the other twenty-six divinities and personifications in the same litany (vv. 1–26) the word *páça* alone is employed: *sá grāhyāḥ* (*nírṛtyāḥ*, *dbhūtyāḥ*, etc.) *pāçān má moci*, xvi. 8. 1, 2, etc. This is not accidental; the word *pádbīça* belongs to Yama and Mṛtyu, being restricted altogether to this use in the AV.; it does not occur with any other divinity or personification either in the RV. or AV., although the opportunities e. g. in connection with Varuṇa are very numerous: RV. i. 24. 14, 15; 25. 21; iii. 2. 7; vi. 74. 4; vii. 88. 7; x. 85. 24; AV. ii. 10. 1–8;

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iv. 15. 6, 7, 9; vi. 121. 1; vii. 83. 3, 4: xiv. i. 19, 57, 58; 2. 49; xvi. 8. 26; xviii. 4. 70. In all these cases the *pâçaḥ* or *pâçāḥ* of Varuṇa, not the *pâḍbîça* of Varuṇa, is spoken of. Similarly *druhâḥ pâça*, not *druhâḥ pâḍbîça*, RV. vii. 59. 8; AV. ii. 10. 6; vii. 77. 2; xvi. 6. 10. There is therefore a genuine difference between the two words, and the persistent tradition of the schools, that *paḍ-* is identical with *pâda*, seems to be the only one which can at present be suggested. In fact, if we urge the parallelism between AV. v. 19. 12 and xii. 5. 15, it would seem as if the AV. itself defined *pâḍbîça* as equal to *pad* + *bîça*. AV. xii. 5. 15 reads: *sâ brahmajyâṁ devapîyúm brahmagavy àdîyámānā mṛtyóḥ pâḍbîça á dyati* 'that cow of the brahman, if robbed, binds the oppressor of Brahmans, the reviler of the gods, in the foot-fetter of death.' And AV. v. 19. 12: *yâm mṛtâyā 'nubadhnánti kûdyàṁ padayópanīm, tád vâi brahmajya te devâ upastáraṇam abruvan.* The parallelism between *mṛtyóḥ pâḍbîça* and the symbolic *kûdî padayópanî*, which is tied to the dead person, is striking, and would seem to defend the translation 'the kūdī-fetter, which clogs the steps,' given by Ludwig, Rig-Veda iii. 452. But Roth, *Festgruss an Böhtlingk*, pp. 98–99, translates the expression by 'the bunch of wood which effaces footprints,' and the decision depends upon the much discussed root *yup*: see Ludwig, RV. v. 614; Whitney, Am. Journ. Phil. iii. 402; Proc. A. O. S., October, 1888, vol. xiv., pp. vii-viii. I incline to Roth's view[1] and would only remark that *kûdî* in itself does not mean either 'bunch of wood' or 'fetter,' but is equivalent to the plant *badarî*. The word occurs in addition to AV. v. 19. 12, and at Kāuç. 21. 2, 13; 35. 24; 47. 30; 71. 19; 80. 33; 86. 24. Both Dārila and Keçava gloss it as above; and the expressions *kûdîprântâni* 21. 2; 35. 24, and *kârsvâṁ kûdy-upastîrṇâyâm* at 47. 30, show that a plant is indeed meant: cf. *darbhaprântâni*, common throughout the ritual literature.

Pischel's investigation of the word *saṁdâna* (ibid. p. 233) leads him to the conclusion that this word is the Indian word for 'foot-fetter.' This can be admitted without denying that *pâḍbîça* had primarily the same value. One may also grant—though the reasoning on this point is decidedly subjective—that horses were

[1] In support of this I would refer especially to Sāyaṇa's commentary on Tāit. Ār. vi. 10. 6; cf. also Rājendralālamitra in the introduction, p. 50. In a future paper the writer hopes to settle for good the prolonged dispute about the meaning of the root *yup*.

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not tied by the feet in India (ibid. p. 234);[1] this simply necessitates the assumption that *pádḍbīça* when employed in such connection has assumed the secondary value of 'fetter,' which it evidently has at TB. i. 6. 10. 3; Mantra-Br. i. 3. 10.

Bartholomae, ibid. p. 3, considers the change of *padbhíḥ* to *paḍbhíḥ* as phonetically impossible. I do not regard the case as desperate. In Vedic *puroḍáçam* and *anaḍva(z')ham*, the cerebral *ḍ* in my opinion is due to the influence of the palatal sibilant in the syllable following. This would explain the *ḍ* of *pádḍbīça*.[2] We may assume further that the expression *padbhíç catúrbhiḥ*—there is especial occasion to employ the plural of the word 'foot' with this numeral—was so frequent as to be felt a compound (cf. the very old *cátuṣpad*), and that the *ḍ* owes its cerebral quality to the *ç* of the following syllable. In other words, *padbhis* and *paḍbhiç* are originally syntactical doublets, which became confused in due time. The cerebral of *pádḍ-gṛbhi* must have been introduced secondarily from *paḍbhiç*. We may remember in this connection that Ascoli, Vorlesungen über die Vergleichende Lautlehre, p. 196, accounts for the cerebralization of *paḍ* on the ground of popular (Dravidian) influence. So also Weber, Ind. Stud. ii. 88.

The views of the writer differ from those of his predecessors, especially in the following points: 1. The claim that *padbhis*—*paḍbhis* has adverbial value: 'quickly, nimbly,' and the like. 2. While admitting a second *paḍbhis* from stem *paç-* 'eye,' the existence of a third *paḍbhis* from *pac-* 'rope' is denied. 3. In pointing out that there is an essential difference between *pádḍbīça* (and its variants) and other words for 'fetter, shackle.' 4. In attempting to justify the writing *paḍbhiç* as a genuine phonetic product from *pād-* 'foot.'

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.

[1] See now Ludwig, Ueber Methode bei Interpretation des Rig-Veda Textes, p. 68.

[2] For similar phenomena, involving changes in dental sibilants owing to the presence in a neighboring syllable of palatal and lingual sibilants, see Osthoff, Zur Geschichte des Perfectums, p. 494 fg., and Bloomfield and Spieker, P. A. O. S. May, 1886, p. xxxvi fg. (Journal, vol. xiii., p. cxvii fg.). A different explanation of *puro-ḍā'ç* and *anaḍ-vdh*—I cannot but believe an incorrect one—is to be found in Ascoli's Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, p. 285 fg. Still another explanation of *anaḍ-vāh-* (*anaḍ-* = *anart-*, *anard-*) is advanced by Joh. Schmidt, Die Pluralbildungen der Indogermanischen Neutra, p. 179. Cf. also Whitney, Sk. Gr[2]. 151b.

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NOTE.

CIRIS 470–472.

Iam procul e fluctu Salaminia suspicit arua
Florentisque uidet iam Cycladas: hinc uenus illi
Sinius hinc statio longe patet Hermionea.

Heyne's correction, *Sunion*, was partly adopted, partly altered by Haupt, who conj. *sinus* for *uenus* and *Sunius* for *Sinius*. It is difficult to see how the bold foreland Sunium could in any way be called *sinus*. It had occurred to me that *Venus* was right, and that *Sunias* described some temple or statue of her at Sunium. But of this I have not been able to find any trace, Poseidon being the only god connected with the locality.

Possibly the word of which *uenus* is a corruption was *Ceos*. Scylax in his Periplus, 58, 59, speaking of the islands off the Attic coast says *κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀττικὴν εἰσὶ νῆσοι αἱ Κυκλάδες καλούμεναι, καὶ πόλεις αἵδε ἐν ταῖς νήσοις· Κέως· αὕτη τετράπολις καὶ λιμήν, Κορησία, Ἰουλίς, Αἶραι· Ἑλένη, Κύθνος νῆσος*, etc., and Dicaearchus, Descript. Graeciae, 135, describes Ceos as lying under or off Sunium:

ἐγγὺς Κέως πρώτη τετράπολις Σούνιον
Νῆσος ὑπόκειται καὶ λιμήν.

Ceos might therefore fitly be called *Ceos Sunias*. Equally well might Hermione be selected as the corresponding westward point in the progress of the ship that dragged after it the unhappy Scylla. Scylax describes in order Hermione, and the promontory which adjoins it on the east, Scyllaeum, in the following words, 52, *μετὰ δὲ Ἑρμιῶνά Σκύλλαιόν ἐστιν ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ πρὸς ἰσθμόν· ἐστὶ δὲ τὸ Σκύλλαιον τῆς Τροιζηνίας· καταντικρὺ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ Σούνιον ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Ἀθηναίων χώρας.*

Hermione and Scyllaeum are in a line with each other, and with no place of any importance between. But Scyllaeum would scarcely be mentioned by the poet, as it had at the time no name, Scylla giving it her name only after the tragic story of her death. Hermione, therefore, remains as the natural point on the west corresponding to Ceos and Sunium on the east. I would read then:

hinc Ceos illi
Sunias, hinc statio longe patet Hermionea.

ROBINSON ELLIS.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Essai comparatif sur l'origine et l'histoire des rythmes. Par MAXIMILIEN KAWCZYNSKI. Paris, Bouillon, 1889. 220 pp. 8vo.

If we judge by the name of the author of this treatise we can safely assume he is a Slav. If we consider his doctrines philosophically developed we can see at once that he brings to his work a mind unfettered by the traditions of Western scholarship. The laborious effort of the Celt and Teuton to construct what he considers to be unnatural theories meets with little sympathy from him. To their conclusions he applies the measure of common sense (he does not say this in so many words, but yet we feel it everywhere in his calm logic), and finds them on all sides deficient. Accordingly he makes short work of the perverted views of modern civilisation. He starts from the standpoint of reason, and fortifies himself with the teachings of the ancients, whom he apparently respects to a certain degree.

Without delaying to write a preface, M. Kawczynski unfolds at once the principles underlying his work. Rhythmical phenomena, which regards the form of things and not their substance, may coincide, as has been claimed, with certain movements of nature, the falling of a leaf or the beating of the heart. But we are certain of rhythm only as it is expressed in the historical domain of art, of art relating to movements. There we find a fundamental condition of rhythm to be equality of parts, at first of all, afterwards of pairs. While natural symmetry is the law, yet psychological symmetry can exist in poetry as well as in the arts of repose. The origin of rhythm is then to be sought in a regular succession of equal parts. What further forms the essential nature of rhythm must be determined by careful investigation, for it is more than probable that the modern notion of rhythm is not the primary conception. Thus the view advanced by Wilhelm Meyer of Speyer that Latin rhythmical poetry is derived from accented Syriac verse (a view criticised later by M. Kawczynski), or the theory of those who hold that there existed a primitive Aryan poetry founded on accent, show a serious defect in method, in that their advocates are too easily satisfied with superficial comparisons. To recognize analogy the principle must be first known, otherwise the superstructure has no foundation. And it must be also borne in mind that, while the historical sciences have many axioms, they also assume many hypotheses, which, when they are considered near at hand, are found not to be logical principles, but rather vague and preconceived ideas, due to sentiment and obstructive of the search after true laws. But while our crusader would gladly attack these false positions along the whole line, he limits himself for the present to the notions regard-

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ing rhythm. To combat these he presents two kinds of arguments, the negative and the positive, beginning with the former.

The theory that there existed among the Aryans, previous to their migrations, a system of verse is propped up by giving to the verses of sixteen syllables in the Vedic and Sanscrit the same origin as the Saturnian verse of the Romans and the long verse of early Germanic and Anglo-Saxon poetry. Hence the *çlokas* of the Sanscrit epic would be conformable to the *rann* of early Irish poetry. But the verses of the Irish poetry are of fourteen syllables, or twice seven syllables, and are separated from the Vedic by rime and alliteration. These latter features hold true also of the long Anglo-Saxon and Germanic verse, which, indeed, has no definite number of syllables. Nor is the measure of the Saturnian verse counted by syllables, and M. Kawczynski agrees with the grammarians of antiquity in considering this verse to be but an imperfect imitation of the Greek metrical verse. Finally, the hexameter, a supposed descendant of the Aryan system, is based on the notion of the rhythmical foot, unknown to its assumed relatives. Thus disappears one argument of the sentimentalists.

A side-thrust at the theories of Scandinavian mythology follows. The Edda is not only different in its underlying conception from the Rig-Veda, but has no counterpart in Slavic tradition, which is nearer the primitive source. Hence it must have been derived from the West, from Rome and Greece, as its twelve deities indicate. But this in passing. The main point of the second negative argument is that the primitive state of man, far from being an Age of Gold, was a period of utter wretchedness and barbarism, little calculated to foster art. Art implies a certain conception of existence and a knowledge, however limited, of facts, which cannot belong to a society entirely without cultivation. Hence poetry, music and the dance cannot be autochthonous. For (repeating the argument in another form) a verse is an arrangement of parts and syllables according to definite rules, which rules assume analysis of language, thought. Nor can music be spontaneous, as is seen by examples of the present day; it must be acquired by practice. In like manner the dance is an art to be learned. Rhythm is certainly unknown to Sanscrit literature.

The source of the autochthonous theory of art is to be found in national pride. It is essentially modern, started by Bishop Percy, and was not suspected either by the ancients or by the men of the Middle Ages. And as a matter of fact our present art, whether architecture, music or poetry, is the survival of mediaeval art with additions from the Renaissance, which drew from the Greek and Roman world. The department of popular literature most developed reveals in many cases a definite and individual source for popular tales in Sanscrit literature, where they are confessedly of learned origin, being due to priests. The same may prove true of the other branches of folk-lore when scientifically established.[1]

Having thus exposed the weakness of his opponents, M. Kawczynski

[1] M. Kawczynski might have here fortified his position by showing that among the people the point of the story was often lost (this is particularly true of the American negroes) and its moral generally misapplied. He applies further on a similar line of argument.

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turns to the positive side of his argument and develops carefully his views, based on reason and confirmed by ancient tradition, his two guides in this matter. Every initiative, he affirms, is personal. Every invention is personal, the product of a mind superior to its fellows, and not of the crude mass of mankind. So the Greeks made their gods inventors. Over against the few inventive men of genius stands the crowd of imitators, who adopt their views more or less imperfectly. The people neither invents nor is changed save from the outside. It is the few who thus create in the process of centuries a language and establish schools of art and literature. If this imitation of the few by the many be admitted, then popular forms are posterior to artistic, however primitive be the latter. In like manner the less civilized nation is seen always seeking the arts and knowledge of the more cultivated, and instances are obvious when clothes, arms, religion and even language have been adopted. To illustrate by a point in question, that of poetry, the Germans of the ninth century so followed after Latin metres that Otfried states nothing was written in German.[1]

With this evidence admitted, the existence of an ancient German epic is seriously menaced in spite of the testimony of Tacitus and Eginhard. A much more probable source for it can be found in the adaptation to historical events of the outlines of the Trojan war, both from the Aeneid and the Latin Iliad, and in the remains of Greek mythology. The career of Siegfried is that of Jason with elements derived from Achilles and Perseus. The Nibelungen verse may be modeled on the alexandrine. Rome was the social and political ideal of the mediaeval world. Troy was the traditional birthplace of both Frank and Celt. The earliest period of German literature is an imitation of Latin models, the succeeding one of French and Provençal. There is no reason to except the epic alone from the rule.[2]

Proceeding from this consideration of early German literature, M. Kawczynski notes the interdependence of modern literary movements and quietly pays his respects to the theory of Taine, which he would allow to be applicable to ancient Egypt only. He admits that the nations while borrowing have transformed the ideas received and adapted them to new surroundings. Thus the Fates of the Greeks have become the fairies of the Latin races and the swan-maidens of the German. The natural conditions which differentiate peoples have affected their literature only so far as the choice, the treatment or the particular preference given to this or that side of a subject are concerned. But these impulses came from the leaders, the few. They prove not only that historical influences are stronger than natural surroundings, but that, the same social forces having been always in action, prehistoric influences must be taken into account, excavations

[1] . . . *dum a propriis nec scriptura, nec arte aliqua ullis est temporibus expolita. Quippe qui nec historias suorum antecessorum ut multae gentes ceterae, commendant memoriae, nec eorum gesta vel vitam ornant dignitatis amore.* Letter to the Archbishop of Mainz.

[2] Throughout all these preliminary remarks, which constitute an Introduction in fact, the Germanic epic attracts especially the author's attention. He abandons it at this point to return at the end of the volume (p. 207), where he states that circumstances have compelled him to defer the presentation of his views on a like popular theme: the manner and the time of the formation of Scandinavian mythology.

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revealing the presence of foreign merchants among barbarous peoples at a very early epoch. So arts were trafficked in and ideas were lent and borrowed, and the past and the present are bound together by a thousand ties, invisible but indissoluble. To prove the validity of this reasoning by the study of the history of rhythm is the object of the successive chapters of the treatise, thus introduced in so striking a manner.

Ch. I. *Le vers est issu de la proposition et le vers rythmique est né du vers syllabique.*[1]—The origin then of rhythm is unknown, but it is reasonable to suppose that it is to be found in that art in which it is most prevalent, the verse, and that rhythm is the product of an observation made upon the verse, is in fact an invention. That rhythm is not an offspring of music, as is generally held, seems evident from the opinion that music must have originally consisted in the song, the verse, and thus music is later than the verse. Now three kinds of verse are handed down by tradition : metrical, syllabic and irregular. The last, the least perfect, must have been the first in chronological order, and, though not preserved by the Greeks, can be found among other Aryan peoples of a later date but of a primitive state of cultivation. On the same ground of relative perfection the syllabic would precede in point of time the metrical verse.

The point at issue is, therefore, the origin of the irregular verse. It is probable that it came from the form of language which most resembles it, the proposition, the expression of an opinion. And indeed the earliest verses show this parallelism, overflow being a later invention, which is periodically attacked by the purists, thus showing the innate aversion to it. But the object of the first verses was worship. They were prayers and incantations, which implied experience in the service of the gods and hence were due to priests. The most primitive form of worship is found in the prayers of the Arval brothers.

The second step in the evolution of the verse was to make the propositions equal in length, thus giving them in the rude minds of their hearers greater value. The Merseburger Zaubersprüche are an instance in point and reveal an attempt at five accented words in a verse. This was doubtless followed by an effort to make the verses equal in the number of words, a more apparent harmony than an equal number of syllables, the proposition being written as a whole in manuscripts still extant. Thus in the Saturnian verse, already considered, the base is in fact the word, the word being a rough imitation of the Greek metre which served as model. This notion again appears in the Toulouse rhetorical school of the sixth century. After counting the words came the count of the syllables, a task which Otfried himself found difficult when he applied it to the German tongue. But his verse shows a careful cultivation of rime, as he indeed declares, while the notion of accent is entirely absent. His model was perhaps the leonine hexameter, so frequent at the time, and his strict observance of the rime without regard to the exact number of syllables has its counterpart in

[1] Inasmuch as M. Kawczynski has thrown the headings of his chapters into the form of theses I may be pardoned for preferring his own words to a translation. The many points of interest which he discusses or indicates, coupled with the concise and argumentative presentation of his theories, render the task of a reviewer unusually arduous.

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later crude imitations of the French octosyllable. This last step, a fixed number of syllables, was the hardest to take.

There remains to be considered the evolution of rhythmical verse. The ancients were peculiarly sensitive to the duration of syllables, a fact attested by Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and distinguished accurately the long from the short in their alphabet and script. The verse having advanced through the various degrees of perfection noted above to a form consisting of a fixed number of syllables, it can be supposed that an inventive genius, endowed with a delicate ear, happened on one composed entirely of long syllables and thus apparently longer than the others (a supposition treated as a fact in *las Leys d'Amors* (xiv c.)). Likewise one made up accidentally of short syllables would seem too short. This inventor, a priest without doubt, would seek to gain the favor of his deity in harmonizing the differences by a union of the two and thus create two verses of long and short syllables alternating, conformable to the law of equality already enounced. The notion of rhythm being absent from Sanscrit literature, this process can be attributed safely to the Greek genius, to which the great development of rhythm is certainly due. Definitions of rhythm quoted by M. Kawczynski from many Greek writers support this view of its origin. But, according to Quintilian and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, rhythm and foot are equivalent terms. Greek tradition designates the dactyl as being the original foot, but, since it contracts in Homer into a spondee, the trochee or the iambus is more probable.

Ch. II. *Le mètre n'était originairement qu'une mesure, un terme fixe du rythme.*—Notwithstanding the opinion of modern philology, metre and rhythm have the same principle, metre in fact being but a part of the rhythm, its measure, as the ancients affirm. They conceived rhythm as a long chain of equal links and metre as a definite part of the chain. Yet metre, based on syllabic verse in which were contained rhythmical feet, was the first invention.

Ancient tradition considered the earliest verse to be either the senarius, the tetrameter or the hendecasyllable. If the last, certainly posterior to the others, be excluded, there remain the two former, each of which fulfills the theoretical condition of utterance in one breath. The majority of the ancients seem to look upon the senarius as the older form, but the caesura of the tetrameter, which comes at the end both of the foot and the word, appears less artificial than that of the double senarius, which occurs in the middle of a foot. The caesura of the tetrameter also corresponds better to the division of a proposition into the subject and its modifiers on the one side and the predicate and its adjuncts on the other.

Another conception which appears wholly modern is that of the vocal ictus. On this subject the authors of antiquity are silent. Their testimony agrees in indicating by the beat of the foot or the rise and fall of the finger, and not by the voice, both the arsis and thesis. The ictus on the arsis is no other than a notion of Bentley elaborated by Hermann, who was led astray by the modern theory of rhythm in poetry, where the accented syllable takes the place of the long syllable of the ancients. In the same

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manner the modern musical rhythm, in which the ictus has come to be a necessity, differs entirely from that of the ancient world, which was an alternation of long and short syllables.

Ch. III. *L'accent antique formait la mélodie du vers et semble avoir donné naissance au système musical grec.*—The errors of modern scholars regarding both the poetical and musical rhythm of classical civilisation having been pointed out, it is in order to show how ancient accent differed from modern accent. Accent (*accentus*, *adcantus*) in antiquity was the rise or fall of the voice on each syllable, the acute accent being the highest tone, the grave the least high, and the circumflex denoting the descent from one tone to another. In Greek there was also a fourth accent in contracted syllables, rising from the lower to the higher tone, from the grave to the acute. The Greek language was naturally very melodious and needed only the rhythmical verse to change the accents into a melody. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus the Greek accents were included in the space of a musical fifth, but this is evidently the extreme range, since early Greek music did not exceed in space a musical fourth. This statement M. Kawczynski illustrates by the first verse of the Iliad. Among the Romans also the few writers who touch on the subject admit the relation existing between accent and music, notwithstanding the popular attribution to the gods of the invention of music. To support this theoretical inference it is known that the early Greek lyre had three strings, corresponding probably to the three accents, the assumed source of music. M. Kawczynski finds also a confirmatory passage in Dionysius, who notes the fact that in a chorus of Euripides (in *Orestes*) the melody does not coincide with the accent, the words Σίγα, σῖγα, λευκὸν being sung on the same tone in spite of the difference in accents. Furthermore the lyre of four strings contained the interval of a half-tone, which can be ascribed to the sliding accents of the Greek language alone, while the musical third may be due to the falling of the acute accent at the end of words. The doubling of the tetrachord must have given the melody an advantage over its parent, the accent, and this tendency was increased by the addition of two other tetrachords to this octachord, one above and the other below, and connected with it by a common note. Thus the system of Greek music was formed and in a way which renders the passage from Dionysius intelligible. The three Greek musical scales can be explained by the difference in accent between the Dorians, Phrygians and Ionians respectively.

It is interesting to contrast for a moment the theory and demonstration of M. Kawczynski, as applied to music, with those of the school which considers the movements of the human body and the human mind to set out from the same point as those of nature. Darwin, as is well known, states that music is the evolution of the amatory sounds uttered by the male in courtship. Mr. Herbert Spencer, returning to the subject in the November number of the Popular Science Monthly (1890), reviews his opinion formerly expressed and sums up his present position as follows: "Music has its germs in the sound which the voice emits under excitement, and eventually gains this or that character according to the kind of excitement." And as

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a conclusion: "The origin of music as the developed language of emotion seems to be no longer an inference but simply a description of the fact." This is the theory of Darwin generalized. The principle is the same. Cries are the foundation of melody. How they become melodious and thus give rise to musical modulations is not explained other than by the very vague steps of evolution. Placing by the side of these indistinct views and absolute assumptions the careful and methodical research of M. Kawczynski indicates sufficiently the disparity of reasoning.

Passing to the study of the accents in themselves it is seen that they had no relation to the ictus or to the rhythm, but that their musical character was so inherent as to cause them to be used as signs of musical notation even in the Middle Ages. The difference which exists between ancient accent, a singing accent, and modern accent can be plausibly explained by the very development of the musical scale and the consequent bad taste of preserving a sing-song in ordinary speech. But there can be no doubt that modern music is derived from that of ancient Greece, since the presence of two scales and two half-tones in each identify them beyond question. Greek music was handed down to the Eastern Church, which transmitted it through Hilary, Ambrose and St. Augustine to the Western liturgy. Its uncertain and fluctuating forms were reduced to order by Gregory the Great and the rhythmical song found itself changed into the plain chant. The tenth century, by the introduction of harmony, witnessed a further transformation of the original scheme. The history of so-called popular music is identical, the various kinds now recognized being due both to the period and the choice made by each borrower among the nations.

Ch. IV. *La mesure rythmique ayant à répondre à trois différents objets, trois rythmisomena, a été amenée à une abstraction qui provoqua une séparation entre la rythmique et la métrique. Les Romains écartèrent cette division en soumettant les rythmes aux lois métriques.*—Musical and metrical rhythm being then the same in origin, there remains of the arts of movement the dance, which tradition shows closely united to both song and poetry. According to Plato and other writers of antiquity the dance was in essence the pantomimic representation of the thought of a verse. Its source may have been in the processions of the chorus. Later it escaped from the restraints of the text, but still remained subject to the law of rhythmical feet, long and short movements, as can be seen at the present day in the minuet, the fandango and various oriental dances. But in the pantomime, which was often restricted to gestures, the feet remaining motionless, it was impossible to mark an ictus, and hence no ictus existed. Thus all the arts of movement came from the proposition through the verse, and the syllable is the measure of the rhythm, according to the ancient tradition, but contrary to the opinion of Aristoxenus, who represented a new school and indicates a departure from the original practice. This departure, as Plato also notes, consisted not only in separating the dance from the music, but also in composing airs without a text, songs without words, which Plato considers in bad taste (*Laws* 670). A common measure for the three arts was then necessary, and it was obtained by reducing the syllabic measure

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to an abstraction, preserving the form, the beat, while doing away with the text, the substance. In process of time this common measure received different names, metre when applied to poetry, rhythm when applied to music, a step which M. Kawczynski proves by a quotation from Servius.

The basis of classical metre and rhythm is the foot, measured either by syllables or beats. For the iambus the original rule demanded a short and long syllable, but Aristoxenus claimed for it three beats, and so on with the other feet. To determine the nature of a foot it must be repeated, and thus we reach a second unity in the double foot or colon. But the independent existence of the cola is lost when they become metres, as in the iambic or trochaic dimeter, and the metres once fixed preserve their form much better than the variable rhythms. So we find that the rules for metre are in fact the original rules for rhythm, and that the later metres can be easily distinguished from the earlier by the admission of later rhythmical feet, which were measured by beats before they were held down to the measure by syllables. All metres, however, were sung *κατὰ στίχον* in Greece, but probably were no longer sung in Rome.

It follows that rhythm, subject to the law of beats, possessed a much greater liberty of foot substitution than did metre, governed by syllables. As in metre, the rhythmical feet combined into cola (which, however, retained a certain independence), the cola into periods, the periods into strophes, and all these combinations as well as the original feet varied according to the taste of the poet (certain strophes, however, as the sapphic became fixed like the metres). As the nature of the foot is determined by its repetition, so is also that of the metre, and that of the strophe, whence arose in Greek songs strophe and antistrophe. But this natural order was perverted by artistic poets to a correspondence of the first and the last strophe, and so on until finally poems were written in which there were no corresponding strophes.

The Romans, in adopting the musical system of the Greeks, despaired of imitating their liberty of lyric verse, as is confirmed by both Cicero and Dionysius. Horace adhered to metrical regularity, and Seneca varied the song of his choruses only by intermingling the metres. And thus the inherent love for order and law in the Roman character is responsible for bringing together again metres and rhythms.

Ch. V. *La rhétorique latine contient quelques notions et quelques éléments particuliers qui se retrouvent dans la poésie latine et surtout dans la poésie du moyen âge.*—The artistic basis for poetry being now established, light can be thrown on its development in the West by the theories of rhetoric in vogue among the Latins, borrowed, however, from the Greeks. Poetical rhythm was introduced into orations by rhetoricians who were at the same time poets. Cicero attests (*De oratore* III 48) the presence of the cola of the dithyrambus, of vocal flexion—sing-song, to use the common phrase. This rhythm arose from the natural melody of the accents, strengthened by the introduction of musical cadences, and became finally an abuse against which Quintilian was obliged to protest (*Institutiones* XI 3). Its form approximated that of the verse, the first and last feet of the propositions

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being conformable to rules, while the intermediate portion was free, Cicero's *numerose cadere.*

The ancient treatises on rhetoric considered also the subject of rime, which some modern scholars, notably Wilhelm Meyer of Speyer, deny to Latin poetry before Commodianus. Yet Plautus (*Menaechmi* 20–29) uses final rimes, and Propertius leonine, and the books on rhetoric prove that these instances were intentional and not accidental. Cornificius recommends a moderate use of rime in orations and gives examples of two kinds, while the propositions equal in length, so frequent an ornament of rhetoric, often end in rime. Cicero states even that certain propositions demand a rhythmical cadence also rimed, whence came the transformation of the word *rhythmus* into the Provençal *rims*, meaning both rime and rhythm.[1] It seems then beyond question that the rime of the Middle Ages had its beginnings in the rhetoric of the Romans.

It is possible that mediaeval alliteration had also the same origin. Alliteration is found in Latin poetry, and the Romance idioms preserve many phrases which must have existed in the speech of the populace. Furthermore, the treatises on rhetoric blame the abuse of alliteration, especially in the middle of words. Of the two kinds, they consider the one, *adnominatio*, aided the sense of the words, while the other, *adliteratio*, emphasized their sound. The former is probably the older, since it first consisted in repeating the same root with different prefixes and suffixes so as to impress the hearer, a process known also to the Rig-Veda and the Slavic. It is this kind which is most frequent in the Romance languages. A development of the *adnominatio*, due clearly to artistic effort, is the *adliteratio*, which brings together words of supplementary meaning and similar sound. In the modern languages alliteration first appears in the poetry of the Germanic nations, where it seems indeed fundamental. But if it be admitted that it is not autochthonous, it must have been borrowed from the nations to the West, since alliteration, properly speaking, is unknown to the Slavs. A product of Latin cultivation, it could be communicated to the Germans by the manuals of rhetoric and the schools of Gaul. In the same way it could penetrate to the Irish and Anglo-Saxons, who in turn would extend its use through their missions on the Continent. Again, alliteration in German poetry may not be a principle but an ornament only, as it was among the Romans, though a passage from Isidore of Seville, praising the moderation of Vergil in its employment, anticipates already the later rule of the German writers. The medium through which all these attributes of Latin poetry passed into the modern languages—rime, alliteration, the adaptation of the hexameter to heroic Germanic verse—was the literature of the monastic schools, the intellectual guides of the Middle Ages. Yet alliteration can hardly be of Latin invention, since the rhetoricians frequently apply to it terms of Greek origin. It must therefore have been known to the Greeks, and Ebers claims even to have found both it and rime in Egyptian documents.

[1] This confusion seems to exist also in the mind of Du Bellay. See la Deffence et illustration de la langue francoyse, Part II, c. vii.

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Ch. VI. *La rythmique séparée de la métrique par la mesure abstraite du temps s'éloigne plus encore de son principe originaire sous la prédominance du chant, et tend à une transformation complète.*—Latin poetry, having changed Greek rhythmical periods into metrical verse, presented apparently no essential difference between rhythm and metre. Yet the Romans, in the transformation which the rhythmical principle received at their hands, insisted more and more on the law of beats in rhythms, as is explained at length by Quintilian. This law, given full play, allowed the mutual substitution of cola and of feet, provided the measure of beats was kept. Hence there was no place for the ictus claimed by the moderns. The difference between metre and rhythm was further increased in Rome by the influence of song, which freed itself from the restraints of the metrical law, as it had done in Greece from the law of accent, and which modulated the syllables of the text according to the effect desired, as is seen in St. Augustine. That rhythmical liberty was practiced by the ancients is sufficiently attested by Dionysius and Longinus. Therefore neglect of metre is not due to the corruption of speech, though the notion of quantity held back the innovators for some time and gave to the rhythms of the classical period the regularity of metres. When they began to break away from this confinement, the rhythmical tendency, noted above in the treatises on rhetoric, aided their escape. But the process went on gradually, and the writers who were witnesses of the evolution frequently confuse rhythm and metre. Hence the conclusion of M. Kawczynski, that each rhythmical scheme is based on a corresponding metrical one and that the seeming regularity of the former is due to the melody.

The rule for the number of syllables is first recorded by Diomedes in the third century. St. Augustine testifies to the loss of the feeling of quantity in his time. The notions of rhythm which Bede handed over to the Anglo-Saxons: number of syllables, alliteration, rime and rhythmical cadence, he derived from Latin poetry. It is only the later poets of the Middle Ages who appear to be guided by accent in the cadence but not in the interior of the verse. This interesting chapter is closed by a quotation from a Celtic glossary: *Sicut est rhythmus comparatus metro, sic sunt bardi comparati poetis doctis, sic sunt bardi sine mensura apud se (qui non didicerunt compositionem metricam) comparati poetis doctis.*

Ch. VII. *Les vers rythmiques sont calqués sur les mètres.*—The rhythmical forms of the Middle Ages are much more numerous than those of Horace and Seneca. This is due to the models found in the minor Latin poets of the post-classical period, to the stichic use of metrical verses, and to new strophic combinations which betoken a finical tendency. Here M. Kawczynski passes in review the poets from the third to the ninth centuries, together with the kinds of verse they used, the earliest popular verses of the Romans and the antiphonary of Bangor. He then discusses the metrical models of the later syllabic system, beginning with the verse of four syllables derived by the middle rime from the octosyllable, which in turn is based, contrary to the view of Meyer, on the iambic dimeter. The verse of five syllables comes from the adonius, of six from the twelve-syllable verse

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having a middle rime, of seven from the iambic dimeter catalectic, of nine, rare, from the alcaic enneasyllable, of ten having a caesura after the fifth syllable from the anapaestic trimeter, while the decasyllabic verse having the caesura after the fourth syllable is modeled on the dactylic trimeter hypercatalectic, the caesura absent in the metrical original being invented by the rhythmical poets to differentiate this verse from the first named. For the verse of eleven syllables there are three models, the alcaic and sapphic hendecasyllable, having a caesura after the fifth, and the phalaecean, which had no caesura, contrary to the opinion of Bartsch and others. The verse of twelve syllables is based on the old senarius, when the caesura comes after the fifth syllable, but when the caesura falls in the middle it is patterned on the asklepiad. The verse of thirteen syllables, a late form, is an imitation of the alexandrine having a feminine caesura, and that of fourteen syllables generally results from the doubling of the seven syllable. The verse of fifteen syllables is from the ancient septenarius, while that of sixteen, if its existence be admitted, is a doubling of the octosyllable. Thus each rhythmical verse has a metrical model, directly or indirectly, retains the typical number of syllables and the caesura, if any. The accent is the rule only at the caesura and cadence. These conclusions of M. Kawczynski may expect to meet with many objections from Romance scholars.

Ch. VIII. *Les formes libres et variables de la rythmique grecque du moyen âge transportées dans l'occident y ont été réduites peu à peu aux formes de la rythmique latine.*—The starting-point of this chapter is a review of W. Meyer's *Anfang und Ursprung der lateinischen und griechischen rythmischen Dichtung* (Abh. d. ph.-hist. Cl. d. bay. Ak. d. Wiss. XVII, ii), which claims a Semitic origin for rhythmical verse. But the Syrian poet, Ephrem, on whose writings the theory is based, did not draw his method from Semitic poetry but from Harmonius (iii c.), who, according to a Byzantine historian of the fourteenth century, was chosen as poet-laureate by his coreligionists because he knew Greek musical art. His songs, now lost, were written for two choruses, like the Greek lyrics. Furthermore it is now well established that Greek classical metres were already in the third century imitated by Christian poets writing subjective poetry, who transformed the metres into rhythms in much the same manner as did the Latins.

But a form of Byzantine poetry, the trope, has especial importance in Western literature. The trope, of which the earliest preserved was written by Justinian, varied in length from four to twenty cola. It became an essential part of the church office, adopted the features of the rhythmical verse, and in many instances shows by the marks of accents that these latter were signs of musical notation. The trope is often made up (a discovery of Meyer) of a proem, a strophe and an ephymnium, the last and first of varying length and form, while all indications point to a hesitating imitation of the lyric song. Introduced into the West as early as the ninth century, the use of the trope was authorized and recommended by Adrian II, and soon, under the name of sequences, it took on a great development, being gradually changed into rimed verses and strophes. Thus for a second time was Greek poetry reduced to order by the Latin mind.

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After considering the many varieties of the sequence M. Kawczynski analyzes a curious system of versification, practiced in the sixth and seventh centuries by the rhetorical school of Toulouse, and handed down by one of the school, Virgilius Maro. Bombastic and obscure, this school bears a striking resemblance to the Symbolists of the present time and had a large following in its fondness for metaphor and metonymy. The poetical scheme adopted by the school demanded a fixed number of words for each kind of verse and that words of equal length occupy the same relative places in the verse, thus making the accents recur at the same point. Rime and a regular rhythmical cadence were also obligatory. Between this verse and the Byzantine trope there seems a close connection, in that the accents in each determine the melody, which must have been a monotonous chant, like that of the epic songs. M. Kawczynski points out the possibility that both these systems may be a survival of ancient tradition. What is certain is that the Toulouse school, much admired by Aldhelm, fostered among the Anglo-Saxons the notions of rime and alliteration. The musical value of the Latin accent as a sign disappeared, however, by the twelfth century.

Ch. IX. *La versification romane tire son origine de la rythmique latine, mais la plupart des formes lyriques romanes sont postérieures à l'introduction des séquences latines.*—Coming now to the origin of Romance versification, M. Kawczynski applies to it the same principles which guided him in the study of versification in general: common sense, tested by the earliest writers on the subject. *Las Leys d'amors* gives the definition of *rims* (*rhythmus*) as a fixed number of syllables having a final consonance. Accent was required to recur at the caesura and cadence but elsewhere to be free, as in Latin. The notion of the foot had disappeared finally in Latin rhythmical poetry and is not found at all in the Romance system, which, nevertheless, preserves the scheme of the ancient metrical verse: length by syllables, the caesura and the regular cadence. And though the Romance verses are not rhythmical in the technical sense of the word, they are nevertheless rhythms, the new force of accent producing in them a modulation. Their direct models may have been either the Latin rhythmical verses, the general case, or even the classical metres in certain instances, depending on the literary knowledge of the poet. But in Latin all the syllables of the last word were counted in the cadence, whereas in Provençal and French the enumeration stopped with the tonic syllable of the last word. This difference can be explained in French by the pronunciation, but not in Provençal, and this fact would seem to indicate the priority of French poetry and its consequent influence on the Provençal.

Italian versification is derived from the French and Provençal, as is attested by Antonio da Tempo in his treatise on the subject (1332). This writer also confirms the opinions expressed above, that the rules of prosody were taken from the works on rhetoric and that rhythmical poetry belongs to artistic literature. His position as regards Italian is manifestly true. For the verse scheme does not count all the post-tonic syllables, in accordance with both the Latin and the nature of the Italian language, but offers a compromise to French influence in counting but one syllable after the

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tonic, producing thus the so-called *piano*, *tronco* and *sdrucciolo* rimes. Italian poetry prefers also an odd to an even number of syllables, in which it coincides with the rule of music down to the fourteenth century.[1]

In the same way M. Kawczynski shows that the earliest Spanish verse is neither autochthonous nor derived directly from the Latin but is borrowed entirely from the French. Thus the latter is the common source of all Romance versification.

Should the same principle be applied to the strophic combinations of Romance lyric their origin would be Latin and artistic, not popular. Now at the time when Romance lyric appeared, the Latin lyric contained two distinct elements, the one of Roman origin, consisting of equal strophes and verse, the strophes having often a refrain either before or after the strophes, and the other of Byzantine origin, the sequence, in which at first the strophes were equal only by pairs while the verses or cola were unequal. From these two kinds proceeded the manifold creations of modern lyric. Thus the history of poetry is one: Greece acting on France, indirectly through Rome, or directly through the Church, and the mutual dependence of sacred and profane poetry is again demonstrated.

M. Kawczynski concludes, as he began, with a protest. Contemporaneous thought, he says, seeks to establish a complete homogeneity between physical and historical phenomena, and, to do so, subjects the latter to the former. But the one is the product of a blind causality; the other of a will seeking an end, finality. The terms are doubtless identical and physical laws may some day be proven to be final laws. Applying these principles to mankind, the origin of race comes within the domain of physical laws, while that of language is to be found only in the historical field. Language is an invention. Each new root is invented by some superior mind and afterwards accepted by the crowd. The origin of dialects, due to the separation of the peoples, is explained by the peculiarity of the pronunciation of some one leading man, taken up and propagated by the others.[2] Reasoning in like manner, popular poetry is not artistic poetry in its crude state, but rather a corruption of the artistic. Proofs for this statement can be adduced from Italy, where the strambotto is merely the remains of the tenzone, the ritornello of a volta, and the stornello of a motet, while at the present day in France the artistic romance and chanson continue to be the popular forms. So the Middle Ages developed music as it did poetry, but on ancient models; and Greek cultivation, if fully known, would be found to contain the germs of European civilisation. But to arrive at definite results, psychological laws must be applied to historical phenomena and must verify the historical method, as calculation verifies the phenomena of the physical world.

To criticise properly the study of M. Kawczynski demands a counter-

[1] From this point on M. Kawczynski devotes himself to the details of Romance versification, showing its interdependence and taking up successively its various forms. Fearing the effect on the reader of the already great length of this review, I have taken the liberty to transfer these especial points to the Modern Language Notes of January, 1891.

[2] This opinion was expressed and illustrated some years since by Arsène Darmesteter in a course of lectures at the Sorbonne.

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article covering the whole subject from the beginning. His work forms a connected whole which leaves but few points exposed to attacks that do not assail his entire theory. The quotations from Greek and Latin writers, with which he buttresses his logic, are so numerous and varied that they can be accepted or rejected only after a diligent and most exhaustive research. Accordingly I have found myself compelled to submit but one side of the question, and to present what is in fact but an abstract of the volume before me. If in this I have done it justice—a difficult task, owing to the interdependence of the various questions discussed and to the close relation of the citations with the argument—the review will acquaint American students with the most important single work on versification which has appeared in recent times, revolutionary in theory and far-reaching in conclusions. F. M. WARREN.

De praepositionum usu Aristophaneo. Scripsit SERGIUS SOBOLEWSKI. Mosquae, MDCCCXC.

De vi et usu praepositionum *ἐπί*, *μετά*, *παρά*, *περί*, *πρός*, *ὑπό* apud Aristophanem. Scripsit IOANNES ILTZ. Halis Saxonum, MDCCCLXXXX.

Professor Sobolewski's treatise is a welcome addition to the apparatus of the student of Aristophanes. The best MSS are made the basis and a copious literature has been at the service of the author. The great lesson taught is the faithfulness of the comic poet to the prose standard of his time, though the lesson is no new lesson; for the Aristophanic scholar does not need to be told now-a-days[1] that not a solitary preposition is used by him otherwise than it would be used in prose, except for purposes of parody or paratragedy. Only in saying this we might seem to exclude from the list of Aristophanic scholars some editors of Aristophanes who do not think it worth while to notice exceptional syntax. Let us hope that after a time some of these things will get into the grammars, that some future Kaegi will note not only the scarcity of *σύν* in model prose as compared with *μετά*, but also the rarity of *ἀνά* and *ἀμφί*, will tell the schoolboy to what sphere of literature anastrophe belongs, and that Greek prose does not allow the preposition to be put between the adjective and the substantive—a liberty to which the novice in Greek is tempted by Latin examples.

Under the head of *εἰς*, *ἐς* Sobolewski follows the lead of Bachmann in making *εἰς* the only Aristophanic form before vowels—the nine examples of *ἐς* being accounted for by the tragic tone of the passages. In fr. 543, however, where Bachmann has *ἐς* because it is Ionic, S. denies with Meisterhans that *ἐς* is Ionic and writes with Bergk and Kock *εἰς*. The Dindorfian law of *ἐς* before consonants and *εἰς* before vowels is absolutely rejected by S., as E was written for EI down to 380 and *ἐς* is to be transliterated *εἰς*. Besides, he adds, if *ἐς* is the more elevated form before vowels, why should it lose that character when it is put before consonants? True, there are traces of *ἐς* in the old language, as is shown by the familiar formula *ἐς κόρακας*, as is shown by *κἀς*, which cannot

[1] 'Modes of expression inadmissible in prose were equally inadmissible in comedy except when they were employed for malice prepense and to give color to the work' (Rutherford, N. P. p. 38).

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come from *καὶ εἰς*, but in the height of Attic there was only one form and that was *εἰς*. As for Thukydides, Sobolewski does not believe that an author who, in spite of his *σεμνὸν γένος*, was careful not to use poetic constructions, or at any rate used them rarely, should have been more tragic in the use of *ἐς* than the tragic poets themselves. In the matter of *εἵνεκα* vs. *οὕνεκα* S. sides with Wackernagel against *εἵνεκα*. Under *διά* c. acc. he recognizes an instrumental signification—without a quiver of emotion. Some slight feeling at least would have been becoming even if I am wrong in my protest against the loose parallel often made, *διά* c. acc. = *διά* c. gen. See A. J. P. X 124, Pindar I. E. xcviii, and Justin Mart. Apol. I 53, 11, where I say that 'owing to' will cover all the cases of supposed confusion. Indeed, 'owing to,' 'thanks to,' will easily cover three of the four Aristophanic examples cited by Sobolewski. Pax 323: *διὰ τὰ σχήματα*, L. 936: *διὰ τὰ στρώματα*, Ec. 603: *διὰ τοῦτο*, and 'thanks to' in all these passages is 'a murrain on.' It is the same use of *διά* that we have in the phrase *εἰ μὴ διά* 'if it had not been for,' which gives the obstacle, not the means of prevention. When *διά* c. gen. is used the agency is purposeful, when *διά* c. acc. is used it is accidental. So explain Ec. 741: *διὰ τὸν ὄρθριον νόμον*. It did not lie in the design of the *κιθαρῳδός* to wake up the man who thanks her for waking him up, any more than it lay in the design of the cock to wake Philokleon too late (Vesp. 100).

Under the head of *κατά* c. gen. S. discusses the famous passage Pax 241: *ὁ δεινός, ὁ ταλαίφρινος, ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν*, but without a happy result. Theoretically *ὁ κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν* ought to mean 'the fellow that bears down on his legs.' This bearing down on the legs is a mark of the soldier's trade. It is not the *εὖ διαβὰς . . . ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροισιν* of Tyrtaios, which has been cited. That is the attitude of the warrior in actual conflict, *χεῖλος ὀδοῦσι δακών*. This is the habitual gait of a man that has to stand guard for hours, that has to march as the ancient soldier had to march under heavy burdens, under loads which gave the man at-arms of antiquity swollen legs (see Pers. 5, 189; Juv. 6, 397) and straddling walk, so that the swagger of the Pyropolinices of the old time was not simply the moral but also the physical result of his business. With this expression I am tempted to connect the *κατασκελής* of Dionysios Hal. (Iud. Isocr. 3), which is rendered 'dried up,' though Sylburg divined its meaning, as he shows by his version 'claudicans.' 'Dried up' does not apply to Isokrates, and if *κατασκελής* can mean 'straddling,' and so 'rocking,' we have an admirable adjective for the deliberate, swaying, processional style of Isokrates, to say nothing of the comfort that always comes from making two difficult passages explain one another. But if *κατασκελής* cannot mean *κατὰ τοῖν σκελοῖν*, in the sense attached to it here, it may denote 'leggy,' 'big-legged,' as *κατάκνημος* means 'calfy,' *κατάκομος* 'hairy,' *κατάσαρκος* 'fleshy'; *καταπύγων* it is not necessary to translate, and *καταπώγων* is 'beardy.' The big, swollen legs are the consequence of much standing and the cause of much straddling.

Under *ἐπί* c. gen. S. rejects Krüger's distinction between *ἐπί* c. gen. and *ἐπί* c. dat. in a local sense (I 68, 41, 1), a distinction which, it is true, might well be reversed theoretically as well as practically, for we should expect the natural position to be expressed by *ἐπί* c. gen., the unnatural by the dat. Fixity of position is in fact often denoted by *ἐπί* c. gen. (see my Justin Martyr Apol. I 26, 15), and it is not impossible that there may be some such feeling

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as we have in regard to *ὑπό* c. gen. and *ὑπό* c. dat. In refutation of Krüger S. points triumphantly to Eq. 783: *ἐπὶ ταῖσι πέτραις καθήμενον* compared with v. 754: *ὅταν ἐπὶ ταυτησὶ καθῆται τῆς πέτρας*, but he might have claimed here, not mere indifference, but, if one must refine, reversal. It would be easy to make Demos wriggle in the one passage and sit quiet in his 'fixed normal position' in the other. At any rate, the genitive is much more common in Attic daily speech than the dative, as S. shows, though, as he also notes, Rutherford is wrong in denying *ἐπί* with dat. in this sense to Attic (Babrius, p. 7).

Under *παρά* S. recognizes no distinction between *παρά* c. dat. and *παρά* c. acc., and it must be confessed that it may seem an over-refinement to give *καθεύδειν παρά τινι* the personal sense and *καθεύδειν παρά τινα* the physical sense—the one 'in one's bed,' the other 'alongside of'—but for prose the distinction seems to hold. *παρά* is characteristic locality (Fr. *chez*), with gen. 'from which,' with dat. 'at which,' with acc. 'to which.' *παρά* 'along,' 'by the side of,' has no personal significance. One says *παρ' ἐμὲ καθήμενος* (Plat. Euthyd. 271 A) as one says *παρὰ πόδας μου* (Protag. 310 C), but *παρ' ἐμοί* is not 'by my side,' it is 'in my room' (l. c. 310 B). Needless to say, genitives and datives when found with *παρά* are always persons in Aristophanes, three exceptional datives being one a quotation, one parodic, one anapaestic, and the gen. in Ach. 68 being more than doubtful. *περί* c. gen. and *περί* c. acc. are kept as well apart in the borderland as could be expected. One cannot always separate 'speaking and thinking' from 'behavior.' There are some pretty examples of *ὑπό* with gen. of inanimate objects, which Mr. Hickie, who made that a test of purity of style, would have done well to heed when he was working at Aristophanes and before he had emptied his grammatical learning on the unoffending head of Andokides (see A. J. P. VI 487). But what was to be a 'Brief Mention' has expanded into something more than a 'Book Notice,' and I will stop before it becomes something more than a 'Review.'

Sobolewski undertakes to cover the whole ground of the prepositions. Iltz in his dissertation limits himself to the prepositions that take three cases. He is much more reserved in his statement than Sobolewski, and goes no further than the safe declaration: Aristophanis dicendi rationem propius ad prosaicorum quam ad poetarum usum accedere. If the author had contented himself with mere references to the passages, the dissertation would have shrunk into very modest dimensions, but the reader will be very glad to have the material for criticism so ready at hand, as, for example, p. 17, in which the local use of *ἐπί* c. dat. 'on' is treated in the most mechanical way, without any remark about context, without any discrimination of meaning. We could learn quite as much from a concordance. Some of the passages are highly lyrical, some of them show the sense of 'addition to,' 'heaped on,' but they are all despatched with the sentence: 'Cum dativo *ἐπί* praep. multis locis ita usurpatur ut ab *ἐπί* c. gen. nullo fere modo differat at aeque rem aliquam in summa aliqua re versari indicet,' which might be true for Thukydides (see Kümmell, de praep. *ἐπί* usu Thucydideo), but is not necessarily true of Aristophanes. Occasionally there is an attempt at criticism, as where he favors *ἐν* against *ἐπί* in Plut. 337–8: *λόγος γ' ἦν . . . πολὺς | ἐν τοῖσι κουρείοισι.* For this he claims the authority of V, not recorded in the apparatus, and of Cobet. He might have claimed Porson and von Velsen as well, but there is no valid

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objection to *ἐπί*. The talking customers would naturally sit outside. See Isocr. 18, 9: *καθίζων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις λόγους ἐποιεῖτο*, though, of course, Cobet would change here also (VL 282). See other passages cited by Blaydes. In brief it must be said that, apart from some convenient statistics, no considerable furtherance of our knowledge has been noted in Itzl's ninety pages.

B. L. G.

Q. Horatius Flaccus, erklärt von ADOLF KIESSLING. Erster Teil. Oden und Epoden. Zweite verbesserte Auflage. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1890. Preis 3 Mark.

Six years have passed since Kiessling published his first edition of the odes and epodes of Horace; during that time he has given us the satires and also the epistles. He has now turned his attention to a rather thorough revision of the first part of the whole work, and the results of his labor lie before us.

As he tells us in his preface to this second edition, the commentary appears "in vielfach berichtigter und erweiterter Form," not an unfamiliar story, and one which it is safe to believe is not always too welcome to the book-owner, especially if (as happens not infrequently, though not in this case) the second, much enlarged edition appears so soon after the first as to leave but little time for the enjoyment of possession. To the scholar, however, even if an owner of the first edition, all real improvement will be welcome, and improvement Kiessling has given us in this edition, for the words of the preface are not idle ones, and a careful study will easily reveal many additions and a number of corrections.

These changes in the commentary are of three kinds: (1) changes in the wording; (2) additions; (3) abridgments. Of the third class there are not many cases and these are generally of minor importance. Of the first kind we find examples throughout the book from the introduction on, so he has changed e. g. on page 3 of the introduction the words "führte dazu zu versuchen" to "führte zu dem Versuche"; on I 4, 5 he has changed "beachte den beabsichtigten malerischen Gegensatz" to "Der malerische Gegensatz ist beabsichtigt." In the same way the didactic tone of "Beachte den wirkungsvollen Kontrast," etc., in his note on III 3, 13, is changed to "Wirkungsvoll tritt die Auffahrt des Bakchus und Romulus dem *eniti* gegenüber." I 2, 13 . . . des Tiber, der '*vorticibus rapidis et multa flavus arena*' durch Rom *strömt*, has suited K. better than . . . *fliesst*. As foreign a word as 'Kakophonie' must be made to go and 'Missklang' is substituted instead. But this tendency to correct is not without its nemesis: in his note on I 8, 1 "*cur*" frägt nicht nach dem Motiv sondern nach der Ursache . . . the new edition reads "cur" frägt nicht nach der Ursache, sondern nach der Ursache, etc. A decidedly more idiomatic rendering is given in the summary of I 8, 1, where "Bei allen Göttern, Lydia," etc., is changed to "Um Gotteswillen, Lydia," etc.

But changes of this sort, which are found throughout the book, although they often improve it, yet are of minor importance to the student as compared with the many additions which Kiessling has made to his notes. These are either continuations of already existing notes, throwing more light on the subject commented on, or they are entirely new, dealing with things not touched

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upon in the old edition. The smallest number of these additions seems to have been made in the epodes. Examples of entirely new notes are the following: On I 6, 4, on "quam rem cumque ferox . . . miles te duce gesserit," he has added a note on gesserit, saying that it is the subj. perfect and that it is dependent on scriberis, the opening word of the ode, and he compares "spectandus . . . quantis fatigaret ruinis IV 14, 19"; most editions leave it an open question as to what form gesserit is. On ep. V 3 the following note is added: "iste, sc. vester, die einzige Steele der lyrischen Gedichte in der sich *iste* findet"; on ep. XIV 4, to his note on trahere is added "*trahere* stärker als ducere (I 17, 22), wie ἕλκειν Aristoph. Ritter 167, vom kräftigen 'Zuge' des 'Zechers.'" Amplifications of already existing commentary are met with frequently and they have generally been judiciously made.

To the first class of changes might be added the corrections which have been made here and there in the book, but which are not very numerous; an example is found in his commentary on the first ode of the collection, on I 1, 3 he has changed the word "olympischen" to "isthmischen" in speaking of IV 3; III 5, 50 the evident misprint parabat has been corrected to pararet.

Of changes in the text but few are to be noticed: in the corrupt passage II 4, 10, he has changed the reading limen Apuliae to limina Pulliae, following Porphyrion in supposing that Horace is referring to his nurse and not to his native land; in ep. I 9 a different punctuation has been adopted, changing the sense. On the other hand, by misprint a punctuation has slipped in I 26, 17, where a period has been put after putris. Such misprints, exasperating as they may be to the author, are not so troublesome to the student as the reading e. g. conveni et for conveniet, found in Macleane's (Chase's) edition of the odes III 3, 69. In the commentary on epod. VIII 15 the form mant has been allowed to replace amant.

But the number of these inevitable errors is small, and we can safely say that the book marks a decided improvement on what was in itself an excellent edition, and will be a welcome addition to the many already existing commentaries on the odes and epodes of Horace.

EDWARD H. SPIEKER.

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REPORTS.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von DR. EUGEN KÖLBING, Heilbronn. X Band, 1887.

I.—C. Horstmann, Mappula Angliae, by Osbern Bokenham, prints a hitherto unpublished translation by this Middle-English author, from the Latin of Higden's Polycronicon, Bk. I, ch. 39 to the end of the book. This version was probably made about 1440, while Trevisa's was finished in 1387. Still another dates from the latter half of the fifteenth century. A comparison of these three renderings is interesting to the linguist. The twenty two chapters of his original have been compressed by Bokenham into fifteen, but to these he has prefixed an introduction and added an epilogue, making seventeen in all. The initials of these chapters, with the exception of the first, constitute the letters of his name, as he himself explains at the end of his work.

C. Horstmann, On Chronology. This is a short tractate, written in 1445, and contained in the same manuscript as the Mappula Angliae. It follows directly upon the Mappula, in the hand of the second scribe employed upon the latter.

Julius Zupitza, On Lay le Freine. Notes and emendations to the Middle-English poem.

H. Klinghardt, Techmer's and Sweet's Proposals for the Reform of Instruction in English. A summary of the improvements advocated by these two authorities.

Leon Kellner, The Source of Marlowe's Jew of Malta, gives reasons for supposing that Marlowe was acquainted with the adventures of Juan Miquez, or Johannes Michesius, a Portuguese Jew, who eventually took the name of Josef Nassi, and that the story of his life may have suggested to Marlowe the conception of his Jew of Malta. This story is outlined and references to other authorities are cited. Of the latter only two need be mentioned: Graetz, Geschichte der Juden, 9. 400 ff., and Ersch und Gruber, Encyclopädie, II, 2. th., p. 202 ff. Besides this discovery there are a number of interesting notes upon the play.

The Book Notices review, among other works, Ten Brink's Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst, Baskervill's edition of Andreas, Ramhorst's dissertation on Andreas and Cynewulf, Wülker's Grundriss zur Geschichte der Angelsächsischen Litteratur, and Schipper's William Dunbar. Among the school-books noticed is Sweet's Elementarbuch des gesprochenen Englisch.

In the Miscellanea there is a paper on metre, by Schipper, and an appreciative obituary of Henry Bradshaw.

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II.—M. Adler and M. Kaluza, Studies in Richard Rolle de Hampole. This article, which forms Part III of a longer monograph, is upon the paraphrase of the Seven Penitential Psalms which has been hitherto ascribed, on the strength of its title in the Digby MS, to Richard Rolle, though the Rawlinson MS in the Bodleian contains an insertion which is inconsistent with that assumption. A part of the latter is:

> By frere Richarde Maydenstoon,
> In Mary ordre of þe Carme,
> þat bachilere is in dyuynite.

The relations of the three MSS are discussed, the metre and rime, the dialect, and finally the author. The dialect forbids its ascription to Richard Rolle, and seems to be in the way of allowing us to accept Richard Maidenstone as the translator, the former having written in the Yorkshire dialect, and the latter having been a Kentishman, while the dialect of the translation appears to be East Midland. Appended to the investigation is the version itself, here for the first time printed. The text is that of the Digby MS, and the variants from the other two are given at the foot of the page.

W. Sattler, Zur Englischen Grammatik, VII, deals with some peculiarities of the English plural, with copious examples.

Among the most important Book Notices are reviews of Sweet's Oldest English Texts and Dieter's Ueber Sprache und Mundart der ältesten Englischen Denkmäler, Herford's Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, Techmer's Internationale Zeitschrift für allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft, and Sievers' Grundzüge der Phonetik, third edition.

Noticeable among the articles of the Miscellanea is one on The Modern Languages in America, by Prof. Horatio S. White, of Cornell. This is an excellent paper, tracing the growth of modern language study in this country, the founding of the Modern Language Association, and the establishment of Modern Language Notes. A few sentences may be quoted:

"The position of English is peculiar. Formerly taught principally in its relations to literary thought and expression, an increasing demand has become felt for more thorough instruction in the literature and historical development of that language; and at the present time it is generally recognized that to English studies a prominent place is rightfully due, and such a place they are rapidly gaining in the collegiate course."

"The present attitude in America towards the whole question would seem to be this: Let equal rights and equal privileges be granted in the educational system to the ancient classics, to the modern languages, and to the natural sciences: Let the student be at liberty within certain wise limits to choose his own course. The contest will then result in a friendly and generous rivalry to advance in common the boundaries of knowledge, and the future may safely be left to take care of itself."

"It would not be far from the truth to assert that the ordinary college graduate in the United States has received no better training in the modern languages than is gained by the graduate of the German Realschule or Gymnasium."

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"The most sanguine may be well content if the same progress shall be observed in modern language study in America during the coming ten years as has occurred during the past decade."

This paper, it should be observed, was written in February, 1887.

W. Vietor comments on the oldest German-English and English-German Grammar, bearing the imprint of London, 1687, and written by a certain H. Offelen, J. U. D.

English Imitations of Ancient Carmina Figurata is the title of a short notice by Karl Lentzner, in which two such, representing an egg and a Pan's-pipe, are introduced. The author suspects that other examples might be found in English poetry of the seventeenth century, as is undoubtedly the case.

III.—Emil Koeppel, in The Fragments of Barbour's Trojan War, proves that its author cannot have been the John Barbour who wrote The Bruce.

R. Boyle, Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger (concluded). After abundant citations in support of his views, Boyle summarizes as a part of his conclusions:

"1. Massinger's metre, in his known productions, coincides remarkably in its structure with the parts assigned to him in B. and F.'s dramas.

2. This coincidence of metre is accompanied by a similarity between the characterization in the former and the latter (in so far as the Massinger types have not been changed by his fellow-dramatist).

3. Massinger's characters are conventional like those of Italian comedy to a great extent, and occur, as may therefore be expected, over and over again in subsequent dramas.

4. These conventional characters employ in similar situations, similar expressions, also of a conventional kind, so often that the burden of proof must be regarded as the business of those who refuse to see Massinger's hand in them. (There are 1000 such passages given in these last four papers)."

Otto Jespersen, The New Language Teaching.

Among the Book Notices is an interesting one on Schaible's History of the Germans in England, in which we incidentally learn that "the first German grammar for the use of Englishmen is Martin Aedler's (publ. in 1680)." Körting's Encyclopaedia and Methodology of Romance Philology is also reviewed.

XI Band, 1888.

I.—F. Krause, Minor Publications from the Auchinleck MS. This instalment, which is Part IX of the series, consists of an edition of The King of Tars, the Auchinleck and Vernon MSS being printed in parallel columns, with the variants of Additional MS 22283 of the British Museum at the foot of the second column. The text is preceded by dissertations on the manuscripts, prosody and style, dialect of the poem, dialect of the MSS, and contents and source of the poem.

Arthur Napier, Old English Glosses, communicates a short Latin-English Glossary, written in a hand of the beginning of the twelfth century on the margins of a metrical life of St. Swithun, in MS 7. 2. 14 of the Bodleian Library. Interesting or unique words are *crypte*, pret. of the verb *cryppan*, *hwicce*, *batt*, *purs*, *blafordlic*, *tiȝelstan*, *sunderanweald*, *brydboda*, *rifelede*, meaning

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respectively *cut* or *pierce*, *hutch*, *bat*, *purse*, *lordly*, *tile*, *monarchy*, *paranymph*, and *rivelled*.

M. Krummacher, Language and Style in Carlyle's Frederick II. A continuation of the same author's Notes on the Language of Carlyle, which was favorably noticed in Vol. VI, p. 514 of this Journal. The present study, of which the first instalment is here given, is to consist of a lexical, a grammatical, and a stylistic part, with special emphasis on Carlyle's colloquialisms.

G. Wendt, Ireland in the Nineteenth Century.

Among the more important works reviewed in the Book Notices may be mentioned Kington Oliphant's The New English, sharply criticised by A. L. Mayhew; Brandl's Samuel Taylor Coleridge; the second edition of Sievers' Old English Grammar; Cosijn's Old West Saxon Grammar; and Landmann's edition of the Euphues.

The Miscellanea has an article by F. Lindner on The English Translation of the Roman de la Rose, and obituary notices of Dr. John Small and Dr. August Rhode, the former containing a list of Dr. Small's works.

II.—K. Elze, Notes on Othello.

M. Kaluza, On the Relation of the Manuscripts and the Textual Criticism of the Cursor Mundi. A supplement, as the author states, to Hupe's Genealogie und Ueberlieferung der Handschriften des Mittelenglischen Gedichtes Cursor Mundi. Incidentally the author expresses his opinion that Haenisch's Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi, a Breslau dissertation of 1884, is the indispensable basis of all future inquiry in that direction.

H. Klinghardt, The Character of the Australian People.

The Book Notices include reviews of Körting's Outline of the History of English Literature, the second edition of Körner's Introduction to the Study of Old English, Sweet's Second Middle English Primer, Wright's Bible Word-Book, Sweet's Elements of Spoken English, and Vietor's Phonetic Studies, the latter a new periodical devoted to that subject.

The Miscellanea has an exhaustive obituary notice of Alexander Schmidt, the author of the Shakespeare Lexicon.

III.—Julius Zupitza, Cantus Beati Godrici. Stevenson edited the Libellus de Vita et Miraculis Sancti Godrici for the Surtees Society in 1845, at least nominally, for the book was not published till 1847. Zupitza here summarizes what is known about the saint, gives an account of the various manuscript versions of the short poems that he composed, and a critical text of each of the three. The results are set forth with great clearness, and constitute a welcome addition to our somewhat scanty stock of twelfth century literature. Strictly speaking, only two of the poems are presented in a critical text, since the third exists, so far as is known, in but a single manuscript. The three, as edited by Zupitza, are as follows:

I. Sainte Marie uirgine,
moder Iesu Cristes Nazarene,
onfo, scild, help þin Godric,
onfang, bring hehlic wiþ þe in godes ric.

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Sainte Marie, Cristes bur,
maidenes clenhad, moderes flur,
dilie mine sinne, rixe in min mod,
bring me to winne wiþ self god.

II. Crist and sainte Marie
swa on scamel me i ledde,
at ic on this erþe
ne silde wiþ mine bare fote itredie.

III. Sainte Nicholaes, godes druð,
tymbre us faire scone hus,
at þi burth, at þi bare;
sainte Nicholaes, bring vs wel þare.

There are four French words, *sainte*, *virgine*, *flur*, *druð*, and one which is perhaps Scandinavian, *scone*. The dialect of the verses is unmistakably Northern.

M. Krummacher, Language and Style in Carlyle's Frederick II. The second instalment, devoted to grammatical notes.

W. Swoboda, The Sixth Congress of the National Society of French Professors in England.

The Miscellanea includes, among other matter, Notes on Chaucer's Sir Thopas, by Kölbing, and on English Etymologies, by Kluge.

ALBERT S. COOK.

HERMES, 1889.

I.

M. Rothstein, Properz und Vergil. R. discusses in detail the theme and scope of Prop. El. III 32, (34): Cur quisquam faciem dominae iam credit amico?, and particularly the allusions to Vergil's productions and to other literary men of the day, with whom the author ranked himself and his reputation. Further on R. cites parallels from the two poets, i. e. reminiscences in Propertius from passages or phrases in Eclogues and Georgics. The lines III 10, 25 sq.

Nondum enim Ascraeos norunt mea carmina fontes
sed modo Permessi flumine lavit amor,

are interpreted in detail, the Permessus river being taken as typifying elegy-writing. R. derives this from Verg. Ecl. 6, 64 sqq. The difficult and curious phrase *amor timetur*, I 11, 7 (Lachmann changed to *veretur*), is illustrated and defended by a reference to Verg. Ecl. 3, 109–10: et quisquis *amores* aut *metuet dulcis* aut experietur amaros,—a passage of at least equal difficulty. R. suggests taking *metuere amores* as a kind of accus. of the inner object 'entertain anxious love' [comp. "Freudvoll und leidvoll, etc." E. G. S.]. On the other hand R. believes that a few phrases in the Aeneid were due to reminiscences of Propertius, e. g. II 2, 6: et incedit vel Iove digna soror. Cf. Aen. I 46: ast ego quae divom incedo regina Iovisque et soror et coniunx. These and other parallels have been gathered by Reinsch, Wiener Studien, IX, p. 122.

G. Kaibel, Zur Attischen Komoedie. 1. Notes on the comic poet Phrynichus, a contemporary of Aristophanes; v. Schol. on Ran. 13; Av. 750. K.

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interprets a fragm. of the Τραγῳδοὶ ἢ Ἀπελεύθεροι of Phrynichus (Athen. IV 165b), evidently an allusion to the practice of criticising and sermonizing in the *parabasis*, the most original and characteristic element of old comedy. Next an attempt is made to reconstruct the general theme of Phrynichus's Ephialtes. 2. Archippus and the criticism of the Pergamenian scholars. How are we to explain that some titles of plays are assigned to A. or B.? The critics, finding from internal evidence that the name of an author prefixed in MSS could not belong to the particular play, suggested another, and thus the two names of authors passed into tradition, as is the case with the Ποίησις, Νῆσοι, Ναυαγός and Νίοβος, in the biographies of Aristophanes. Why did the ancient critics suggest Archippus as the real author of these four plays? Arch. flourished about 100 B. C.; his Ἰχθύες probably imitated the Birds of Aristophanes in its economy, a point which Kaibel elaborates with a full array of literary and dramatic data, and this suggested to the ancient critics the idea that these four plays in the Aristophanic corpus might well be assigned to Archippus. That these critics were Pergamenians and not Alexandrians may be gathered from the note in Pollux 9, 89, where the plural ἀργύρια for the regular Attic ἀργύριον is cited from the Νῆσοι; for it is precisely in such points of style that the Pergamenians showed their peculiar strength. Here Kaibel takes occasion to show that the Pergamenians went their own way in their study of Attic comedy as in everything. The Alexandrians divided comedy into old, middle and new; the Pergamenians, caring only for the style, into older and younger. So Dionysios in his tract περὶ μιμήσεως; cf. Quint. X 1, 66, and Plutarch, Moral. 712ab. Hence Menander is held up by Dionys. H. as a study for the future orator, and in like manner Plutarch extols Menander above the old masters. Evidently then, according to Kaibel, there was no scope for the middle comedy, which had to do with types, not with characters. Applying this to the treatise περὶ κωμῳδίας (Vesp. Dübner), we are now able to understand it better. It is the work of a Byzantine writer who really recognizes only two comedies, an old and a new, and bases the division on the style—on the purity of language in the new as compared with the ambitious, lofty and bizarre diction of the old, though the old comedy itself had passed through important changes under the influence of the rhetorical school of Gorgias. This paper of Kaibel's is an excellent specimen of constructive criticism, one of the most valuable productions printed in the Hermes within the last ten years.

F. Leo, Varro und die Satire. Horace, Sat. I 4, in making Lucilius an imitator of old Attic comedy follows Varro; cf. Diomedes, περὶ ποιημάτων, p. 485, and Festus, p. 314, both statements being traced to Varro. Varro in turn followed, in his conception of literary history, the analogies of Greek studies, particularly the Aristotelian and the Alexandrian schools.

U. Köhler, Beitraege zur Geschichte der Pentekontaetie: Thucydides's account supplemented with epigraphic material. What of C. I. Att. I 432? The lists of slain there given were referred by Kirchhoff to the defeat at Drabescus, Thuc. I 100, 3; cf. Paus. I 29, 4. Köhler controverts the correctness of this historical reference, basing his arguments largely on Plutarch, Cimon 14. Cimon conducted operations in the northern and Hellespontian region, in the course of which the soldiers mentioned in the inscription may have fallen. Köhler suggests ἐπὶ Σιγείῳ for ἐπὶ Σιδείῳ: "die Buchstabenzeichen

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ΛΑΔ sind auch in den öffentlichen Inschriften Athens, namentlich in Eigennamen, nicht selten unter einander vertauscht worden." 2. Political history derived or traced from sepulchral inscriptions. In regard to what is now C. I. Att. II 1675, Visconti had assigned it to the end of the Theban era, Kaibel to a year of the Corinthian war (394 B. C.); Köhler suggests the military operations of Pericles before the thirty years truce of 446 B. C., when the peculiar situation of circumstances made it obligatory for an Attic corps in retiring from the Megarid to make a détour through the Boeotian frontier and so regain Attica, Pleistoanax having occupied Eleusis with the Spartan invaders. The mention of Andokides (grandfather of orator) as στρατηγὸς is a considerable argument for Köhler's historical interpretation.

O. Hirschfeld, "Zu Römischen Schriftstellern." Critical notes on Cicero, Hirtius, Frontinus, Tacitus, Suetonius, Appuleius, Scriptores historiae Augustae, Martial, Juvenal.

A. Wilhelm, Attische Psephismen. Mostly post-Euclidean, and in the main either unpublished or not edited in a satisfactory manner. They are chiefly personal decrees of eulogy or bestow various rewards and gratifications upon meritorious foreigners and citizens. Neither detailed report nor summary is practicable. The Halicarnassian Apollonides, p. 123 sq., distinguished by the bestowal of Proxenia, is probably identical with the Apollonides mentioned by Demosthenes, contra Lacritum. The decree is of 354–53.

II.

A. Reuter, Der Codex Bernensis 363 und sein Werth für die Kritik des (Rhetorikers) Chirius Fortunatianus. MS of ninth century, written in the diocese of Milan, probably in the generation of the sons of Louis the Pious (†840 A. D.) The monk was "Scottigena" and the script is British.

Hülsen, Die Abfassungszeit der Capitolinischen Fasten. Hirschfeld suggested 742 A. U. C. (= 12 B. C.), in which year Augustus became pontifex m. Mommsen held, with Borghesi, that the list of magistrates was composed about 724 = 30 B. C. or 718 (24 B. C.), the list of triumphs in the year suggested by Hirschfeld. Hülsen maintains Mommsen's date, and the present paper is really an anticipation of or specimen of ed. II (of vol. I, C. I. L.) now in preparation.

Mommsen, Das Römische Militärwesen seit Diocletian (195–219 pp. Hermes). The general term for the corps or body of troops is numerus, ἀριθμός; κατάλογος in Procopius. After the time of Constantine I. there is a distinction between the emperor's troops, milites *palatini* or *comitatenses*, and the frontier soldiers, milites *ripenses* or *riparienses* or *limitanei*, with rank and pay inferior to that of the others. The frontier troops consisted of 40 legions which, however, were broken up both as to their camps and in the command, six tribunes on an average commanding 1000 troops each. Indirectly the frontiers were guarded by the adjacent states and tribes allied to Rome: Ethiopians south of Egypt, Saracens on the Euphrates, Goths on the Danube; to these in course of time payments were made, *annonae foederaticae*. The household troops or élite, called *scholae*, were probably an institution of Constantine I., the "emperor's own," men of distinguished physique and all mounted, arms and pay above

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the ordinary, arranged in bodies of 500 men. The *palatini* or *comitatenses* were attached not to any capital but to the emperor directly, the cavalry in 61 vexillationes, the infantry in 69 "legions." These legions, however, were not bodies of the old numerical strength; their names point chiefly to Illyricum and Gaul. The command of infantry and cavalry is distinct. The *bucellarii* ("biscuit-eaters") were men hired by private persons or condottieri; they were mounted men. This mode of self-help shows the political decay of the state. After the Diocletian era the barbarians are preferred as soldiers; next in desirability are the least civilized of the provincials, and so on. Slaves were enrolled after 400; of course they were enfranchised then. The total number of troops as calculated by Mommsen from the Notitia dignitatum was 554,500 men, of which 360,000 were frontier troops and 194,500 were imperial or *palatini*, these being figures of normal strength. A writer of Justinian's time (527–560) says that the empire required 645,000 troops, but the emperor had but 150,000. Mommsen's enumeration of forces, pp. 274–279, might serve admirably as an introduction to the history of the Middle Ages.

F. Leo, Die beiden metrischen Systeme des Alterthums. The *older* is that metrical system which reduces all metres to two primary types: the epic hexameter and the iambic hexameter. The younger is Alexandrian, the system of Hephaestis, Pacatus, Philoxenus (10 πρωτότυπα). Whence came Varro's metrical theories (as reproduced in Caesius Bassus)? Possibly the Pergamenian school first developed the simple mode of analysis (p. 295) in opposition to the Alexandrian system. The latter was substantially completed by 150 A. D.; the oldest representatives extant of that system in our tradition being of the era of the Antonines. *Some* Alexandrian doctrine, it is true, is found in Caesius Bassus, the representative of Varronian theory. Leo prints parallel extracts on p. 298.

H. Diels, Reiskii animadversiones in Laertium Diogenem. From John Jacob Reiske, a man of the most eminent genius, the apathy of the Germans, as Diels puts it, and the jealousy of the Dutch withheld due recognition in his lifetime ("Germanorum torpor et livor Batavorum coniuraverunt in divinum illud ingenium"). The MS of R. Animadversiones (the publication began in 1757, 5 vols.) passed into Lessing's hands, and subsequently found a permanent abode in the royal library of Copenhagen. Diels, engaged in working up Diogenes, obtained a loan of the MS. Diels praises R. in the strongest terms, ascribing to him the virtues of the critic in almost unparalleled perfection. Besides, as to the necessary basis of criticism: Graeci sermonis tam gnarus fuit ut paucos eum aequare, superare neminem existimem. [The reporter often heard M. Haupt speak in similar terms of Reiske.] A large number of extracts from Reiske's emendation of Diogenes are given with recent suggestions also by Diels.

Wilhelm, Attische Psephismen, II; cf. p. 108. Several decrees contain the provision that the meritorious foreigner eulogized should have the privilege of acquiring house and land in Athens (ἐγκτησις); a long inscription, pp. 331–32, specifies this privilege: a house within 3000 drachmas, land up to two talents.

E. G. SIHLER.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, Vol. XLIV.

Pp. 320–330. F. Bücheler attempts the reading and explanation of five Oscan inscriptions found at different times at Capua. The alphabet used is the later Oscan with some slight changes. In the first occurs the word pompedĭas, Latin pomperias, which is the Oscan name of a fraternity corresponding to the decuriae of a Roman collegium sacerdotum. With this pomperia, meaning a fraternity consisting of five, B. connects the name (Numa) Pompilius. The adjective namerttiais, occurring in the same inscription, is a derivative of the well known Oscan name for Mars, preserved in the gens Mamertina. In the third inscription we meet for the first time the name of the gens Magia of Capua (cf. Liv. 23, 7, Decius Magius Capuensis). Idus, Oscan eidus, cannot be connected with Greek *αἴθειν*, Latin aedes; its etymology is obscure. The ending -us in idus has a temporal signification.

Pp. 331–346, 488. A. Riese believes, with Pliny, Hist. Nat. IV 100, that the Suevi were a part of the Hermiones, a close confederacy of a few tribes dwelling in the interior of Germany on either side of the river Albis. The Semnones, the Langobardi, etc., perhaps even the western Hermunduri, belonged to this confederacy, which in later times moved further to the south-west and disappeared in the general name Allemanni. The Suevi in Caesar occupied the eastern banks of the Rhine in and about the country now called Baden, while Tacitus speaks of them as living to the north-east of the Suevi of Caesar. Strabo's account that *τὸ μέγιστον ἔθνος*, the Suevi reached *ἀπὸ τοῦ Ῥήνου μέχρι τοῦ Ἄλβιος* (VII 290) is but a reminiscence from Caesar, and contradicted by himself in other parts of his work. From the time of Augustus the Suevi and Marcomanni were united, and Strabo considers them as one nation, wherein he is followed by Tacitus. The latter's enumeration of the tribes of the Suevi (Germ. 38–45) is contradicted by his own statement in the Annales, and by that of other historians. In the Germania Tacitus simply copied the account of an author describing the Suevian empire during the period of its greatest extent at the time of King Marbod, and makes the additional mistake of confounding the tribes subject to the rule of the Suevi with the Suevi themselves. Marbod's vainglory and the boasting of his Roman protectors may partly account for the mistakes of Tacitus.

Pp. 347–386. P. Cauer emphasizes the great importance of a careful punctuation of the Homeric text. Editors have simply followed I. Bekker, who is not very reliable. (1) The omission of unnecessary commas, etc., will help towards a better understanding of passages like A 193 ff., B 577–80, E 487–9, *β* 199–201, *β* 2–6, A 199 f., M 378–85, A 140 ff., and M 416 f. (2) He next examines instances in which two neighboring signs of punctuation are confusing, because it has to be decided whether the words between these marks belong to the preceding or the following; such is the case in B 8 ff., Z 150 f., B 318 ff., I 334–341. (3) On such a decision depends at times the correct understanding of a whole period, as e. g. M 269–274, Z 146 ff., B 703 ff., *ν* 131 ff., B 870 ff., 641 ff. (4) Wolf introduced the signs of exclamation and interrogation; they were omitted by Spitzner and Bekker. Cauer strongly advocates the reintroduction of them into the text, as it would facilitate the interpretation of *ρ* 483 f., T 428, *π* 23, Δ 81, Λ 818, Z 257, X 8 ff., B 193–7 and 248–257.

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Pp. 369–373. C. Frick, in a note on J. J. Scaliger, and the chronicle of Victor Tunnunensis, and that of his continuer Joannes abbas monasterii Biclarensis, shows that Scaliger made use, for his edition of the Thesaurus temporum complectens Eusebii Pamphili chronicum, of a MS of the Jesuit father Andreas Schott, of Toledo, sent to him by Marcus Welser. This is proved by the agreement of the two MSS, that of Schott and the Cod. Scal. 25. The 'Thesaurus temporum,' by the way, is a supplement to Scaliger's celebrated work 'De emendatione temporum,' Paris, 1583, which has been the basis of all later works on ancient chronology.

Pp. 374–396. Ivo Bruns continues his studies in Lucian. A careful analysis of Ζεὺς τραγῳδός and Z. ἐλεγχόμενος shows that Lucian does not wage war against the popular belief of the Greeks concerning their gods, but rather against the teaching of the Stoics. His model for the Ζεὺς ἐλεγχόμενος must have been a treatise written by a Cynic philosopher against mantic art and fate, perhaps even the γοήτων φώρα of Oenomaus, which quoted approvingly the teachings of the Epicureans *passim*. Beautiful scenery, lively action, and rich satire are the characteristic features of the Ζεὺς τραγῳδός. In this tract also, Lucian, in the person of the Pseudo-Epicurean Damis, combats the Stoic theology represented by Timocles. The two satires show that the author sympathized with the doctrines of the Cynics and the Epicureans without identifying himself with either.

Pp. 397–405. Joh. Schmidt maintains against Mommsen (Herm. XX 144 ff., A. J. P. VII 251) that East-Zama, not West-Zama, is identical with the Zama regia of Sall. Jug. 56, and that the easterly Zama was also the scene of Scipio's victory over Hannibal in 202 B. C.

Pp. 431–440. O. Rossbach examines several Cretan coins from Gortyna and Phaestus, and the legends connected therewith. The silver coins of Gortyna represent a young maiden sitting in the midst of a tree, fondling with her hand an eagle; that of Phaestus shows a youth in the same position with a cock on his right knee. On the reverse is the picture of a bull; cf. Poole-Wroth, 'Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum, Crete, pl. IX 9, 10; X 1–5; XV 10 and 12,' and Gardner, 'Types of Greek coins,' pl. IX 17–20. On the Gortynian coins we probably have a representation of Europa carried away by Zeus in the form of an eagle and let down in the top of a sacred plane-tree. The Phaestus coin refers to Ganymede, the παῖς καλός of Olympus.

Pp. 440–447. C. Cichorius. The Greek inscription of 18 lines, published by Conze in his 'Reise auf der Insel Lesbos,' pl. XI 3, is a treaty of alliance between Rome and Methymna, dating about the middle of the sixth century a. u. c. The text is printed, restored, and interpreted. With the help of this inscription the one containing the senatus consultum concerning Astypalaia (649 a. u. c.) is restored and explained.

Pp. 448–460. O. Crusius explains: (1) Lucil. ap. Non. 201, XVI 8, p. 70. (2) Catullus 68a, ll. 15–20, where curis in non est dea nescia nostri | quae dulcem curis miscet amaritiem means carmina curiose elaborata. (3) In Aristaenetus Ep. 11, p. 143 we are told of one who ἐδόκει τῇ κεφαλῇ ψαίειν τοῦ

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οὐρανοῦ. This was turned εἰς τὸ γελοιότερον by a Greek comic poet, who substituted ἀράττειν for ψαύειν, and read οὕτως ἀράσσει τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸν οὐρανόν (see Kock, C. A. F. III, p. 505, fr. 531). This is the original of the last line of Hor. Od. I 1, sublimi feriam sidera vertice. (4) Hor. Epod. IV, quid attinet tot ora navium gravi | rostrata duci pondere is an imitation of the Greek φιάλης πρόσωπον and πρόσωπον νεώς. (5) The treatment of the boy mentioned in Hor. Epod. V 29–35 seems to have been an old custom among magicians, to judge from the words of Proclus in Theolog. IV 9, p. 293, τοὺς θεουργοὺς θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα κελεύειν πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐν τῇ μυστικωτάτῃ τῶν τελετῶν. (6) The lupi contrasted with the inmerentes hospites in Hor. Epod. VI 1 ff. are bad, unscrupulous people. Nos. 7–11 treat of passages in Ovid's Metamorphoses. Ovid has also drawn from Greek sources, but often misunderstood the original, which was not the case with Horace. Nos. 12–17 discuss passages from Martial. In No. 18 Crusius proves that Apuleius also collected proverbs, and in No. 19 he discovers a new Latin poet, Pitholaus, mentioned by Macrobius II 2, 14.

Pp. 461–467. G. Hirschfeld publishes additional remarks on the inscriptions from Naucratis (A. J. P. X 244); he speaks of the origin of the Ionic alphabet and the date of the founding of the city. ϟ and Σ were originally two distinct consonants; ϟ goes back to Çādê, Σ to Shin. Çādê and Shin served to represent the same s-sound in Greek, at first indifferently; later some Greeks preferred ϟ, others Σ. The inscriptions of Abu Simbel belong to the Çādê-group, those of Miletus and Naucratis to the Shin-group. Zăyin became ζ and Sāmech ξ. What is usually called the Ionic alphabet was originally nsed only in Miletus. From the sixth century B. C. on it became the common character of Ionia. No epigraphical objections can be raised against the view that the Greeks were in Naucratis as early as the seventh century B. C.

Pp. 468–488. A. Ludwich reads, l. 398 of the Hom. Hymn to Hermes, ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντ' ἰδ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἶξον, and l. 400, ἦχ' ἀδὴν τὰ χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ.—Comparing Eur. Ion. 401 and Crest. 1395, E. Graf thinks that the ἀρχά of Terpander (fr. I, Bergk) simply means ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, and has nothing to do with the technical term ἀρχά; that this fragment has no connexion with the νόμος of Terpander; cf. also p. 561 ff.—M. Schanz reads Soph. Phil. 758, εἶκει γὰρ αὐτῃ διὰ χρόνου νόσος, πλάνων and Bährens Paneg. lat. 247, c. IV, ingenuis indigni cruciatus corporibus, instead of ingenua indignis cruciatibus corpora.—H. L. Urlichs has a note on the statue of Thrasymedus in the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, Paus. II 27, 2, and defends on p. 487 f. the traditional reading of Pliny, Hist. Nat. XXXVI 13.—L. Traube. The exempla diversorum auctorum in the Anthologia Latina compiled by Mico about 825 A. D. mention Sophocles as one of the contributors to this anthology. —Joh. Schmidt prints three African inscriptions: (1) Lex dedicationis simulacri Dianae Augustae; it is the fourth of its kind known to us. (2) An inscription found on the statue of a high officer under the Flavian Emperors, stationed at Carthage; it is probably that of Sex. Vettulenus Cerealis, mentioned by Flav. Jos. bell. Iud. VI 4, 3. (3) Epitaph of a charioteer at Theveste. Additional remarks and corrections are found in Vol. XLV 157–9.

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Pp. 489–509. K. Buresch. Triopeion, Herodes, Regilla. Herodes Atticus lived between 102–178 A. D.; his wife Regilla seems to have died before the end of the sixties. The Triopeion was built by Herodes at the Via Appia, near Rome, soon after the death of the younger Faustina, the wife of Marcus Aurelius (175 A. D.), and was dedicated to the honor of the older Faustina as Demeter and the younger as Proserpina. This conclusion is based on the interpretation of several passages of the dedicatory inscription CIG. III 6280. Against this No. 6185 of the same volume seems to militate, but that is shown to be a modern forgery. Of the inscription CIG. III 6184 the part referring to Regilla is a forgery, but not that mentioning Maxentius.

Pp. 510–521. H. van Herwerden contributes twelve pages of emendations to Iliad and Odyssey.

Pp. 522–531. M. Ihm has four observationes in patres ecclesiasticos latinos: (1) Maximus Taurinensis (d. 25 July 466 A. D.) left chiefly homilies; he frequently quotes Cicero and Vergil; several passages are emended. (2) The Benedictine edition of the works of St. Ambrose contains a number of wrong readings. A passage in his Epistolae 67, 5 is but a translation of Philo's *περὶ φυγάδων*. On the basis of this Ihm emends accordingly. (3) Paulinus, Archbishop of Nola (d. 431 A. D.), has a number of reminiscences from Vergil and other Latin poets. (4) Marius Mercator (about 430 A. D.) wrote against the Pelagians.

Pp. 532–540. According to Fr. Vogel, Diodorus, in the account of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, made use of Ephorus only for XII 39–40 of his work, not for c. 38, as has been believed hitherto; c. 38 differs in tone and character from cc. 39 and 40, and cannot have been composed by one and the same writer. The two chapters agree with the account of Thucydides, and acquit Ephorus of the charge of narrowness.

Pp. 540–552. M. Manitius sends eight paragraphs on late Latin poets. (1) He agrees with F. Vogel (Vol. XLI 158; A. J. P. X 239) that the lyric poet Maximianus lived towards the end of the Gothic empire, and asserts that the poet was a Christian, not a Pagan. (2) The introduction to the Cynegetica of Nemesianus contains a quotation from Valer. Flaccus V 76. (3) Priscian translated the *περιήγησις οἰκουμένης* of Dionysius with a number of additions. He borrowed largely from Solinus, Pliny, Vergil, and Lucan. The De laude Anastasii also contains quotations from Vergil and Venantius Fortunatus. (4) Jovinus. (5) Chilpericus Rex, imitator of Sedulius. (6) Venantius Fortunatus. (7) Notes on the poems of Eugenius of Toledo, seventh century, which do not deserve the harsh criticism of Ebert (Geschichte d. christl. Lit. I 569 f.) (8) The centos of Columbanus.

Pp. 553–567. O. Immisch. On the history of Greek lyric poetry. (1) Agreeing with E. Hiller, who has proved that there are interpolations in the list of Pindar's works as found in Suidas (A. J. P. VIII 505), the writer believes that the 17 *δράματα τραγικά* denote the comprehensive characteristic of the whole lyric poetry of Pindar. The later free usage of the words *τραγῳδία*, *κωμῳδία*, and *δρᾶμα* is examined. (2) *Ὄρθια* and *σκολιά* do not differ in their metrical form, but in their character, the one representing the more earnest side of the

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convivial poetry, the other the more jovial. Terpander fr. 1 (Bergk) is a complete σπονδεῖον; the σπονδεῖα are called ὀρθια from the erect position of the one that pours out the libation. The σκολιόν received the name from the broken, zigzag order observed by the singers in the συμπόσιον; it is equal to the παραίβολα, an after-dinner speech or song (Hom. Hymn to Hermes 56).

Pp. 568–574. E. Pernice. Ad metrologicorum scriptorum reliquias; he edits Diodori de ponderibus et mensuris expositio, and adds notes on the edition of Hultsch.

Pp. 575–612. J. Koch maintains against Jeep (preface to the edition of Claudian) that the panegyricus de tertio consulatu Honorii was composed by Claudian in Dec. 395, and the panegyricus de quarto cons. Hon. in the fall of 397 A. D. The two books in Rufinum were completed during the year 396, the preface to book II was written in the fall of 397; the epithalamium de nuptiis Honorii et Mariae precedes the bellum Gildonicum, which was completed in the spring of 398 A. D. Then follows a historical sketch of the events from the death of the Emperor Theodosius the Great to the end of the bellum Gildonicum (395–398 A. D.)

Pp. 613–630. Ivo Bruns. Studies in Alexander of Aphrodisias. The idea of the possible and the Stoa. Interpretation of and critical remarks on De fato 32, 16 (ed. Orelli) and Quaestiones 1, 4 (ed. Spengel).

Pp. 631–640. J. Wackernagel proposes to read οἰη ('only') for εἰ μή in Hom. Hymn to Demeter, l. 24; l. 26 is a later interpolation.—F. B. Corrections and additions to A. Hausrath's edition of the second book of Philodemus περὶ ποιημάτων, published in Fleckeisen's Supplementheft XVII, pp. 213–276.—Cicero, De fin. II 8, 23, quotes from a satire of Lucilius on the asoti qui in mensam vomant; the passage, as found in Cicero, is corrupt and K. Dziatzko proposes to read his omnibus exquisitis, vitantis eorum (i. e. asotorum) cruditatem, 'quibus vinum defusum e pleno sit χρυσίζουν' (?), ut ait Lucilius, cui nildum situis [et] sacculus abstulerit. Lucilius probably wrote, defus(um) e pleno sit hrysizon quibus vinum | quoi nildum situis sacculus abstulerit. It is well known that Lucilius had used a great many Greek terms and phrases in his satires.—G. Gundermann. The via Gallica in the description of the 14 regiones is identical with the ager Pomptinus mentioned by Frontinus, Strategemata II 6, 1. It is not a continuation of the via Aurelia, but a branch road of the via Appia.

W. Muss-Arnolt.

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BRIEF MENTION.

STOCK'S *pro Roscio* (Clarendon Press, 1890) is valuable to the student who begins the more extended study of Cicero's orations, because it furnishes him, in addition to a really good commentary on Cicero's first public speech, an introduction which gives in compact shape much excellent material for beginning rhetorical studies. There has been a judicious sifting of material, and the student has in easily available form what would generally cost him much reading in Cornificius, Cicero and Quintilian to gather. In the text Baiter and Kayser have been followed. In the commentary a comparison with Donkin will show that the notes are fuller and often deal with things left untouched by the other. They are well chosen and will prove of great assistance to the student. E. H. S.

In my notice of Ritter's Untersuchungen über Plato (X 480) I said: 'Counting is not denied to any one,' but added, 'even facts are not so easily caught as some fancy, and who that has taken out his grammatical butterfly net has not been exposed to disappointment and mortification?' Certainly not Ritter, if I may judge by the report of a student of mine, who has been counting after him, and who calls attention to the sad slip on p. 58, where the number of pages in Theaetetus is put down at 68, the number in Phaedrus at 101—exactly the reverse of the true state of things. In the Laws εἰς or κατὰ δύναμιν is used, according to my informant, 66 times, and not as R. says 63; ἕνεκα 123 times, and not 111; χάριν 38 times, and not 33. Much more startling is the following statement: ἴσως is used at least forty-three times in the Laws instead of Ritter's four, and τάχα = ἴσως occurs twenty times against Ritter's never. I have not been able to verify these charges as to the accuracy of R.'s statistics, but it seems incumbent on any one who works in this line to look more narrowly into R.'s figures than has been done, at least to my knowledge.

Sidney's Apologie for Poetrie or *Defence of Poesy*, as the title appears on the cover of Professor COOK'S excellent edition (Boston, Ginn & Co.), is always delightful reading, especially for a classical scholar who feels the debt that our English prose writing owes the men who first felt the need of style and drew on the true sources of style. Sidney's English has to this day a wonderful charm, and the answer to the question why it is for all time, lies in the classic source of his inspiration. In his introduction Professor Cook draws an interesting parallel between the Greek sophists and the English euphuists, between Gorgias and Sidney; but there is no such excess of mannerism in Sidney as there is in Gorgias, or what purports to be Gorgias, and for this we have to thank Sidney's classic models, though these were predominantly Latin, as a matter of course. A first hand knowledge of the Greek authors whom Sidney cites is not made evident by the character of his references. The one or two Greek words are not absolutely conclusive. His allusions to Homer are vague.

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Euripides' Hecuba (49, 34) may have been known to him in the translation of Erasmus, the Medea (17, 7) in the translation of Buchanan, the Aiax of Sophocles (6, 29) in the translation of Rotallerus, all which, by the way, are comprised in a little volume of Tragoediae Selectae printed by H. Stephanus in 1567. There is no display of recondite learning, which, indeed, would have spoiled the little treatise, and the only classical allusions that are not patent have to do with schoolbooks that have lost their vogue. Phocylides and Dares Phrygius are names that might not wake responsive images in all men of letters to-day, and in fact even Professor Cook has got hold of the wrong Phocylides. Sidney's Phocylides (3, 20; 9, 35) is not the real Phocylides, but the Pseudo-Phocylides, whose enormous reputation was due to the Jewish-Christian wisdom and morality injected by the pious forger. Amusing is the droll centaur 'Bubonax,' half-Bupalus, half-Hipponax, to which Professor Cook calls our attention. But is it a centaur or simply an Irish bull? By the way, in the same context Sidney says: 'I will not wish unto you—to be rimed to death as it is said to be done in Ireland.' Surely some note is expected here, at least a reference to Rosalind's words, 'I was never so berhymed since Protagoras' time, that I was an Irish rat.'

The slips of a less rigorous censor than Dr. W. GUNION RUTHERFORD is might be allowed to correct themselves in the course of time, but the Headmaster of Westminster School wields the 'tawse' of his native clime so unmercifully that one is tempted to point out sundry things in his *First Greek Grammar* (London and New York, Macmillan & Co.), the like of which he would not fail to visit in a German scholar *horribili flagello*. Let us hasten to say in advance that some necessary truths are stated by Dr. Rutherford with a masculine impressiveness that will do no harm, and that the false air of originality may be pardoned for the sake of the educational good. But Dr. Rutherford has not got ὥστε right, and though he might plead a matter of opinion there, he has not got πρίν right, and that is inexcusable. He puts ὡς final on the same plane with ὅπως, which is not tolerable on his own principles, and whatever a more indulgent Grecian might do, so formidable an Atticist should have thought of εἶπεν before ἔλεξεν in constructing a paradigm even if both are allowable; and νομίζειν ὅτι is too exceptional a construction (see A. J. P. IX 100) to be made a model for schoolboys. What right has he to maintain that δοκεῖν as 'think' is Ionic only without a word of qualification, without a hint that he counts the tragic poets as Ionic? Οὐ after ὄμνυμι is good enough for Babrius (50, 6), but no Atticist is justifiable in allowing it equal rights with μή, for the shift in Dem. 39, 4 is a shift from swearing to saying. Then, apart from positive mistakes, Mr. Rutherford's language is sometimes puzzling, sometimes misleading. Between two constructions, he says in one place 'there is only a difference of meaning.' In the name of philology what more does a grammarian want than a difference of meaning? And how unfortunate the statement that 'κωλύω when it is not itself negatived has μή before the following inf.' For 'has' read 'may have.' The rule is permissive, not mandatory. But it is not my purpose to dissect a Greek chap-book. Only errors are more dangerous in chap-books than elsewhere, especially when they are warranted by a deservedly distinguished scholar.

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I.—BÖHTLINGK'S UPANISHADS.

Within the past year, the two longest of the ancient or genuine Hindu Upanishads, the Chāndogya and the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka (the latter being also the concluding part of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa), have been edited and translated by the veteran scholar Böhtlingk, as a new example of his unwearied, many-sided, and most fruitful activity.[1] No so permanently valuable addition to our knowledge of this class of works has been made hitherto. The texts themselves are carefully revised and (especially that of the Chāndogya, which is much more faulty than the other) in a host of places emended. And the translation is of that character which I pointed out in a paper in this Journal some years ago[2] as most to be desired—namely, simply a Sanskrit scholar's version, made from the text itself, and not from the native comment, and aiming to represent just what the treatises themselves say, as interpreted by the known usages of the language. No such version has been even attempted before; and the one next preceding this in time (that contained in Vols. I and XV of the Sacred Books of the East) is, unfortunately, also made in so slovenly a manner as to be practically worthless; it is a pity that it will find, especially among men of English speech, vastly more numerous readers than the present version. As the former impelled irresistibly to exposure of its faults, so, on the other hand, the latter is in all

[1] Khândogjopanishad. Kritisch herausgegeben und übersetzt von Otto Böhtlingk. Leipzig, 1889. 8vo, x, 201 pp.—Bṛhadâraṇjakopanishad in der Mâdhyaṁdina-recension, herausgegeben und übersetzt von O. Böhtlingk. St. Petersburg, 1889. 8vo, iv, 172 pp.

[2] Vol. VII, 1886, pp. 1–26.

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respects so good as to tempt to a detailed examination, in order to the correction of occasional oversights, and the suggestion of differences of view which may perhaps be found worthy of notice in case of a revisal of the works, either by the editor himself or by others.

First, as regards certain points in the external form of the text.

The editor has, in the matter of head-lines, etc., paid more than usual heed to the convenience of those who shall read or refer to text and translation; but, by omitting chapter numbers at the end of chapters, he has left us, in the numerous cases in the Chāndogya where several or many chapters lie open before the eye together upon the double page, to hunt up the one wanted with no little trouble in the small and illegible type of the chapter-endings. Verses quoted are well distinguished by being centered on the page, and lined according to their metrical form; in a single instance in B. (for brevity's sake, the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka will be thus designated, and the Chāndogya by C.) a verse is overlooked (V 1. 1; bottom of p. 50); and, on the other hand, in a considerable number of instances in the same text (in III 9, 1; V 3, 1; VI 3, 10; 4, 5–11) unmetrical phrases are treated as verse, by printing and otherwise. In giving metrical matter, the editor has taken everywhere the liberty of restoring in part the presumable metrical form, especially by often resolving *y* and *v* into the vowels *i* and *u*, and sometimes by restoring an elided initial *a*. This method he first adopted (it is believed) in the Vedic extracts beginning his Chrestomathy (2d edition); and there it seemed not much out of place, because the book was intended for the use of beginners, to whom such restorations might be supposed helpful; but it is certainly only by an error of judgment retained in texts like these before us. Students who come to the Upanishads must be presumed competent to make for themselves, without aid which may appear to them impertinent, such banal adaptations of written to spoken text-form. Moreover, it is little worth while to help them in these particulars while in others they are left to shift for themselves. For example, in C. IV 17, 9, *brahmāivāika* must be read into *brahma eva eka*, and in V 2, 7 *çreṣṭham* into *çraiṣṭham;* in III 15, 1 *sa eṣa* must be contracted to *sāi 'ṣa*, as in B. IV 4, 22 *ya iha* to *ye 'ha*, and in IV 4, 13 *bhūya iva* to *bhūye 'va*, and in VI 4, 8 *-viddhām iva* to *-viddhām 'va*, while yet they are all printed here as in ordinary Sanskrit texts. At the beginning of B. V 15, 3, where *prāṇa*, *apāna*, and *vyāna* are said to

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make together eight syllables, the editor thinks to explain by reading *prāṇo 'pāno viānaḥ:* as if the reader were not as competent himself to resolve the *y* of *vyāna* as to restore the elided *a* of *apāna!* Then, besides the cases in which the mode of restoration to be adopted is fairly questionable (e. g. in the second pāda in B. VI 4, 5, where a *ca* added at the end is to be conjectured, rather than resolution of *apy* to *api*), an editor is liable to make here and there a pretty evident mistake (e. g. in the first pāda of the verse last referred to, where the elided *a* of *adya* is not to be restored; in VI 4, 19, first pāda, where, leaving the *a* of *aham* elided; we are to read *amo 'ham asmi sā tuam;* and in the fourth pāda, where *dyām aham pṛthivī tuam*). Least of all to be approved, perhaps, is the tampering with the traditional text in pure prose passages, as in B. VI 4, 11, where *'ḥāuṣīḥ* is three times altered to *ahāuṣīḥ*, without any note to inform the reader of the change. Surely it would have been on all accounts better to retain throughout the familiar and universally intelligible Sanskrit orthography.

Another somewhat kindred point is the additional interpunction introduced everywhere by the editor. He has a special (and cleverly devised) sign of his own, which he inserts, with suspension of *saṁdhi*, wherever it seems to him called for. It is the first time he himself has employed such a device, which, however, has a sort of predecessor and exemplar in the sign introduced (though without resolution of *saṁdhī*) for a like purpose by Schröder, in the prose parts of his Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā. To me, I must confess, the latter has always seemed an impertinence, as if claiming that the editor had a peculiar ability, which his readers could not bring to the task, to break the *brāhmaṇa*-text up into the clauses of which it is composed; and the absence of any repetition or imitation of the method until now may be taken as indicating that the general opinion of Sanskrit scholars is against it. But Böhtlingk's method, as applied by him, is yet more objectionable, since he uses it in great measure to impose upon the Sanskrit the worst special features of German punctuation. This latter, as is well known, has had the misfortune to get itself saddled with certain mechanical and pedantic rules, of strictest obligation, which are the abomination of all who have a feeling for the true uses of punctuation, and which are accepted as binding in no other system of writing: especially, the rule of a comma before every relative, no matter what the kind of relation signified by it.

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For example, the verse "I love them that love me, and they that seek me early shall find me" would be, by German pointing, "I love them, that love me and they, that seek me early, shall find me." To this torture Böhtlingk would fain subject the Sanskrit: for example, the sentence "he that knoweth thus verily burneth him that trieth to get the advantage of him" (B. I 4, 2) is thus broken up into three clauses by intruded division-marks—and so, more or less, in innumerable other passages. It were much to be wished that he had limited himself to correcting where necessary the divisions established by his predecessors.

In one or two points, the editor appears to me to show a subservience to native grammatical authority greater than was to be expected of one who (even though an editor of Pāṇini twice over) has emancipated himself as fully as he has done from the dominion of Hindu commentators. Thus, relying (see C., preface, p. ix) on a rule of Pāṇini, he doubles the aspirate *ch* after its corresponding nasal (both the result of *saṁdhi*), whether after a long or a short vowel, and even when another consonant follows, giving us such combinations as *ñcch*, *ñcchr*, *ñcchv*, hitherto (so far as I am aware) entirely unknown in Sanskrit orthography, whether manuscript or printed. It might be dangerous to dispute his opinion as to what the letter of Pāṇini's rules requires; but we may safely question whether the latter deliberately intended to teach such monstrosities, unfounded in phonetic reason, and lacking all analogy with the (in itself questionable) duplication of *ch* after a short vowel; and we not only may, but ought to, refuse to admit them, Pāṇini or no Pāṇini. On the same authority (ib., p. vi), the editor retains, with semi-vowel conversion, the *i* of a protracted (*pluta*) *e* before another *i* (of *iti*): reading, for example (C. V 3, 3; B. VI 1, 2), *pūryatā3y iti* (from *pūryate iti*); at the same time pointing out that such a reading is nowhere met with, the *y* being always omitted (the occurrences, to be sure, are far from common). Here, again, I should be wholly inclined to follow manuscript usage as more authoritative than grammatical rule, considering the rarity and difficulty of the combination *yi* (as of *vu*), the irregularity of the conversion of *i* to *y* before another *i* (it occurs elsewhere in the language only in the inflection of the perfect tense), and further, especially, the pre-grammatical independence of the dialect of the earliest Upanishads (parallel with that of the Brāhmaṇas), and the analogous well-known prohibition (see my Skt. Gram., §134c) in much of the older literature

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of retaining before an initial *u*-vowel of any kind a final *v* as product of euphonic combination. In another somewhat similar point, the treatment of vocative *o* before *iti* (see C., p. 105, note to 67, 15), the editor accepts on no better grounds the uniform usage of manuscripts and editions, though it "offends against grammar."

I am very glad to see that in his B. text (e. g. II 4, 5; IV 3, 23 ff.; 4. 21. 22) the editor at last accepts the true accent of the gerunds in *-tavya* as *-tavyà*, not *-távya*, even in the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa; he has long held out stoutly against it, in both the major and minor Petersburg lexicons, carrying with him the whole Jena school (Cappeller, in his excellent little dictionaries, and Delbrück, in his Vedic Syntax: see p. 398, note, of the latter).

The use of the *avagraha*-sign for elision of initial *a* is so essentially European and not Hindu that we might well be spared it at least in compound words, like *parokṣa* (e. g. B. IV 2, 2).

To venture a more general criticism: the separation of a repeated word (*āmreḍita*) into two, as regularly practised by the editor (and by various other younger scholars), appears to me altogether undesirable; the two occurrences of the word are thus assumed to be independent and equal, while, in fact, the second shows by loss of accent its dependence on the first. All the Hindu *pada*-text makers treat the repetition as the equivalent of a compound; and we may best follow their example.

As regards, now, alterations of the text given by the manuscripts, the discussion of them concerns especially C., since the textual tradition of B. is, like that of the Brāhmaṇa of which it forms a part, by far the more accurate and trustworthy. Such alterations fall naturally, in a general way, into the two categories of restorations and improvements; and the latter should be only very sparingly ventured. The difficulty is, of course, to draw the line between the two; its place depends in good part on subjective considerations, differing in different minds. I should incline to make the division somewhat otherwise than as the editor has made it, suggesting rather in notes part of the new readings which he has taken into the text. For example, the quotation-particle *iti* is often used very loosely in C.; it is introduced in numerous places where it seems uncalled for, and the editor casts it out (more than thirty times in the whole text); in nearly as many instances it may be viewed as wanted where it is not found, and he introduces it (twenty-five times): and there is left a very

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considerable residue of questionable cases. It might have been better to leave the text as it was, pointing out that its handling of *iti* is a weakness, to be properly made of small account in translating. Again, considering that the suffix *ya* is not, like *tva* and *tā*, a distinctively noun-making element, its noun-use being the substantivizing of a neuter adjective, I see no good reason for altering *āitadātmya* in a whole series of instances (VI 8, 7 et al.) into *etadātmaka*; to do so is, in my opinion, clearly to be wiser than the authors or the recorders of the Upanishad. I would say, less confidently, the same of *adhidāivatam* (I 3, 1 et al.), which, as pointed out by the editor himself, is found also in another important text; and even of *somya* (for *sāumya*, IV 4, 4 et al.), since the form is grammatically good, and it occurs too often to be plausibly regarded as a mere oversight. The form *bhuñjāmas* (for *bhuñjmas*), which is met with three times (IV 11, 2; 12, 2; 13, 2), might probably better have been left standing: to say (note, p. 102) that such forms "make their first appearance in the epics" sounds curiously; it is equivalent to saying that they are not to be retained in the Upanishad because they do not occur there; similar instances of modulation (as it may best be called) out of the nasal- into the *a*-conjugation show themselves even in the Rig-Veda; and what branch of Hindu literature, we may ask, intervenes between the Upanishads and the epics to prove by negative evidence the non-existence of a conjugation-stem *bhuñja* in the former? So the editor alters (VII 6, 1) *mahattām* to *mahattvam*, because, as he says, while both are equally allowable, the former does not appear to have been in use—in spite of the fact that in this passage it does plainly appear to be used. *Bhogya* (VIII 9, 1 ff.) might have been left; and *akṣiṇi* (I 7, 5 et al.; B. IV 2, 3) is rather a neoterism than a misreading. In view of the epic confusion of active and middle forms, there is room for question whether some of the changes in this respect made by the editor are not improvements rather than restorations of the text, especially where the loss of a syllable, as *thās* of 2d sing. mid., is involved. The same might be said of the addition or omission of an augment in order to obtain a more regular form.

To note a few more isolated cases. That *mṛtpiṇḍa* should have dropped out of the text twice at I 2, 7. 8 seems altogether too unlikely to justify its insertion, otherwise than perhaps in brackets in the translation. The omitted subject may be conceived to be that which is ordinarily aimed at a target: when the target is a

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stone, this falls to pieces, instead of piercing or sticking in it. If a verb is to be supplied in I 11, 3, the analogy of III 17, 2. 3 strongly indicates that it should be *etu* instead of *astu*. The unlikelihood of mending leather with wood rather than the contrary is enough, I think, to cause the retention of the manuscript reading at IV 17, 7. Our imperfect understanding of the ancient Hindu game with dice, and of *abhinihita* utterance, makes the proposed emendations at IV 1, 4. 6 and II 22, 5 very unsatisfactory; nor does anything definite appear to be gained by substituting *kapilāsam* for *kapyāsam* at I 6, 7. At II 13, 1, the alteration of *prati strī* to *pratistri* seems to me uncalled for, and supported only by an inadmissible rendering, in the translation, of both this clause and the one following: the translator's governing consideration (note, p. 99), that there must be no change of subject, is of no importance in comparison; on the contrary, *strī* is subject both of *çete* and of *gacchati* ('she accomplishes her time': i. e., till delivery). At VI 14, 1, the reading of the manuscripts, *pra dhmāyīta*, is in my opinion better than the editor's substitute; it means 'he should be blown forth': i. e., carried in any chance direction, as a leaf by the wind. In improving the text at V 15, 2 by changing an imperfect to a conditional verb-form, the editor gives us *açarīṣyata*, with long *ī*, which is, so far as I know, without any support in the recorded uses of the language (see my Skt. Gram., 2d ed., §935a: *çariṣyate* occurs from this root, in ÇB. XI 4, 2[14]). Until such forms are found somewhere actually employed, I do not think we are justified by the permission of the native grammarians in introducing them conjecturally. At VIII 7, 3, the editor alters *avāstam* (2d du. aor. from √*vas*) to *avāttam*. In this he is doubtless wrong, and the reading of the manuscripts is to be restored. As I intimated in the last edition of my Skt. Gram. (§883), the radical *s* reappears here after the loss of the aorist-sign *s*, just as the radical *dh* of *arāudh* in a similar case, whence *arāuddham*, and not *arāuttam*.

There was no harm in filling out the verse quoted by its *pratīka* in III 17, 7; but it should have been remembered that the Chāndogya is a part of the Sāma-Veda, and the readings of the Sāman (differing slightly in two points from those of the Rig-Veda) should have been given. Similarly, at III 12, 6, the editor has made several changes quite uncalled for by the sense, because the Rig-Veda version of the stanza reads differently; but we happen to have, in the Nāigeya appendix to the Sāma-

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Veda (IV 6 *a*, *b*, and 5 *c*, *d*, or 621, 620 of the whole text), the Sāma-version of it, which agrees (excepting in reading *pūruṣaḥ*) with that of the Upanishad; the latter is accordingly to be restored without doubt or hesitation. Once more, of the second verse in III 17, 7, the editor has taken the liberty of striking out the third *pāda*, apparently because in his view it was a superfluous variant of the second *pāda*. But the two stand peacefully together in Lāṭyāyana, and the rejected one is the preferred one in the Vājasaneyi-version, so that the sacrifice must be pronounced unnecessary and wanton.

It would take far too much time and space to discuss all the editor's emendations, pronouncing upon their acceptability. The majority of those that have no manuscript authority (even apart from the numerous welcome corrections of Roer's oversights and errors) are to be approved with little or no question; some are offered confessedly as only attempts at the betterment of difficult passages, and, even when they are not a satisfactory solution of the difficulties, it will not be found easy to do better. But there are also a few passages for which further emendations may be suggested.

Thus, at VI 2, 3, *vā* is evidently to be emended to *vāi* or to *eva* (by the analogy of the next paragraph, the latter); and the sense is this: 'therefore, wherever it is hot (for this impersonal use of *çocati*, compare VII 11, 1), a man just sweats; from heat, namely, thus water is produced.'

At I 11, 1, there appears to be no reason whatever for the subjunctive *vividiṣāṇi*, and we may confidently change it to *-ṣāmi*; the editor makes a like change of imperative to indicative first person a little later, at 12, 2. Then, after thus saying here 'I wish to know thee,' the aorist *āiṣiṣam* 'I have been seeking' is not at all in place; a slight and facile emendation (*ṣ* and *ṣy* being frequently confounded) makes of it the conditional *āiṣiṣyam*: 'I should (i. e., if I had known thee already) have sought thee; but, by reason of not knowing thee (whether *aviltyā* or *aviltvā* is read being now indifferent), I have chosen others.'

The use of an optative in a prohibitive sense after *mā* is so rare and anomalous in every period of the language that I should not hesitate at III 16, 2 ff. to emend *lopsīya* to *lopsi*.

At the beginning of I 6, 7, I think that *tasya* (before *yathā*) should be changed to *yasya*, the clause which it introduces being descriptive, like those that precede; the apodosis begins with the following *tasya*.

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At the end of I 8, 5. 7, *-saṁstāvam* gives so unmanageable and unsatisfactory a meaning that one may at least conjecture in its place *-saṁsthānam*, though it is hard to see how a reading so distinctly suggested by the context should have been lost.

In II 14, 1, we can hardly avoid emending to *mādhyaṁdina* and *āparāhṇaḥ*.

If neglected distinctions of active and middle are to be restored, *dadhvasire* at I 2, 7 and *açrayata* at II 25, 4 ff. appear to be called for. So, also, if we are to rectify the use of *iti*, we should strike it out, I think, at the end of I 2, 9, where it burdens the translator's version, and in VI 4, 6 (twice). 7, where he is not able to render it.

In II 21, 3, *santi* would fill out the metre better than a third repetition of *trīṇi* (as suggested by the editor), which would be contrary to all analogies. In V 10, 9, *tebhis* for *tāis* would rectify the metre.

Finally, of errors of the press not corrected in the notes there are very few. I have noted the following: p. 49, l. 5, read *naḥ;* 73, 13, *hy ātmā;* 82, 17, *hy anyasmin;* 87, 10, *pāpmāno;* 89, 17, *āpnoti;* 94, 6, *ākāçam.*

Turning now to the Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka, we find there (as already noted above) a generally different state of things. In the great majority of cases, alterations made by the editor concern only accent, and are almost always acceptable: though at I 3, 18; V 6, 3; VI 4, 22, the accented verb-forms might have been left, as possibly falling under the rule of antithetical accent. On the other hand, there are a number of cases in which alteration appears to be not less called for than in those to which he has applied it: thus, of verb-forms whose accent seems unmotived, we may further note *didṛkṣante*, I 3, 27; *pūryáte*, I 4, 5; *ábhūt*, II 1, 16; *kṛâmanti*, III 2, 12; *tiṣṭhatas*, III 8, 9 (thrice); *sajyáte* and *vyáthate*, III 9, 28 et al.; *háreta*, IV 1, 4 ff.; *bhávatas* and *páçyati*, IV 3, 9; *ákaravam*, IV 4, 27 (twice); *ávocas*, VI 1, 5; *açnīyátām*, VI 4, 13 ff.; *ábhūs*, VI 4, 29 (twice); while *bhavati* at II 1, 4 ff. and VI 2, 5 (twice) is better accented, *bhávati;* and it is unavoidable to emend to *mányāsāi* at III 9, 26, to *ìyamānaḥ* at IV 3, 14, to *róheyus* at VI 3, 15. 20, and to *rábhāvahāi* and *dádhāvahāi* at VI 4, 19. As regards noun-forms, etc., the editor explains in his preface that he has sometimes corrected their accent without reporting it in the margin; this is to be regretted, partly because we are thus prevented from seeing how much

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further consistency would permit or require his going in the same direction—whether, for example, he should not also have emended *dharmá* (II 5, 11 twice), *vijijñāsā* (III 1, 1), *mūrdhan* (III 8, 1), *ugra* (IV 3, 43. 44), *ājyá* (VI 3, 1), *vṛṣala* and *vṛṣalī* (VI 4, 12), *puṇyāha* and *dvādaçāha* (VI 3, 1), *sāṁrādhanī* (VI 3, 3), *pāpa* (III 2, 14 et al.), *vedá* (IV 3, 22 et al.), *loman* (VI 1, 16), *çākalyá* (III 9, 28: some of these having also the correct accentuation in other passages). At VI 3, 16 the texts give *madhukā pāiñgya*, and in 17 *mādhuka pāiñgyá;* the editor harmonizes the latter of the two words, but not the former. The accentuation as given is also hardly to be tolerated in the compounds *sārvānubhū* (II 5, 19), *açanāyāpipāse* (III 4, 1), *ahaṁçrèyas* (VI 2, 7), *putranāman* (VI 4, 26), and the negatived participles *akāmáyamāna* (IV 4, 8), *avādant*, etc. (VI 2, 8–12). As for the participles in *ta* with prefixes, there are exceptions enough, from the Rig-Veda down, accented on the *ta* to make the restorations of more normal accent in V 11, 1 and VI 3, 9 a little doubtful; but we cannot well avoid changing *ápāttam* to *apāttam* at VI 1, 10. As the editor points out in his note on I 2, 5 the familiar fact that the accent *ṛcas* for the accus. pl. is abundantly supported, one hardly sees why he changed it to *ṛcās*, or why *mūdas* to *mudās* at IV 3, 11, or *diças* to *diçās* at III 2, 13; 9, 20 (*diçās* occurs, however, at III 7, 14).

There are a few cases in which the ambiguous system of accentuation of the text as a part of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa has misled the editor. Thus, at the end of I 3, 19, we have to read *'dhipatiḥ* (not *-tíḥ*); at I 4, 16, doubtless *kṣuradhānè* (his text has *curadhānè*); at III 8, 9, *nadyàḥ* (Weber also has *nādyaḥ*); at III 9, 19, *akratū3;* 26, doubtless *adyúḥ;* at V 2, 2. 3. 4, *ajñāsiṣṭā3;* at V 15, 11, doubtless *cakára* (after *hí;* the case is a rare and important one); at VI 1, 10, probably *abhyavadānyò* (Weber also has *-dānyo*).

The emended accent *āsāu* in VI 4, 11 (thrice). 21 is, of course, only called for by the editor's punctuation; as the manuscripts read, the word is each time part of the foregoing sentence, and so properly accentless.

Of other alterations, we may fairly question *dādati* at V 4, 1 for *dādanti*, the present-stem *dada* being well supported by both Vedic and later usage. At IV 3, 42, the question is how to reconcile the manuscript readings *utsárjad yāyāt* and *utsárjaṁ yāti*—whether by altering the first phrase to *utsárjaṁ yāyāt* or the

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second to *utsárjan yāti*. The editor prefers the former method; to me, considering the rarity of the adverbial gerund in *-am*, the latter appears decidedly easier, as well as less removed from the manuscript readings.

One or two suggestions of further amendment may be offered. It is contrary to all good grammar that a verb in the second person singular should be construed with *bhávān* as subject, as here at VI 1, 5 (*ávocas*). On the other hand, we ought to have '*karas*, and not '*karat* (VI 4, 27), with a relative subject referring to the antecedent *tvám*. At III 9, 28, *akrāmīt* must doubtless be emended to *akramīt*; the long *ā* has blundered into it from the present-stem (the Bombay edition of the Upanishad reads *akrāmat*, impf.). At VI 1, 11, *rādhās* should doubtless be changed to *rādhas*; the editor's suggested reason for the false reading (note, p. 72) is ingenious and probable. At II 4, 10 (and IV 5, 11), the compound *ārdrāidhāgni* 'wet-fuel-fire' is a most implausible one, and the following participle *abhyāhita* seems quite distinctly to call for an instrumental case as adjunct.; one may well conjecture, therefore, an emendation to *ārdrédhā 'gnér abhyāhitasya* 'of a fire piled with wet fuel.'

The errata in this text are much more numerous than in the other, owing to the smaller and less distinct type used, and to the additional difficulty occasioned by the accentuation; the editor's anticipatory apology for them in his preface (p. iv) is to be fully and heartily accepted. I catalogue here what I have noted in addition to the four cases corrected at the end (p. 68). Page 1, l. 13, read *nāì*; 2, 16, *prāṇésū-*; 18, *ātmanvy*; 3, 24, *pāpmánā*; 4, 7, *devátānām*; 19, *mánó-*; 5, 25, *áthā 'taḥ*; 6, 27, *-váyo 'jāyanta . . . pipīlikābhyas*; 7, 3, *áthé-*; 8, 17, *kṣatrám*; 10, 18, *úpaspṛṣṭo*; 12, 19, *çrótram*; 26, *madhyamdḥ*; 14, 23, *māi 'tásminī*; 17, 21, *'hdm as-*; 18, 8, *ātmánas*; 19, *ayám ātmā*; 20, 20. 26, *ātmā*; 21, 16, *vāi . . . etád*; 22, 12, *kāuṇḍinyāyanāc*; 23, 4, *pañcālānām*; 5, *anūcānátama*; 16, *hótā*; 25, 6, *spárçān vedáyate*; 26, 8, *vāyúr . . . -gamayat* (the translation here is made from the false reading *-gamat*); 28, 1, *'bravīt*; 29, 10, *-ntaryāmy*; 10–11, *-dhivedám*; 15. 16, *sárvāṇi*; 30, 12, *eṣá ta*; 31, 9, *caná* (twice); 32, 2, *sahásrā*; 8, *sahásre-*; 9, *eté*; 17, *-syāi 'té*; 37, 2. 21, *samrāḍ*; 27, *devān . . . -ṣabhaṁ sahásraṁ da-*; 38, 10, *devó . . . -ṣabhaṁ sahásraṁ da-*; 13–14, *ācāryàvān*; 17, *hṛdayam ev-*; 40, 15, *púruṣo*; 42, 23, *etásyāi 'vā-*; 43, 2–3, *devatvám*; 44, 15, *-vidyāṁ*; 16, *návataraṁ*; 20, *vāyumdyas*; 45, 3, *prāpyā 'ntam*; 11, *çdyīta*;

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22, *prétyâ-*; 23, *tád u*; 46, 8, *áyur hy*; 24, *yéṣâṁ*; 48, 3, *hánta*; 4, *'háṁ*; 7, *ná*; 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17, *ātmánas*; 24, *bráhme 'dáṁ*; 49, 11. 12. 13 (twice), *eváṁ*; 12, *védānām*; 51, 23, *tád vāí*; 52, 6, *tád etát*; 15, *pāpmánam*; 55, 4, *èlásmiṁs*; 12, *hāi 'vá*; 21, *hāi 'vâ 'smāi*; 56, 5, *udíkṣyā 'bhy*; 8, *āpádyānlâ*; 57, 12, *vāi*; 26–27, *mriyáte*; 59, 3, *ha vāí*; 13, *saṁvatsaráṁ*; 61, 3, *hutvâ mánthe saṁ-*; 62, 2, *utò 'ṣâsaḥ*; 24–25, *āúdumbaryā*; 63, 10, *yájamānasya lokó*; 66, 20, *árīricam*; 68, 3, *âlambāyanī-pútrāt.*

Coming now to consider the translation, we may first take up certain general points, having to do with both works.

And, to begin with, the style of rendering, notwithstanding its prevailing faithfulness, is on the whole, in my opinion, more periphrastic than is either necessary or desirable. If the translator's leading intent were to set forth the philosophical content of the two treatises, such a style could not be much objected to; but in what aims to be, like this, a Sanskrit scholar's version, a higher degree of literalness was reasonably to be expected. For example, at C. I 2, 1, why not read, with the text, 'saying "with this we shall overcome them,"' rather than "in the opinion that with this they should overpower the demons"? Or, at C. II 3, 1, which reads literally 'a cloud is generated—that [is] the *prastāva*; it rains—that [is] the *udgītha*; it lightens, it thunders—that [is] the *pratihāra*; it holds up—that [is] the *nidhana*,' why should we have instead "the *prastāva* is the forming cloud, the *udgītha* the rainfall, the *pratihāra* lightning and thunder, the *nidhana* the cessation of the rain"? So the customary and lively descriptive phrase 'he who burns yonder' is shrunk into simply "the sun" (e. g. C. I 3, 1), and the corresponding 'he who cleanses here' into "the wind" (e. g. C. IV 16, 1), and *iyam* 'this [earth]' becomes "the earth"; and so on. In such instances as these, there is no perversion of essential meaning, but only a regrettable and, as it seems, quite gratuitous sacrifice of the characteristic flavor of the original. The same is the effect of the innumerable omissions of a demonstrative which the translator commits, often many times on a page, or repeatedly in a single sentence. For example, at C. I 1, 2, instead of "of beings," the treatise has 'of these beings' (i. e. these that we know, or that we see about us: *eṣām bhūtānām*); at II 9, 1, "the sun" is 'yon sun' (*amum ādityam*); at 2, "the *sāman*" is *etasya sāmnaḥ* 'that *sāman*'; at III 13, 1, *tasya ha vā etasya* becomes simply "the" in the translator's

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hands—and so not rarely in other cases of double as well as single demonstratives (e. g. *teṣām eṣām*, C. VI 3, I ; *etās tās*, VIII 6, 1). Probably the translator considered the point, and concluded that the excessive demonstrativeness of these treatises was a blemish, which he might best wipe off, as one strikes out the superfluous *so*'s and *such*'s in a pupil's exercise; but many, I am sure, will hold with me that it is rather a part of their individual coloring, which ought to be preserved. Sometimes his neglect costs him something: so, in the sequel of the passage referred to above (III 13, 6), the text, after describing the five kinds of breath, goes on to say 'these same (*te vā ete :* i. e. the breaths) Brahma-men [are] doorkeepers of the heavenly world' (or, '[are] Brahma-men, doorkeepers,' etc.), while the translator's rendering, "the doorkeepers of the heavenly world are the five servants of Brahma," cuts the statement off from all connection with what precedes. Another similar case is seen at VIII 3, 1. The preceding chapter has treated of various wishes or desires (*-kāma*), and this begins with a reference to them : ' these same desires ' (*ta ime ... kāmāḥ*) ; but the translator says simply "desires," hiding the relation of the two chapters. Now and then he faithfully renders a demonstrative, but I am unable to see on what principle his selection of such cases is made. Occasionally, also, he passes over other words as unessential to the sense: examples are the particles *hanta* and *bata*, in the majority of the cases of their occurrence (why not then in all ?). As a natural counterpart to this, we have sometimes unacknowledged insertions, beyond the limit of what appears to me fair; I will notice but a few examples, as it is a matter of casuistry where the line is to be drawn in this department between the legitimate and the illegitimate. It is a small matter that relative words are not seldom introduced to connect clauses whose relation might quite as well have been left undefined, as the text leaves it (e. g. C. IV 4, 5 ; 16, 3 ; V 19, 1). But such examples as the following are also not rare: instead of translating *sparça* by 'mute' and *ūṣman* by 'spirant' (or something equivalent), as he had just translated *svara* by "vowel," he (at II 22, 3. 4) prefers to say "sounds called *sparça*," etc., without putting the first two words into parenthesis, as supplied—as if the treatise itself would use such expressions; and quite similar cases are found at IV 16, 2 ; V 2, 8. In VI 11, 1 is inserted " with an ax." At VII 8, 1 we have "persons of higher station" interpreted in without notice ; at VIII 13, 1, " by an artist "; at IV 3, 6, " gods ";

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at VI 14, 2, "where he is"; and so on. The cases are mostly of rather trivial consequence, only vexing by their wantonness. But sometimes, as could not well be otherwise, such means are used to help a misunderstanding: thus, at VIII 11, 2, 'does not know himself, that "this is I"' is expanded, and distorted, into "does not know himself; he knows not that it is he"; and, at B. IV 5, 25, the two words *etâvad . . . amṛtatvám*, literally 'of such extent [is] immortality' (which may most probably mean 'this is all that immortality amounts to'), are not merely stretched, but also interpreted, into "so much and not more can one say about immortality." Other examples will be seen later. This whole method of translation—recasting, omission, and insertion—is beset with danger; it leads to the supplying of essential deficiencies, the smoothing over of difficulties, and the substitution of an interpretation for a version.

Omissions of single words or phrases by oversight occasionally occur: thus, at C. II 11, 1 (*vāk prastāvaḥ*); 21, 2 (*evam*); V 10, 5 (*etam adhvānam*); 24, 4 (*evaṁvid*); VI 3, 3 (*anenāi 'va jīvenā "tmanā*); VII 5, 3 (*pratiṣṭhitān*); VIII 5, 4 (*araṁ ca ŋyaṁ ca*); 7, 2 (*ubhaye*); 12, 6 (*tasmāt*);—B. I 3, 24 (*tasmād v eva sāma*), 33 (*ātmane*); 4, 8 (*gardabhī 'tarā gardabha itaraḥ*), 19 (*ātmānam eva priyam upāsīta*), 29 *sarvadā ;* II 2, 5 (*camasaḥ*); III 9, 21 (*cakṣuṣā hi rūpāṇi paçyati*); IV 4, 17 (*sarvasya*); V 2, 3. 4 (*enam*); 12, 1 (*-antaram*); VI 1, 18 (*vāidyutāt*).

In the important matter of preserving the identity and diversity of terms, urged by me in my former paper—that is, of rendering the same term in the same way in different passages, and different terms not alike—this translation is much more careful and conscientious than any of its predecessors; and though it sometimes lays itself open to objection, I do not find that any of the passages I had marked are of importance enough to be worth quoting especially (one or two examples will be noted below).

Some, however, of the translator's consistently used representatives of common terms are quite new, and of questionable felicity. Thus, the ever-recurring word *loka*, which has always been, to general satisfaction, rendered "world" (*Welt, monde*), he prefers to translate "station" (*Stätte*); the change is hardly an improvement. The more obscure noun *ākāça*, usually given as "ether," is to him "emptiness, void" (*die Leere*). *Rūpa* 'form' is quite unnecessarily expanded into "form of apparition" (*Erscheinungsform*), which arrogates to it a more exact and technical

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character than it can lay any good claim to: why not render *nāman* 'name' as well by "term of appellation"? The suffix *-maya* 'made of, consisting in' is, in my opinion, mistranslated "appearing as" (*erscheinend als*), and that even in passages like C. VI 5, 4; 6, 5, where the proper sense of the element is imperatively demanded by the connection (yet at 7, 6, a precisely similar passage, the translator for once relaxes, and inconsistently, but correctly, renders it by "consisting of"). For *manas* 'mind,' "organ of thought" (*Denkorgan*) is a rather lumbering equivalent (and it sounds Platonic that, at B. IV 1, 15, one "loves a woman with his organ of thought"); but the German has no convenient indefinite term like our *mind;* and *Geist* 'spirit,' which comes nearest it, is in these translations appropriated to the transcendental senses of *puruṣa* 'man'—not very happily, because the relationship between the literal and the transferred renderings is so remote, and the choice of one or the other in doubtful cases (as where the *puruṣa* that is seen in the eye is spoken of—doubtless the little "man," or image) makes so great a difference: perhaps 'person' would be better; but the case is a difficult one, and the addition of the word itself in parenthesis each time after its version is much to be recommended. For the important and critical word *ātman*, in its higher uses, one is obliged to say in German "*das Selbst*," but in English simple "self" is in many cases the better equivalent, since "the Self" hides too much the underlying doctrine, that one's own self is the universal self, subject and object being identical—there being, for example (as it is frequently insisted), no seen thing apart from the seer.

The translator's choice, it may be remarked, between terms that he will translate (sometimes at the cost of long phrases, as at C. II 9, 4; 24, 3) and terms that he will simply transfer, without even a parenthesis or a note of explanation, seems often arbitrary, and not motived by either the importance of the term or its manageableness.

It is one of his idiosyncrasies not to give to the common particle *hi* (there are three or four exceptions in a certain region of B.) its ordinary and simple meaning 'for' (*denn*). Either he (far too often) leaves it out altogether, or he renders it by the asseverative "verily" (*ja*), or (least often and most correctly) by "since" (*da*). He thus disguises, it seems to me, the full naïveté of such frequent demonstrations as (B. I 3, 21) 'breath [is] the essence of the members; for (*hi*) breath [really is] the essence of the members.'

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I will now take up, one after another, in the order of the text, some of the more noteworthy of the points in regard to which the translation appears to me to admit of improvement; I begin with C.

And the very first sentence in it is, if I am not mistaken, an example of a slight misapprehension which runs through the whole work. The sentence reads literally thus: '*Om*—this syllable [as] *udgītha* should one worship.' Which noun, now, is the (in this case, objective) predicate? The translator so regards *syllable*, and gives us (making his understanding of it more plausible by leaving out the demonstrative, according to his wont: see above) "let one worship the *udgītha* as the syllable *om*." The difference, it may be said, is very small, like that between $a = b$ and $b = a$; yet there is a real difference whether one starts from the one point or from the other in making the comparison; this is evidenced by the care which is taken almost everywhere (not quite without exception) by the translator to cast the predication into this form—inverting, as I think, the true relation, and sometimes against very distinct evidence to the contrary. In the next paragraph, there is no demonstrative to cast its influence on either side, but the order of words is at least suggestive: I should render 'of these beings earth [is] essence (*rasa*); of earth, water [is] essence,' and so on; the translator gives instead "the sap of beings is the earth; the sap of earth, the water," etc., with inversion of the textual order—and so in innumerable like cases. In the third paragraph the true form is unmistakable; it is pointed out by a common syntactic device, involving a relative pronoun: after the concluding clause of 2, 'of the *sāman*, the *udgītha* [is] essence,' it goes on thus: 'this same, namely (*yat*) the *udgītha*, is the most essential of essences,' etc.; and the translator renders accordingly. Why, then, at I 3, 1 (as in a great many other cases), where the subject of assertion is pointed out in the same way—'he who burns yonder (i. e. the sun), him [as] *udgītha* should one worship'—does he invert the relation, giving us "let one worship the *udgītha* as the sun"? An example of a different kind has been already quoted for another purpose above (p. 418): where the text says 'it rains—that [is] the *udgītha*,' and so on, the translator turns it into "the *udgītha* is the rainfall," etc. Not only the usages of the language, but also the mode of thought of the Hindu of the Brāhmaṇa age, oppose this inversion. Such a Hindu looked into nature in order to explain and account for it

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by the parts of the sacrifice and their relations, not the contrary; he says "because this ceremony is thus and thus performed, therefore such and such a thing happens in the world." Now and then, in order to make subject and predicate change places, the translator breaks apart a unitary sentence into two, with an arbitrary insertion to help the process. Thus, C. I 7, 5 reads literally thus: 'now this person (*puruṣa*) that is seen within the eye, he [is] *ṛc*, he *sāman*, he *uktha*, he *yajus*, he *brahman*.' The translator makes of it this: "The *ṛc* is the spirit that is seen in the eye. It [the spirit] is also the *sāman*, the *ūktha*," etc. In a similar sentence at III 13, 1, he further, as a consequence of the dislocation, makes an error of reference; it is, word for word: 'as for (*sa yaḥ*) its eastern cavity, that [is] in-breathing, that [is] eye, that [is] sun'; but the translation given is: "The in-breathing is the eastern cavity. This is also the eye and the sun"; and its "this" is *dieser*, as if it referred to "in-breathing" (*der Einhauch*), while it should be *diese*, referring to "cavity" (*die Höhlung*). And similarly in the three following paragraphs. Another case of the same kind will be noted later (C. III 16, 1 ff.). We may find, indeed, a further instructive example in the very first chapter. Here (I 1, 4) simple "what (*was*)" is an utterly insufficient rendering for the repeated superlative *katama-katama;* this means rather 'which one (in any given group of three)'—is, namely, *ṛc*, or *sāman*, or *udgītha* respectively; and the answer follows, that (of a certain trio) 'voice [is] *ṛc*, breath [is] *sāman*, "om"—that syllable [is] *udgītha*'; but the translator says "the *ṛc* is the voice," etc.

But also the second sentence at the beginning is open to objection. It is given thus: "with *om* [the udgātar] begins the song." How comes *udgāyati* (lit. 'sings up' or 'out') to signify 'begins the song'? The translator so renders it, to be sure, again at 1, 9 (where he does not give the coördinate *çaṅsati* as "begins to recite") and 3, 4 and 4, 1 (the last being a virtual repetition of 1, 1); but he also, at 10, 10 and elsewhere (e. g. B. I 3, 3. 26), renders it "sings the *udgītha*," and that is unquestionably what it everywhere signifies—unless, indeed, *udgātar* means 'one who begins to sing,' and *udgītha* 'the beginning of song'; for the three expressions are correlative; and the comparisons of II 2–20 show that the *udgītha* is the central or principal body of the *sāman* (while the position of *prastāva* in the same comparisons supports the rendering 'begin to sing' given to *pra-stu* at B. I 3,

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30). It looks like a Germanism to ascribe a sense of 'beginning' to the prefix *ud*; *ud-ṛc* and *ud-grah*, for example, show it to have the opposite value. The sentence, then, virtually means 'for (*hi*, restored to the text here in the notes, is omitted in translating, as often elsewhere; see above) *om* is in fact the *udgītha*' (more lit., 'for with *om* one sings the *udgītha*'); at 5, 1 *udgītha* and *praṇava* (i. e. *om*) are yet more expressly declared equivalent.

A few more points in the first chapter may be noted, as follows: In the last sentence of 1, "here the complemental explanation of the same," "here" is an insertion, and "complemental" (*ergänzend*) a less happy rendering of *upa-* than *näher*, as used at III 19, 1; perhaps "further" would be yet better. In 3, *aṣṭama* 'eighth' is shown by its position to be part of the predicate, and not appositive to the subject, as given by the translator. In 6, "such a" is not a close rendering of *tad etad* ('that same'); and "a pair," occurring twice, represents once a neut. sing. and once a masc. du. of the original. In 8, *samṛddhi* ('success') is not "granting," and is nowhere else so translated. In 9, "makes use of" seems a needlessly inexact version of *vartate* 'proceeds'; nor is *rasena* at the end a genitive (*mahimnā rasena* "for the dignity of [this] essence"). In 10, why render the three successive and coördinate instrumentals by "with knowledge, with faith, and in the possession of (instead of 'with') the Upanishad"?

It would be neither worth while nor practicable to go through the whole text on this scale, criticising things both little and big; we must make a selection of more noticeable matters. In I 2, 2 ff. *vividhus* is not well rendered by "loaded" (*behafteten*: similarly in the corresponding passage B. I 3, 3 ff.), since it means 'pierced'; nor, in 13, *vidāṁ cakāra* by "devised" (*erfand*), since it means 'knew.' At the end of 8, not "that" (*das*) is the stone, but 'this one' (*dieser* [*Hauch*]). At the end of I 3, 7, the insertion "so it is with" is uncalled for; the clause is specificatory to *akṣarāṇi*, just before: 'These syllables, . . . namely *ud*, *gī*, and *tha*.' By following the example of his latest predecessor, and rendering *svarann eti* at I 5, 1 "sounds forth upon his course" (and so in the one or two other like cases in these texts), the translator appears to refuse acknowledgment of the verbal phrase made by putting together a form of *i* 'go' and a present participle, with the sense 'go on doing,' i. e. 'do continually or habitually.' Probably, however, it is an oversight, as the phrase is too well established and too common to be denied (see my Skt. Gram.,

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§1075a); and the meaning he here gives is that which would properly be expressed by *yant svarati* (as at IV 16, 1). At I 6, 1, the literal rendering is 'this [earth is] a *ṛc*, fire a *sāman*: that is (i. e., there you have, there is an example of) a *sāman* imposed upon a *ṛc*': and so in the following verses; I do not see how *tad etad* can mean "in this manner," as the translator makes it. At 8, *hi* cannot be, where it stands, a mere asseverative, repeating or strengthening *tasmāt*; it necessarily marks a new clause. It has been taught just above that 'its name is *ud*'; now we are told that 'for that same reason [one is called] *udgātar*, for (*hi*) he is the singer (*gātar*) of it (i. e., of *ud*)': it is a word-play on the name *udgātar*. In 7, 6 and 11, 7, *gāyanti* with accus. means rather 'sing of' (so translated at III 12, 1) than "sing for" (*vorsingen*). In 11, 5, *abhi* twice receives the impossible rendering "with." At 12, 1, 3, why should *vā* mean "otherwise called," instead of simply 'or'? It is probably a case of doubtful identity, rather than of doubtful name, of the authority quoted.

In the second book, at 15, 2, *varṣantam* is inadvertently rendered "rain," instead of 'him who rains' (the rain-god, Parjanya). At 21, 1, "Agni" is an oversight for 'fire' (cf. III 15, 6 et al.). At 22, 3, "belong to Indra's personality" seems an unmotived paraphrase of 'are Indra's selves (*ātmānaḥ*).'

In the third book, "*nach hinten gehend*" is an unacceptable translation of *pratyañc* at 3, 1, as "*nach links gehend*" of *udañc* at 4, 1. *Sakṛt*, at III 11, 3 (also at VIII 4, 2) is rather 'once for all' than "all at once." At 5. 6, the connection seems to me not made clear: *idam tad* in 5 is 'this,' and not "so," and the first clause of 6, and only that, belongs with 5: thus (to such a person, and) 6. 'not to any one else soever: were he (i. e., the latter) to give him the earth . . ., that (the *brahman*) is more than it (than such a gift).' At 12, 2, why should *atiçīyate*, which means 'falls beyond,' or 'off from' (the earth), be rendered "comes out"? at 6, "the totality of the immortals" is a curiously broad paraphrase of simple *amṛtam*. In 13, 4, *vyuṣṭi* is probably 'brightness'; certainly "grace" (*Anmuth*) is not to be accepted for it on the authority of the commentator. At 16, 1. 3. 5, by his usual inversion of subject and predicate, and with the help of an important insertion, the translator alters much for the worse the meaning of the text. His version is "and the Vasus are the breaths. The Vasus verily harbor (*vāsayanti*) everything"; but "and" and "Vasus" (second time) are not in the text, which reads 'the

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breaths verily are Vasus, for they harbor this all': that is to say, the Upanishad is not concerned to give an etymology of *vasu*, but to point out why, from their action expressed by the root *vas*, the breaths also are properly called *vasu*, and so may be identified with the Vasus. And so in the other two paragraphs: compare the corresponding statements in B. III 9, 4-6, where the translation gives, though perhaps not unmistakably, the right sense. In 5, also, *ādadate* is rather *zu* (than *mit*) *sich nehmen*.

In the fourth book, at 1, 3, the translator's interpretation of the obscure epithet *sayugvan* as 'infected with [the itch]' is more ingenious than savory; I do not feel that we are obliged to accept it. In the following difficult paragraph, it seems unlikely that *enam* is antecedent of the subsequent relative clause; I should prefer to make a principal stop at *kurvanti*, rendering after it 'he who knows what he knows—he is thus spoken of by me.' A little further on, as later (also in B.), *are* is rendered by "my dear," although it is doubtless by origin vocative of *ari* 'enemy,' and at any rate is used only in objurgatory or contemptuous address, or to one of acknowledgedly inferior station (as by Yājñavalkya to his wife). The text-emendations in chapter 2 are ingenious, and, though they leave difficulties, I have no noteworthy improvements to suggest. I find it especially hard to believe that the exclamation *ahaha* should, like *dhik*, take an accusative quasi-object. Moreover, "be it thy business to concern thyself with the cows" appears a hardly admissible translation of *tavāi 'va saha gobhir astu* (3); we want (cf. V 3, 6) a separate subject supplied for *astu*, and *saha gobhis* would then mean 'along with the cows,' i. e. 'and the cows as well.' In rendering *upa-ni-pat* at 7, 2 and 8, 2 "come flying toward," the *ni* has been overlooked; it means 'alight by.' At 9, 2, *pratijajñāu* is rather 'acknowledged' or 'confessed' than simply "answered"; the emendation to *eko* is good and acceptable, but the translation "but also only he alone" seems greatly exaggerated. In 10, 1, "*dachte daran . . . zu*" is a somewhat unsuccessful attempt to render *ha sma*, which is, I think, better treated as a misreading, unintelligently repeated into this clause from the one preceding; in a similar case at B. V 13, 2 the translator wisely omits. At the end of 10, 5, *kha* is added in parenthesis after *Leere*, apparently by an oversight, as the word in the original is *ākāça*. In 11, 2, *pāpakṛtyā* is rather 'the doing of evil' than "an evil deed." At 14, 1, *gati* is rendered by "the sequel" (*das weitere*), as at I 8, 4. 5 by "recourse" (? *kā sāmno*

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gatiḥ "*worauf geht das Sāman zurück*"); both seem forced and unsatisfactory. In 14, 2, a sentence or two are rather blindly and awkwardly translated; perhaps better thus: '"who then should have instructed me, sir?"—with these words he in a manner denies it (I do not see why the historical present may not stand unamended in this parenthesis)—"why, these of such [or such] other appearance"; with these words he intended the fires.' And the following *pratijajñe* is again 'confessed.' In 15, 5 (and so elsewhere), *udañ* used of the course of the sun is rather 'in the north' than "toward the north": that is, from equinox to equinox, not from solstice to solstice. In 6, *āvṛt* and *āvarta* cannot possibly mean in one clause two so diverse things as "return" and "intercourse"; *āvartam* is cognate accusative: 'do not come back this human return.' In 16, 3, "is annihilated" is rather strong for *hīyate* 'is left.' At the end of 2, how does *vy-ava-vad* come to mean "begin to speak"? *vy-ava-i* does not mean 'begin to go,' nor *vy-ava-dhā* 'begin to put'; *vy-ava-vad* seems plainly to be modeled upon these two common combinations, and so to signify 'interpose the voice, interrupt.' At 17, 1, *abhyatapat* is rendered by "*bebrütete*," and then *tapyamānānām* by "*sich erhitzend*," the correlation of the two expressions being thus effectually disguised. In the verse in 9, the translator (in accordance with the commentator) gives *kurūn* the impossible sense of "performers of the sacrifice"; why 'the Kurus' are not equally the better for protecting care is not easy to see.

In the fifth book, at the end of 2, 6, *idaṁ sarvam* should have, I think, its usual sense of 'this universe' (*dieses All*) rather than of "all this" (*alles dieses*). Although *dhīmahi* may in modern Sanskrit be properly translated "we meditate on," because it is misunderstood to mean that, surely it is an anachronism so to give it in the Upanishad (as here at 2, 7: compare B. VI 3, 12, where it is correctly rendered). The dual *vyāvartane* in 3, 2 means rather the separation of the two roads (cf. B. I 5, 2) than their "windings" (*Wendungen*). The analogy of 10, 5 shows that in 10, 1 (and doubtless also wherever it occurs in the treatise) *abhi-sam-bhū* has its natural meaning of 'turn into, be converted into, become,' the failure to recognize which has led to many mistranslations: e. g., of RV. X 18, 8 *c*, *d*. In 10, 8, the editor's insertion of *iti* is, I think, uncalled for; and *tasmād* means 'of it' let one beware (not "therefore"). At 11, 2. 3, the causative *sampādaya* 'come to an agreement or understanding' is insufficiently

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represented by simple "say"; nor does "everywhere extended" (*überall verbreitet*) seem a well-chosen rendering for *vāiçvānara* (lit. 'common to all men'), which is, as a common technical term, often well enough left untranslated. At 18, 1, *pṛthak* hardly means "as an individual thing," but rather 'in individuality,' as this, that, and another individual thing. In 19, 2, by rendering *anu* "after that" (*nachdem*), the translator ignores its peculiar and pregnant sense 'along with and in consequence of'; he gives it better at VIII 9, 2 as "with."

In the sixth book, at the very beginning, the sentence "Çvetaketu was an Āruṇeya" (to a statement of which kind no analogy can be found, I believe) ought doubtless to be changed to 'there was [one named] Çvetaketu Āruṇeya.' In 1, 4–6 (numbered 3–5; one paragraph-division has been overlooked in the translation), of which the difficult content is here put in much better shape than by previous translators, the version, or at least the punctuation, conceals the fact that all three paragraphs (after the first sentence of 4) are protases to which the last sentence in 6 is apodosis, the two last clauses in 4 and 5, and their correspondents in 6, being parenthetical: thus, 'just as, my dear, by one lump of clay everything made of clay may be understood, a modification [being] a process of speech (lit. 'an undertaking by speech': i. e., something merely nominal), the real name [being] simply "clay"; 5. just as . . . 6. just as . . .;—so, my dear, is that doctrine.' At 8, 1, it seems wholly anomalous to give to *-anta* the meaning "condition," which it has nowhere else; I should prefer to translate it literally, 'end' or 'border,' casting upon the treatise itself the responsibility for the resulting obscurity. In this same chapter (and once or twice elsewhere: so B. II 1, 18), *nāma* is rendered "it is said that"; it must be rather, as usual, simply 'namely.' In paragraphs 3–6 we have a series of parallels, starting from the natural process of the shooting up of a spathe from a 'root' (*mūla*); but by putting "point of departure" in place of 'root,' even at its first occurrence, the comparison is quite obscured. In 9, 3 (and 10, 2), a passage which, were its meaning more clear, ought to be of importance for the doctrine of transmigration, the critical phrase *tad ābhavanti* is rendered "that they continue to be," which seems to me wholly indefensible; the verb has no right to any such sense; 'that they come to be' (i. e., into that condition they come from some other) is much more likely to be right. A note, or a mark of question

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in the translation, or the quotation of the original after it, were much to be desired in such a doubtful case—and, indeed, would be well applied in many other passages, where the translator, perhaps, has the aspect of being more confident than he really is. In 13, 2, *abhiprāsyāi 'nad* (for *-ɕy-*) seems a good and acceptable emendation; but the phrase cannot possibly mean "set it aside," as here rendered; it is literally 'casting forth unto' something, and appears most probably to signify 'adding more water to the salt solution'; for, when that is done, it is still said 'that [same thing: i. e., its tasting salt] constantly happens': to assume with the translator that something has been lost out of the text seems a proceeding of unnecessary violence. At 16, 1, *hasta-* 'by the hand' is without any apparent reason turned into "by the arms."

In the seventh book, "mightier" (*mächtiger*) is a not well chosen rendering for *bhūyas* 'more,' at 1, 5; 2, 1, etc. In 3, 1, *anu-bhū* is given as "enclose" (*umfassen*), and this is made the leading meaning in the Petersburg lexicon, with a reference to this passage alone; but I quite fail to see on what grounds; it appears rather to signify here 'be aware of, sense,' in accordance with its more common though secondary use elsewhere. *Citta*, 5, 1 ff., is rather 'thought' than "understanding" (*Verstand*); but this whole ascending series is, like every other like series or climax in Hindu literature, too wanting in concinnity and force for its members to demand exact translation. At 8, 1, "runner" (*Läufer*) seems a strange rendering of *utthātar*, and not at all helped by the reference to the obscure expression in Atharva-Veda IX 4, 14.

In the eighth book, at 1, 5, the "this" (*dieses*, first time) which neither grows old nor perishes is doubtless the *brahmapura*, not the *brahman*, which has nowhere been mentioned; the preceding *asya* must refer to the heart, or be understood in a general way, as 'one's.' At the end of the same paragraph, a more literal rendering would not only, I think, be truer in itself, but also suggest more distinctly the apodosis which has to be supplied: thus, 'for just as here (in this world) human beings (*prajās:* perhaps rather 'subjects,' of a king who leads them to a new territory) settle down according to order, [and] whatever direction their desires take them to, what region, what piece of ground, that same they severally live upon'—so, we are to understand, is it also in the other world; one's desires determine his condition there. And (paragraph 6 being parenthetic, perhaps a later intrusion) the next chapter goes on to point out sundry ways in which what one longs

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for arises about him. The understanding of the chapter depends very much on that of the difficult word *saṁkalpa*, a word which is wont to be more variously and more helplessly rendered by the translators than almost any other term of kindred meaning—even in some measure by the present translator, who just above (1, 5: also in other places) makes it "design" (*Absicht*), and here (also in other places) "will," while in B. I 5, 9; II 4, 11 he renders it "decision" (*Entscheidung*). One must always, it seems to me, bear in mind its etymological sense, which is that of 'shaping or fitting together'; it designates properly the constructive faculty, the forming or devising power and its products, the imagination and its imaginings. Hence "design" was well enough, but "will" and "decision," I think, not to be approved; save for its periphrastic heaviness, 'creative imagination' would suit well here: 'if he becomes desirous of a Fathers' world, straight out of his creative imagination rise up together Fathers; endowed with that Fathers' world he is happy'; and so in the following paragraphs (cf. B. IV 3, 11). And the concluding paragraph, repeating in part the phraseology of 1, 5, shows clearly that the whole chapter is virtually the apodosis which we missed there. In 3, 2, the insertion (in parenthesis) "in sleep" appears quite uncalled for; I see nothing in the context to suggest it. At 4, 2, the translator seems to forget that *naktam* is an adverb, and converts it unnecessarily into the subject of the sentence. At 5, 1, the clause "if one has earnestly willed it" is a very ponderous paraphrase of *iṣṭvā*, and the less to be approved as *iṣṭvā* doubtless means 'having sought,' and is to be construed with *brahmacaryeṇa*, 'having sought by means of Vedic studentship': compare the corresponding close of the next paragraph. The translation of 6, 1 is open to various objections. It runs thus: "if it is said that the veins of the heart consist of very fine reddish brown, white, blue, yellow, and red material, so is also the sun reddish brown, white, blue, yellow, and red." Here, as usual, a whole series of demonstrative words is left out (*etās*, *asāu*, and four times *eṣa*); the connective "so . . . also" is inserted; *iti*, which is certainly better regarded here as otiose (see above, p. 411) is rendered by "if it is said that"; and *tās*, which ought to break up the protasis into two clauses, is overlooked. Further, the translator emends *aṇimnas* to *aṇimnā*, saying in a note (p. 107) that its construction as genitive with *sthā* appears to him impossible. Difficult it certainly is, yet at VI 12, 2 he passed without a protest the same

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construction, and with the same noun; doubtless the two are to be regarded as sufficiently supporting one another. The literal rendering of the paragraph is as follows: 'now as for (*yās*) these (*etās*) veins of the heart, they (*tās*) arise from (lit. stand of) reddish brown minuteness, from white, blue, yellow, red. Yon (*asāu*) sun, forsooth, [is] reddish brown; it (*eṣa*) [is] white, it blue, it yellow, it red.' It is a point of very small consequence, yet one cannot but ask why *āsīnās* 'sitting,' at 6, 4, should be translated "those standing." In 10, 2. 4, the analogy of B. IV 3, 20 is doubtless enough to establish *vicchāyayanti* as the true reading, instead of *vicchādayanti;* but why need we take it as a denominative of *vicchāya* 'shadowless'? and, even if we do, why should we understand it to mean "put one in a tight place (*in die Enge treiben*)"? how, namely, should an elephant (in B.) put one in a tight place? To me it seems much more natural and easy to take the word as causative of √*chā*, and render it 'cut or tear in pieces.' At 11, 3, *etat tad yad āhuḥ* is not precisely "in relation to this, people say," but rather 'this [is] what people say': that is, this is what is referred to when people say so and so.

We turn now to take up, rather more briefly, the points in B. which appear most to invite comment. In the first book, at 2, 1, I am far from being persuaded, with the translator, that the Petersburg Lexicon is in error, and that *tan mano 'kurutā "tmanvī syām iti* means "this appropriated to itself an organ of thought in order to have a self," instead of 'that formed the purpose (more lit. made up its mind) "I would fain be one possessing a self"'; the former rendering appears to me quite too pregnant. The parallel passage in TB. referred to (II 2, 9[1]) is also, I think, best translated 'that, being non-existent, formed the purpose "I would fain exist."' In the same paragraph, it is doubtless by an oversight that *ajāyanta* is translated by the same phrase as *abhūt* and *bhavati*, just after. In 2, *tapta* is rendered quite otherwise than in 6, and not so well. It is taking, I think, far too much liberty with the text to substitute "the two neighboring intermediate directions" for 'yonder one and yonder one,' as twice in 3. *Abhi-man* is only very coarsely represented by "slay" in 5, and *prati-ūh* by "abandon" in 8. In 8, also, and in a few other places, initial demonstratives (here *tāv etāu*) are wrongly rendered by "so much for" (*so verhält es sich mit*); they are more specific: 'these (as just defined) are *arka* and *açvamedha;* this, again, is the one divinity.' At the beginning of 3, 1, better 'of two sorts [were]

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Prajāpati's creatures, [namely] gods and demons.' In 9, consistency with the treatment of like cases elsewhere requires the insertion of *ayam* in parenthesis before *inmitten*, since it is from *ayam* and *āsya* that *ayāsya* is intimated to be formed. If the usually omitted demonstrative *asāu* is, by exception, to be translated, it should not be, as in 15, by "this" (*diese*). At 19, two clauses are fused into one; read rather 'those gods said: of such extent, forsooth, is this universe as food; that hast thou sung into thine own possession; give us an after share in this food.' In 21 we have (save the frequent omission) a fairly complete conspectus of the way in which *hi* is treated: once it is *da* 'since'; once it is *ja* 'surely'; once it is (redundantly) *denn . . . ja* 'for surely.' In 26, "Soma" seems too arbitrary a substitute for *rājan* 'king'; we might at least have 'king [Soma]'; whether *tyasya* can mean "of me" is extremely doubtful; and "than what I sing it with" is much more than a version of *itas*. In 27 and 28, we miss the additions in parenthesis of *svara* to "tone," and of *suvarṇa* to "gold," to indicate the play upon words intended by the text. In 33, the clause 'this same is a world-winner' is wrongly treated as part of the promise to 'him that knoweth thus.' At 4, 5, the customary omission of a demonstrative is especially conspicuous, in the rendering of *imam evā "tmānam* by simply "*sich*." In 11, *iti* probably accompanies a gesture, 'thus' (as I show it), not "in the following manner" (as described). In 14. 23. 26, my proposal (in the previous paper, p. 23) of 'super-create' as a technical rendering for *ati-sṛj*, used in the sense of 'create something superior to the creator,' is, I think, preferable to the translator's indistinct and inconsistent "higher creation" (*höhere Schöpfung*) and "ascending creation" (*aufschreitende Schöpfung*). In 16, considering that *viçvambhara* (lit. 'all-bearer') is not elsewhere known as a name for 'fire' (it certainly has not that sense at AV. II 16, 5), and has no apparent applicability as such, it is taking things quite too easily to change 'as a razor might be deposited in a razor-case, or a *viçvambhara* in a *viçvambhara*-nest' into "as a razor or fire, when these are put into their cases"; *viçvambhara* may perhaps mean here some kind of insect, in accordance with its later use; at any rate, since the point of comparison is the invisibility of the things encased, 'fire' is an extremely implausible explanation, almost seeming to refer by an anachronism to a modern match-box. A little further on, the close of paragraph 18 is mistranslated, as it was in the Sacred Books of the East

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version, *evam* being taken as introducing the promise to a knower, instead of as being apodosis by itself to what precedes (as below, in 26). I explained the construction in my previous paper (p. 25), and the matter is so clear that I have no idea that the present translator has deliberately rejected my version; it is only an oversight on his part. In 21, *ātmānam* seems plainly to mean 'himself,' not "the Self." Toward the end of 23, the phrase *svaṁ yonim* is inadvertently rendered twice over; its second rendering (*seiner Geburtsstätte*) is the one that needs to be struck out, the mark of punctuation in the text being in the wrong place. In 25, *puṣyati* is translated as if it were causative, *poṣayati* (and again similarly at VI 4, 23). Paragraph 27 is obscure and difficult; but it is clear that in some points, at least, the translator's treatment of it is unacceptable: *tad etad* (as above, p. 431) is not "so it is with," but 'that same [is]'; and the instrumentals, *agninā*, etc., are not to be rendered as nominatives, coördinate with *brāhmaṇaḥ*. The sentence reads literally: 'through Agni it (*tad*: omitted by the translator) became Brahman among the gods, the Brāhmaṇa among men; through the *kṣatriya* (better *kṣatreṇa*?) [it became] *kṣatriya*,' etc. In 5, 7, *dhiyā-dhiyā* seems to me to mean 'by every kind of device,' rather than "with continual meditation": compare TS. II 6, 6[1], where it is used of the catching of fish. In 8, "elsewhere with my organ of thought" is a rather formidable paraphrase for 'absent-minded' (*anyatramanas*). In 27, rather 'that is divine speech by which whatever one says comes true.'

In the second book, first chapter, the concluding clause of 4 is ill translated if those of 7 and 9 are well translated. In 6, "his opponents" is an unnecessarily inaccurate version of *anyatastya*, 'people from elsewhere.' "Touched" in 15 is very weak for *āpeṣam*. *Tāni*, neut. pl., at the beginning of 18, cannot signify "the knowledge of the breaths," as explained by the translator in parenthesis; but its relation is so obscure that it perhaps requires emendation to *tān* (breaths). In 19, rather 'where he goes about by dreaming, those are his worlds.' Why should *upaniṣad* in 23 mean "secret designation"? If in 2, 1 *ādhāna* is "case" (*Behälter*), *pratyādhāna* can hardly signify "place of deposit"; it must be something more directly correlative (*prati*) to *ādhāna*: perhaps the other part, or cover, which makes of it a complete encasement; but the paragraph is an intentionally dark saying. It sounds strangely that in 4, 7–9 *grah* is suddenly rendered by

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packen, which the translator nowhere else uses for it; as the idea is 'get hold of' in the sense of 'comprehend,' *packen* seems very ill selected here. In 11, *ekāyana* seems to me rather 'sole channel' than "gathering-place." In 5, 18, *púras* is three times rendered "first," as if it were *purás;* the riddle of the verse is not to be satisfactorily solved by any so violent proceeding.

In the third chapter, "house-priest" for *hotar* at 1, 4 is doubtless an oversight. In 5 ff., it seems uncalled for to alter 'death's grasp' into "all-grasping death." At the end of 8, "regular numbers" is a curious paraphrase of *sampadas*. In 2, 1 ff., "a mightier seizer" is unsatisfactory for the sphere of action compared with the activity itself as "seizer"; perhaps *atigrahá* is rather a prepositional compound, 'that which goes beyond the seizer,' is something more extensive and includes it. At the end of 10 the version is unacceptable, but it is perhaps the text itself that is faulty. To the question 'of whom is death the food?' comes the answer 'fire verily is death, [and] it is the food of (i. e., is devoured or extinguished by) water': what then follows, *dpa punarmṛtyúṁ jayati*, seems the beginning of another statement, left incomplete; probably we should fill it out thus: 'he conquereth the second death [who knoweth thus]'; this is precisely the combination that is used a little further on, at 3, 2. At 3, 1, "Kāpya Patañcala" is an oversight for 'Patañcala Kāpya' (as correctly given at 7, 1). In this and the following paragraph (3, 1. 2), by rendering *abhavan* "*gerathen seien* (or *waren*)," the translator is for once untrue to his general carefully maintained principle of distinguishing the imperfect and aorist. It is difficult to believe that the text at the end of 4, 1 is not corrupt; if it must be accepted as it is, it would probably better be translated thus: 'by what should he be a Brāhmaṇa? By what he is [so], to that does he who knows this become like.' I do not see the propriety of translating *-putra* by "prince" in 8, 2. Again, as *akṣara* everywhere else means simply 'syllable,' and is very common in that sense, to render it "imperishable" in 8, 8–11 seems to call for at least an explanatory parenthesis, if not a note. More probably, the use of the word here implies a mystic doctrine akin to that of the *logos*, rather than a reversion to a (very questionable) etymologic sense. At the end of 8, *açnoti* is translated as if it were *açnāti*. In 11, something to indicate that "seer, hearer," etc., are not masculine but neuter would have been acceptable. Such versions as, in 9, 3, "this number only expresses their

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majesty," for 'these are merely their greatnesses,' appear to me undesirably if not reprehensibly free; but, in various kind and degree, they are common in this translation (more so than in that of the other Upanishad). If *yo 'yam pavate* 'he that cleanses here' is generally shrunk into "the wind," one wonders why it is expanded at 9, 9 into "the wind that blows," and immediately after (10) paraphrased by "he who blows." In 10, *adhyardhnot* is a misprint for *-ārdhnot;* and why should it be taken to mean "expanded itself"? unquestionably it should receive its ordinary interpretation as 'succeeded, throve,' the *adhi*, even if combined with the verb (and the accentuation would allow of understanding it as independent, *ádhi*), having only the office of further defining the locative sense of the preceding *asmin;* apparently the comment here has warped the translator's judgment. But a much worse example of this is seen in 11 ff.; no one but a Hindu commentator ought to be caught rendering *-loka* by "power of vision"—as if this extremely common word, with its various and often mystic applications, had here for once a totally different derivation (from √*lok* 'see') and meaning. Many a time and often above we have had the 'person (*puruṣa*) in the eye' spoken of, and here we read of a person (*puruṣa*) who is *cakṣurloka*, or 'has his world (or his "station," as the translator prefers) in the eye'; while, without a word of warning to the reader, the translator turns it into "with the power of vision of the eye"! A slight change of accent merely would give the text a decidedly more acceptable form: 'that person whose place of support is the earth, whose world [is] the eye (or sight), whose light [is] the mind,' etc. It is only an oversight, but a rather serious one, by which in 25 *dhruvā diç* is rendered by "zenith," its precise opposite. In 28, the clauses are, I think, not quite exactly represented, partly on account of the translator's curious prejudice against rendering *hi* by 'for': we are told that this self is to be defined by negatives: '[namely, as] incomprehensible, for it is not comprehended (*grah*); [as] indestructible, for'—and so on.

In the fourth book, at 1, 1, "gave audience" is a rather full rendering for the simple 'sat' of the text. In 1, 2 ff., 'for what would be the use of' is paraphrased into "since verily it would be all over with," and, in 6 ff., 'what is knowingness,' etc., into "what is meant by knowledge," etc., the translator appearing to take special satisfaction in recasting instead of representing. Is not *hastyṛṣabha*, in 4 ff., rather 'having an elephant for bull' (i.e.,

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to the herd of cows is added an elephant instead of the usual bull) than "having an elephant-like bull"? In 3, 12, the prefixes *abhi·pra* are certainly ill represented by "*ab-*." At 3, 22, *atic-chandas*, lit. 'hypermetric,' is doubtless an obscure and difficult epithet; but how is one helped over the difficulty by translating it (after the commentator) as "free from longing," which it cannot possibly mean? In the same paragraph, 'in it (i. e. in this form of being) a father is not a father,' etc., is turned into "then is the father no longer a father" (with an exceptional violation, it may be noticed, of the translator's general practice as to subject and predicate; he ought consistently to say "one no longer a father is a father"), and so on; and the concluding phrase of the series, which, so far as appears, is entirely parallel with the rest—namely, '[in it] one unaffected by good [is] one unaffected by evil'—he turns, by the unacknowledged addition of connectives, into "then is he not affected with good, and also not affected with evil"; and the conclusion, 'for then hath he got beyond all pains of the heart,' is, by the usual omission of *hi* 'for,' made correlative to the preceding (altered) clause: "then hath he overcome all sorrows of the heart." Another piece of commentators' wisdom we have in 31, where *salila* 'sea, ocean' is translated "there surges" (*es wogt*); the sentence is a mysticism, and hardly explainable without emendation; but the proper way to treat the case is not, I think, to make such an impossible substitution, without even a note to point it out, but to translate literally, and leave the responsibility where it belongs. At 4, 8, the rendering of *liñga* by "*gekennzeichnet*" is quite incomprehensible to me; the word appears to belong with the *tad* next preceding: '(arrives at) that mark (i. e., goal).' At 19, the word *vidvān* is inadvertently omitted; the meaning is not "I hold [to be]," but 'I think myself to know.' In the marginal notes to p. 70, the reference should be to Kaṭhop. IV 11. In 20, *yasmād arvāk* cannot mean "before whom"; it might be 'from whom' or 'in dependence on whom.' The fourth pāda of this verse would have been a good place for disregarding *hi* in translating, since it appears to be here a mere verse-filler (*pādapūraṇa*); but, if rendered at all, it must be taken as qualifying the verb: 'for the gods worship,' etc. Another wrong combination of connectives is found, if I am not mistaken, in 27; the twice-repeated *atas* 'hence' cannot be a single general introduction to the sentence, but belongs to each clause, and helps to explain the use of the imperfect in both: '"hence I did

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good"; "hence I did evil"—since (*hi*) both these he, immortal, gets beyond, [therefore] good and evil trouble him no more,' etc. At 5, 13, read rather thus: 'as a mass of salt has neither an inside nor an outside, but [is] all of it a simple mass of savor'; the alteration to "has nothing [different] in itself, and nothing [different] outside itself,' etc., seems to disguise rather than to explain the meaning.

In the fifth book, the verse at the beginning is not acknowledged as verse either in the text (as already noticed) or in the translation (the marginal note to the paragraph should refer to C. IV 10, 5 [not 15]). Per contra, in 3, 1, the introductory words are wrongly regarded as metrical, and are mixed up in the translation with the real verse that follows them (the reference given to VS. belongs only to the prose; in place of the RV. reference for the verse, or at least in addition to it, should be given VS. V 36 et al.). It might have been better to point out in both paragraphs the renderings that are purely conjectural, or even contrary to usage (as "breath" for *vāyu*). In 5, 1, it seems to me that the translator's free handling covers a misapprehension of the sense; the text reads literally thus: 'he who knows thus that great first-born prodigy, [that, namely,] truth [is] *brahman*, he wins these worlds; won, forsooth, shall yonder one (i. e., world) be [by him] who knows thus that great first-born prodigy, truth [is] *brahman*; for truth, verily, [is] *brahman*.' The correlation of 'these' (*imān*) and 'yonder one' (*amum*) seems plain; *amum* would not be used as simple antecedent of the following relative, nor is there any indication of interrogative value in the clause that contains it. In 4 and 5, *Bhūr* is an oversight for *Bhūs*, as is always read elsewhere. So in 8, 1, (in the interior) "of the heart" is an oversight for 'of the self' (*ātmani*). At the end of this paragraph, there is pretty plainly a defective text: the statement is made that 'this same (*sa eṣa*: i. e., *puruṣaḥ*) [is] controller of all, lord of all, master of all; [he] governs all this, whatever it may be'; but the repetition of this, or of a part of it, as the usual promise to one 'who knows thus,' is wanting. In 13, 3, the translator omits the closing quotation marks, which should show how far he conceives the words of the speaker to go; but his version indicates that he would make them include all or nearly all the rest of the paragraph—which would, I think, be wrong, as the *iti*'s show: thus, 'to him he said this, [namely] "*vi*"; now food is *vi* . . .; [and he said] "*ram*"; now breath is *ram*'—and so on. In 14, 1,

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vīra is inaccurately rendered "son." At 15, 8, read rather 'this *sāvitrī* some recite [as] an anuṣṭubh (i. e., with four pādas) . . .; one should recite it simply as a gāyatrī (i. e., with only its regular three pādas)' (in this paragraph, *vorspräche* is doubtless a misprint for *-chen*). In the second sentence of 10, the translator has omitted to add in parenthesis *apad* and *na pad*, to exhibit the pun; he also renders *pad* as if it were *pat*: read 'footless (*apad*) art thou; for thou goest not (*na pad*).'

In the sixth and last book, the translator gives the first half of the verse in 1, 4 as it ought to be in order to accord better with what precedes, rather than as it actually reads, which is 'two tracks of the Fathers did I hear of, [namely] of gods and of mortals'; if the authors of the treatise did not mind the discordance, we need not do so. In 8, the sense appears to me to be missed, chiefly in consequence of assuming that *tu* 'but' can mean "then": better translate thus: 'acknowledged by me is this boon (i. e., it shall be as if I had actually received it); but the words that thou didst speak in presence of the boy, those say to me.' In 3, 3, a literal version would have been much better than the strange expression "with the verse RV. X 121, 10"; besides, the verse is not taken from RV., but from VS. (X 20; XXIII 65); no White Yajur-Veda text would quote by a pratīka from the Rig-Veda. In 14, "has gone away again" is what the text ought to read, instead of 'having come' (*étya*); emendation to *itvā* (a similar case was emended at C. III 11, 1) appears to be called for. In 4, 12, "new" is inadvertently written for 'old'; and in 14, also, the translation of *piṅgala* by "with reddish eyes" (like *lohitākṣa* in 15) must be an oversight. The anomalous *vijigītha* in 17 is of doubtful signification; but it appears to me to point to √*ji* 'conquer' rather than to √*gā* 'sing'—if it is to the latter root that the translator's rendering, "famous" (*berühmt*), is to be traced. The distinction in 17 of *ukṣan* and *vṛṣabha*, as depending on age only, is new, and interesting if true. *Prasava* in 18 is not well represented by "command," unless *Savitar* also means 'commander.' In 29, is not *paramā kāṣṭhā* rather the 'furthest goal' than the "highest summit"? In note 2 to p. 98, read Açv. Gṛh. I 15, 9. In the note on p. 99, the translator once more ignores the position of B. as a Yajur-Veda treatise, by referring the verse quoted in 4, 28 to RV., with which its text disagrees, rather than to VS. (XXXVIII 5), with which it agrees.

The notes in both volumes concern chiefly the text; many of

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them have been already referred to, directly or implicitly, in the criticisms given. I have also expressed my regret that notes to the translation are not more liberally furnished; a difficult text, full of points of doubtful interpretation, can hardly be rendered to satisfaction without help of such a kind. A further comment or two may be added. I do not know of any good evidence that a verb is accented in Sanskrit because its meaning gives it a certain prominence or emphasis (as is assumed in C., p. 98, note to 11, 21); such value, if taken account of at all, is provided for rather by the order of the sentence; and so also with the *a*-forms of the demonstrative (B., p. 71, note to 52, 10): if emphasis is desired, there are plenty of other pronouns to signify it. The law of accentual change in successive ablatives which (B., p. 70, note to 22, 8) the editor thinks he gets a glimpse of seems too strange in itself, and too absolutely unsupported by anything else in the Sanskrit accent-system, to be worthy of serious attention. In the preface to C. (p. v), the assumption is plainly made that a Hindu sage of the olden time began with writing down his words of wisdom, in preparation for their communication to his pupils; but the prevailing view (and, to my mind, the only acceptable one) surely is quite the opposite: that these sacred texts were long a matter of oral tradition before they came to be recorded by a reverent generation that feared to lose them; if, then, we admit in them certain forms not grammatically immaculate, we are not discrediting the original authors (who, the editor is sure, "understood and handled their language better than most German authors the German": C., preface, p. iv), but only confessing the fallibility of the recorders, and their subjection to the influences of their period.

W. D. WHITNEY.

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II.—ON THE ARTICULAR INFINITIVE IN POLYBIUS.

II.

Dative of the Art. Inf.

See Birklein, p. 69; Weiske, p. 502. In Polybius' use of τῷ c. inf. there are no new features to be noticed. As in classical prose, the majority of datives of the art. inf. are causal in sense and the instrumental use is not common. The construction with verbs occurs only four times, and there are no instances at all in dependence on adjectives. Altogether there are 80 (27–53) cases in Polybius, a frequency below that of Demosthenes, Plato or Xenophon.

1. With verbs:

πιστεύοντες τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν 1, 23, 9 and 2, 10, 6. 22, 18, 3 ἀφορμῇ χρώμενος τῷ μὴ οἷον παραγεγονέναι τὸν Ὀνόμαστον ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κ. τ. λ.

30, 8, 8 προσανεῖχε τῷ ζῆν. Schweigh.'s correction for προσανεῖχετο ζῆν.[1]

2. 'Dynamic.'

(*a*). Instrumental.

It is not always easy or possible to draw a line between the instrumental and the causal use of the dative infinitive, which sometimes expresses what may be looked upon either as the cause or the means. Clear cases of the instrumental force are:

[1] A few words on προσανέχω and προσαντέχω will not be out of place. For προσανέχω τινι 'hold fast to, continue in,' Schw.'s lexicon gives προσανέχειν ταῖς ἐλπίσι 4, 60, 8. 5, 72, 2. Such would be the sense in our passage 30, 8, 8. But in another passage also προσανεῖχεν seems to me to be required: 32, 22, 1 Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ μὲν σωματικῇ δυνάμει παραλελυμένος ἦν, τῇ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς λαμπρότητι προσαντεῖχεν. Here Reiske first proposed προσανεῖχεν for προσαντ.; see Schw.'s critical note; Hultsch does not mention it. προσαντέχω with the dative means to 'resist' (see Schw. ad loc.), and Schw. here gets over the difficulty by translating "animi vigore restitit *sc.* infirmitati corporis." But it is extremely awkward to supply another dative when λαμπρότητι would seem naturally to go with the verb. Reading προσανεῖχεν we get quite a satisfactory sense and construction: "His bodily powers were paralysed, but he held to, continued in, his mental vigor." In 16, 30, 5 τοῖς κατὰ γῆν ἔργοις προσαντεῖχον Casaubon proposed προσανεῖχον, but there 'resisted' is the correct meaning, of which προσανεῖχον would give the opposite; see Schw.'s note ad loc.

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1, 46, 10 *οὕτως κατανίστη τῶν πολεμίων τῇ τε τόλμῃ καὶ τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν* 'by his daring and speed.' Compare 16, 28, 8.

3, 118, 9 *τῇ τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἰδιότητι καὶ τῷ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν τῆς Ἰταλίας δυναστείαν.* So 6, 51, 8.

16, 14, 9 *οἱ πολιτικοὶ τῷ μισεῖν ἢ τῷ φιλεῖν ἑλκόμενοι πολλάκις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τέλος ἐμπίπτουσι.* In 10, 33, 5 *πταίσαντος δὲ* (sc. *τοῦ προεστῶτος*) *κἂν τῷ νικᾶν ἡ τύχη τοῖς πολλοῖς παραδιδῷ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὐδὲν ὄφελος γίνεται κ. τ. λ.* F^{s} reads *τὸ* before *νικᾶν*, and perhaps *τὸ νικᾶν* is a gloss on *κρατεῖν*. Schw. compares 10, 37, 4 *κἂν μὲν ἡ τύχη δῷ τὸ νικᾶν*, from which possibly a gloss *τὸ νικᾶν* arose in the former passage.

(*b*). 'Causal.'

Of this character are seven-eighths of the cases of *τῷ* c. inf. in Polybius.

(1). A special class is formed by the dative of the articular infin. used with verbs, etc., of emotion to indicate the ground of the emotion; a favorite construction with Xenophon; Polybius, however, far more frequently employs in this sense *ἐπὶ τῷ* c. infin.

5, 57, 6 *δυσαρεστούμενοι τῷ δοκεῖν γίνεσθαι τὴν στρατείαν ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα.* 20, 5, 4 *οἱ δυσαρεστοῦντες τῇ παρούσῃ καταστάσει καὶ τῷ πάντα πείθεσθαι Μακεδόσι.* Hence the reading of the MSS in 15, 32, 4 *δυσηρεστοῦντο μὴ συνειλῆφθαι τοὺς αἰτίους* was rightly altered by Bekker to *δυσηρέστουν τῷ μή*. It is, however, equally probable there that *δυσηρεστοῦντο τῷ μὴ κ. τ. λ.* should be read; the middle having its place there, as in the first passage and in 23, 4, 14 (*δυσηρεστοῦντο τῇ καθόδῳ*), and the article *τῷ* having dropped out. After *ἀγανακτέω* 22, 13, 7, *ξενίζομαι* 3, 68, 9 (*τῷ* Cas.), *περιχαρής* 2, 50, 5, and *εὐθαρσής* 5, 56, 5, *εὐδοκέω* 27, 13, 4.

Similar, I think, is the construction of 23, 4, 14 *δυσηρεστοῦντο μὲν γὰρ τῇ καθόδῳ τῶν φυγάδων, εὐδοκοῦντο δὲ τοῖς ὅλοις τῷ γράφεσθαι διότι δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεύειν μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.* Schweighäuser and Hultsch place a comma after *τοῖς ὅλοις*, and Schw. translates as if *τοῖς ὅλοις* depended upon *εὐδοκοῦντο* and *τῷ γράφεσθαι* were causal; thus the meaning is: 'they objected to the return of the exiles, but were content with the decree on the whole, because of the provision that the Lacedaemonians should join the Achaeans.' The objection to this is that *τοῖς ὅλοις* does not mean 'on the whole,' but 'altogether, entirely.' Ursinus probably felt this when he proposed *τοῖς ἄλλοις*. *τοῖς ὅλοις* is, however, a very common phrase, occurring over 30 times; see Schw. lex. sub voc. and add 3, 84, 13. 5, 85, 13 and 3, 109, 9 *τῆς πατρίδος οὐ κινδυνευούσης νῦν αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὅλοις*, 'Not with the armies alone, but alto-

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gether.' In our passage also τοῖς ὅλοις must bear this sense, and with Dindorf we should omit the comma after τοῖς ὅλοις. The sense and construction thus obtained is quite satisfactory: 'they objected to the return of the exiles, but were entirely in accord with the provision that the Lacedaemonians should join the Achaeans.'

(2). Dative of the 'point of difference' with διαφέρω and its synonyms. See Madvig, Syntax, §40; compare ἡλικίᾳ διαφέρειν. Thus we find: 16, 4, 4 τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν πορὰ πολὺ διαφέροντες. 16, 22a, 2. 1, 27, 11 τῷ ταχυναυτεῖν πολὺ περιῆσαν and 1, 51, 4. 5, 38, 7 τούτῳ διαφέρων τῶν ἄλλων τῷ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δίαιταν ἐν μείζονι δεσμωτηρίῳ. 30, 2, 4. 2, 37, 11.

(3). The last three examples show how the dative of difference is connected with the causal use, of which the following are examples: 1, 28, 4 τῷ δ' ἑκατέρων πάρισα τὰ μέρη γενέσθαι—ἐφάμιλλον εἶναι συνέβαινε καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον. 5, 48, 14 οὐδὲν ἦννε τῷ φθάσαι Διογένην παρεισπεσόντα. 2, 55, 6 τῷ πλήθει τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῷ προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι τοὺς εὐκαίρους τόπους καθίκετο τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, with which cf. 21, 22, 9. And in 1, 27, 12. 68, 12. 79, 7. 2, 39, 11. 3, 9, 7. 3, 106, 5. 4, 29, 4. 71, 5. 84, 1 (τῷ Ca.). 5, 97, 6. 102, 3. 6, 29, 4. 8, 32, 12 (τῷ Ca.). 9, 2, 4 (τῷ Ca.). 2, 5. 4, 2. 18, 8. 10, 2, 2. 27, 2. 39, 9. 11, 3, 4 (τῷ Ca.). 23, 3. 24, 6. 14, 1, 5. 15, 6, 8. 25, 25. 16, 1, 3. 16, 14, 4 (τῷ δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς, va. for MSS τὸ δὲ τοσαύτας). 14, 5. 36, 8. 18, 9, 8. 18, 11. 18, 17. 41a, 2. 21, 25, 2. 28, 2. 22, 15, 8. 17, 11. 23, 3, 6. 23, 7, 4 (τῷ Ur.). 28, 4, 10. 32, 2, 6. 10, 3. 33, 6, 5. Frag. 176 and 184. In 12, 6a, 4—τὰς συγγενείας τῶν δεσποτῶν οἱ δουλεύσαντες πειρῶνται προσποιεῖσθαι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἀναγκαίων μᾶλλον, αὐτῷ τούτῳ σπουδάζοντες τὴν προγεγενημένην περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλάττωσιν ἐξαλείφειν, τῷ βούλεσθαι τῶν δεσποτῶν ἀπόγονοι μᾶλλον ἐπιφαίνειν ἢπερ ἀπελεύθεροι—αὐτῷ τούτῳ must refer to what precedes; and yet there is something unsatisfactory in separating it from τῷ βούλεσθαι. For αὐτὸ τοῦτο referring back we may compare 14, 10, 10, but the articular infinitive so often follows it in apposition, as in 1, 45, 11. 9, 32, 11. 2, 37, 11, that the construction here strikes one as awkward. In 23, 7, 4 οὐδ' ἤρεσεν αὐτοῖς τὸ δοκεῖν Ursinus corrected τὸ to τῷ, and Hultsch follows this, but the alteration is unnecessary; see above under Accus.[1]

[1]A difficult passage is 18, 18, 15 οὔτ' ἐπιλαβόμενον ἐκσπάσαι ῥᾴδιον διὰ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν πάσας τὰς προσβολὰς σχεδὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς δύναμιν ἔχειν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ τὴν μίαν ἐπισπώμενον κεραίαν πολλοὺς ἀναγκάζεσθαι πειθομένους ἅμα βαστάζειν διὰ τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλους ἐμπλοκήν. The objections to the reading of the MSS τὸ τὴν μίαν are stated in Schweighäuser's note. τὸ should either be

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Prepositions and Quasi-Prepositions with the Genitive.

περί.

περὶ τοῦ c. inf., of which instances are found in all classical prose-writers, especially in Plato, occurs 26 times in Polybius (books I–V 5 times, VI–end 21 times), in all of which the force of περί is quite classical: 'concerning, touching, about.' It occurs:

(*a*). In phrases which would be incomplete without the preposition, such as verbs of saying, writing, discussing, etc. In both this and the following class ὑπέρ occurs in Polybius in the same sense as περί. 1, 11, 2 τοῖς ἄρτι ῥηθεῖσι περὶ τοῦ κοινῇ συμφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον. 10, 16, 6 περὶ δὲ τοῦ μηδένα νοσφίζεσθαι μηδὲν . . . ὑπὲρ τούτου δὲ τοῦ μέρους εἴρηται πρότερον, where the anacoluthon is noticeable.

1, 18, 10 βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν. So 10, 45, 5 and 39, 9, 12. And 31, 1, 3 with διασαφεῖν. 28, 7, 3 διαλέγεσθαι. 3, 21, 4 ῥητῶς κατατετάχθαι. 23, 4, 8 σύμφωνον ἐγένετο (περὶ τοῦ Ursin. for περὶ τούτων). 23, 4, 4 πρεσβεύω. 24, 1, 5 γράφειν. 30, 3, 2 παρακαλεῖν. 29, 24, 7 διορίζεσθαι. 28, 1, 7 ἐντολὰς ἔχων.

(*b*). In phrases of 'mentioning,' 'anxiety,' etc., where the simple genitive without περί is equally admissible, and found elsewhere in Polybius and classical prose, and where, consequently, περί is pleonastic.[1]

omitted, or altered to διὰ τὸ or τῷ; and for τὴν μίαν ἐπισπώμενον we want τὸν μίαν ἐπισπώμενον or τὸν τὴν μίαν ἐπισπώμενον.

(1). The simplest correction is that which introduces symmetry into the structure of the clauses (διὰ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν—δεύτερον δὲ), by reading τὸν for τὸ: one of Schweighäuser's suggestions.

(2). Scaliger's alteration of τὸ to τῷ, and Schw.'s of τὴν to τὸν, which are adopted by Hultsch, yields an unsymmetrical structure (διὰ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν—δεύτερον δὲ τῷ); which derives some support from 3, 103, 1 διὰ τὸ πρῶτον μὲν προφαίνεσθαι, δεύτερον δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν, and 4, 2, 1. It appears to me, however, more likely that the δὲ after δεύτερον is a corruption for διὰ, and that we have here an instance of Polybius' favorite structure πρῶτον μεν—δεύτερον (without δὲ). I would therefore read:

(3). δεύτερον διὰ τὸ τὸν μίαν ἐπισπώμενον. Here it would be very easy for διὰ after δεύτερον to be corrupted into δὲ, as πρῶτον μὲν precedes. For the sequence πρῶτον μὲν—δεύτερον many passages may be quoted; cf. 12, 13, 4 πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πεφυκέναι καλῶς Δημοχάρην, δεύτερον ἐκ τοῦ ἠξιῶσθαι. 10, 6, 10 πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ πράξεις αὐτὸν ἐδωκε, δεύτερον δοὺς αὐτὸν κ. τ. λ. 12, 25b, 1 τὸ πρῶτον μὲν γνῶναι, δεύτερον τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθάνεσθαι. So in 2, 39, 6. 6, 45, 4. 12, 25k, 6 and 12, 28a, 1; and see Schw. on 2, 39, 6. And for the repetition of διὰ τὸ in the second clause, see 3, 103, 1. 4, 2, 1 (quoted above) and 3, 32, 5 πρῶτον μὲν δια τὸ—εἶτα διὰ τὸ κ. τ. λ., and 9, 2, 4.

[1] In reference to this class Krebs (Präp. bei P., p. 100) has exaggerated the non-Attic character of Polybius' use of περί with the genitive. He remarks

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The articular infinitive is found in Polybius after *περί* in this class of constructions:—2, 7, 12 *περὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε δεῖν τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας ἰσχυροτέραν εἰσάγεσθαι φυλακήν, ἔκρινον ποιήσασθαι μνήμην.* 38, 10, 11 *ἐμφάσεις ποιῶν* 'making mention.' 4, 74, 2 *ἐπιμέλειαν ἐχειν. σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι* 11, 10, 4. 12, 26b, 4. In 22, 4, 4 after *σπουδάζειν* the MSS read *τοῦ*, which is, I think, correct, and wrongly altered by Naber to *τό*. The words are *ὁ Τίτος πάλαι μὲν ἐσπούδαζε περὶ τοῦ καταπορευθῆναι τὸν Ζεύξιππον εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν.* Although Naber's alteration is adopted by Hultsch and approved of by Krebs (Präp. bei P. 101, note 2), I believe the genitive is sound and adequately supported by the two passages just mentioned of *σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ* c. inf., by 5, 35, 4 *ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν περὶ τῆς δυναστείας*, and especially by 16, 17, 10 *πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ σπουδάζειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεόντως ἐξαγγέλλειν τὰς πράξεις*, for *ὑπέρ* and *περί* c. gen. with Polybius are interchangeable.

φροντίζειν περὶ τοῦ c. inf. 8, 18, 10. 24, 7, 8. *πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι* 11, 31, 7. 14, 3, 3. *περὶ φυλακῆς μὲν γὰρ ἦ τοῦ πείσεσθαί τι δεινὸν οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν εἶχον πρόληψιν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ δρᾶσαί τι καὶ προκαλέσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, πολλή τις*

that many relations which in good Attic prose are expressed by the genitive alone, are for clearness' sake, given by Polybius in the more explicit and distinct form of *περί* with the genitive. In most of the instances, however, upon which he bases this observation, we find on the one hand examples of *περί* in classical prose, and on the other hand the simple genitive used by Polybius himself. It would be nearer the mark to say that Polybius, while not ignoring the simple genitive construction, shows a preference for the fuller phrase with *περί*, but in doing so he is not guilty of any innovation. The words which Krebs quotes are the following: *ἀμφισβητεῖν*, found, however, with *περί* and genitive Plato, Polit. 268a, Repub. 457e, and in Aristotle often (see Bonitz); on the other hand in Polybius with the simple genitive 1, 2, 6. 2, 71, 7. 20, 4, 6. *ἀμφισβήτησις* with *περί* in Isaeus 9, 10 and Aristotle; with simple gen. Pol. 6, 48, 6. Verbs of mentioning: *μνείαν ποιεῖσθαι περί τινος* is quite classical; see Andoc. 13, 27; Aeschin. 23, 5; Plat. Protag. 317e, and is frequent in Aristotle. *μιμνήσκεσθαι περί τινος* occurs in Thucydides (Classen on 1, 10, 4) and Aristotle, who has also *μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι περί*. In Polybius *περί* is far the commonest construction, but the genitive is found 1, 5, 4 with *ἀνάμνησιν ποιεῖσθαι*. Phrases of 'care' and 'anxiety': *φροντίζειν περί τινος*, Herod. 8, 36; Xen. Mem. 1, 1, 12. *φροντίζειν τινός*, Polyb. 3, 12, 5 and Fragm. 150. *προνοεῖσθαι περί*, Lysias 99, 31, but Polyb. 12, 25k, 6 with genitive. With *πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι* the simple genitive is usual in classic Greek; it is, however, also common in Polybius besides *περὶ* and genitive; see 4, 6, 11. 23, 17, 3. 36, 8, 4. fragm. 157. *σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι περί τινος*, which occurs in Polyb. 12, 26b, 4, occurs also in Plato, Symp. 177c. And *ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι περί τινος* occurs (with the articular infin.) in Thuc. 7, 56, 2, but in this case Polybius seems to prefer the simple genitive: 6, 35, 12. 36, 5. 1, 27, 6. 5, 79, 3.

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ἦν αὐτῶν ὁρμὴ καὶ προθυμία. Lastly, παρακούω, which generally takes the genitive, has περί in 30, 22, 5. παρακούσαντες περὶ τοῦ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐξαγαγεῖν.

ὑπέρ.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ c. inf., which occurs 26 times in Polybius (11–15), is common in Isocrates and Demosthenes (see Weiske), and with them it frequently bears a *final* meaning, as e. g. Isoc. 5, 135 ἀποθνήσκειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τυχεῖν καλῆς δόξης. In Polybius there are some instances of ὑπὲρ τοῦ c. inf. which may be taken in a final sense, and Krebs (Präp. p. 40) gives this as one of the forces of ὑπέρ in Polybius. Bearing in mind the fact, however, which Krebs emphasizes, that ὑπέρ is used with the genitive by Polybius as by Aristotle in the same sense as περί, and that all the supposed final cases of ὑπὲρ τοῦ c. inf. are paralleled by similar passages with περί, I prefer to regard ὑπέρ in these latter passages also as synonymous with περί. Krebs himself is not consistent on the point, classifying 5, 10, 7 and 24, 2, 1 first as final, then as circumlocutions for the genitive. On the other hand, of the passages he quotes from Diodorus (p. 40) some are undeniably *final*, e. g. 19, 34, 1 παρῆσαν ἀμφότεραι πρὸς τὴν ταφὴν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ συναποθανεῖν.

ὑπὲρ τοῦ c. inf. like περί is found:

(*a*). Where ὑπέρ has the force 'concerning, as regards' and is necessary for the completeness of the expression. So with verbs of speaking, discussing and the like.

1, 43, 1 συλλαλήσαντες αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐνδοῦναι. With διαλέγεσθαι 16, 35, 2. λόγους διατίθεσθαι 22, 13, 8. 31, 19, 2. λόγους ποιεῖσθαι 9, 32, 11. ἀναδιδόναι διαβούλιον 'deliberate' 23, 17, 6. ἀνεδίδου διαβούλιον ὑπὲρ τοῦ προσλαβέσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην. διανοεῖσθαι 5, 18, 6. δικαιολογεῖσθαι 22, 15, 6. πρεσβευτής 29, 19, 1. παρακαλεῖν 27, 3, 3. ὅρκους ποιεῖσθαι 24, 11, 4. ἁμιλλᾶσθαι 5, 86, 8. ἀδιαφόρως ἔχειν 24, 11, 9. προδιειλημμένοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν 'decided on war.'

In 24, 2, 1 κομιζόντων παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου γράμματα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ προνοηθῆναι ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν καθόδου καὶ σωτηρίας the second ὑπέρ is probably a gloss, as it is at once unnecessary and productive of a hiatus.

23, 4, 8 is noticeable for the parallelism of ὑπέρ and περί: ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ καταπορεύεσθαι τοὺς πεφευγότας καὶ περὶ τοῦ μένειν τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἐγένετο πᾶσι σύμφωνον. But περὶ τοῦ there is a correction of Ursinus for περὶ τούτων, and it may be suggested that possibly περὶ τούτων originally stood after Ἀχαιῶν and was by mistake misplaced into the preceding line. The passage would then run

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ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ καταπορεύεσθαι τοὺς πεφευγότας καὶ μένειν τὴν πόλιν μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, περὶ τούτων ἐγένετο πᾶσι σύμφωνον. This would be paralleled by the following περὶ δὲ τῶν κτήσεων—περὶ τούτων διημφισβήτουν.

With θροῦς 5, 18, 5 καί τις ἐνεπεπτώκει θροῦς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν Λυκοῦργον ἐκπέμπειν βοηθήσοντα τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς.

(*b*). Where the simple genitive is found elsewhere and ὑπέρ like περί merely serves to add distinctness to the expression.

3, 87, 5 πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο σπουδὴν καὶ πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ . . . ἐπικουρεῖν. And with σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι 3, 94, 9. 5, 32, 1 and 5, 99, 6. πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι 5, 10, 7. πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι καὶ σπουδάζειν 16, 17, 10. μνημονεύειν ὑπὲρ τοῦ c. inf. 'make mention' 28, 17, 13 Krebs classes as a final (Präp. p. 40), while he treats μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ rightly as a periphrasis for the genitive (p. 41).

5, 94, 9 ἐγένετο ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐλπὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ βαρυνθήσεσθαι ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς.

ἐκ.

See Krebs, Präp. p. 62 ff.; Weiske, p. 529. This construction, occurring 22 times in Polybius (10–12), is rather a favorite with Demosthenes. Noticeable in Polybius is the recurrence of the phrase ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν.

1. "From, out of." In this sense ἐκ occurs six times with τοῦ ζῆν in various expressions of removal from life.

2, 21, 2 ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐξεχώρησαν, a Latinism, e vita discedere (Götzeler, p. 23). αὐτοὺς ἐξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν 23, 16, 13 and 39, 9, 5; for which also we may compare vita expellere aliquem. 30, 7, 8 προεξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτόν. 27, 2, 9 ἀπήλλαξαν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν. 32, 20, 3 τῶν ἀλιτηρίων ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μεθισταμένων, with which Krebs compares ἡ ἐκ τοῦ βίου μετάστασις 30, 2, 5 and Diodor. 12, 29, 3 ἑαυτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησαν.

2. (*a*). Of the source from which knowledge of a thing is inferred or obtained: "from, by." Weiske gives several classical parallels, among them Xen. Mem. 4, 1, 2 (τεκμαίρεσθαι). Demosth. 37, 27 with δῆλον εἶναι. In Polybius we find this force in 12, 4d, 7 γενέσθαι δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ . . . ὄνθου πλῆθος ἀναβλύζειν. So 22, 13, 3 δῆλος ὢν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σιωπᾶν ὅτι δυσαρεστεῖται. 14, 2, 7 ἐπείσθη ἔκ τε τοῦ φάναι τοὺς πρέσβεις ἔκ τε τοῦ διευλαβεῖσθαι.

12, 13, 4 and 5 καταστοχάζομαι τοῦτο πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πεφυκέναι καλῶς Δημοχάρην, δεύτερον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ἠξιῶσθαι κ. τ. λ. and 12, 24, 2 τὸν ποιητὴν ἐκ τοῦ δαιτρεύειν ὡσανεὶ γαστρίμαργον παρεμφαίνειν. The two last passages Krebs (p. 64) classes as examples of ἐκ giving the point of

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view, the standard, from which a thing is judged or regarded. This is, however, hardly in accordance with the sense.

(*b*). Of the source of usefulness or disadvantage; compare Weiske's parallels, e. g. Plato, Repub. 345e *ὡς ὠφέλειαν ἐσομένην ἐκ τοῦ ἄρχειν.* So 3, 17, 4 *πολλὰ προορώμενος εὔχρηστα ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν αὐτήν.* 3, 63, 4 and 5 *εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ νικᾶν ἆθλον . . . κ. τ. λ.* 4, 47, 1 *μεγάλης γενομένης τῆς δυσχρηστίας ἐκ τοῦ τέλος πράττειν τοὺς Βυζαντίους.*

5, 51, 8 *ἐκ τοῦ διαβῆναι τὸν Τίγριν πρόδηλον ἀπεδείκνυε τὴν μετάνοιαν,* where the force is 'in consequence of,' and so in 5, 31, 3. 1, 69, 8. In 3, 109, 9 *τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λείπεσθαι καὶ τοῦ νικᾶν διαφοράν, ἐκ τοῦ* seems to amount to no more than a circumlocution for the simple genitive.

πρό.

See Krebs, Präp. p. 39. As in classical prose (see Weiske, p. 530) and Aristotle, so in Polybius *πρὸ τοῦ* c. inf. occurs occasionally as a substitute for *πρίν* with the infinitive or subjunctive. Of the 12 (6–6) instances in Polybius, in ten the infinitive is in the aorist and in nine is accompanied by a subject in the accusative.

5, 49, 2 *ἔδει πάλαι μὴ μέλλειν πρὸ τοῦ τηλικαῦτα προτερήματα λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθρούς.* 2, 63, 2. 68, 1. 3, 25, 1. 57, 1. 5, 100, 5. 18, 11, 1. 21, 10, 11. *πρὸ τοῦ* c. inf. is also read with probability in 15, 8, 4 and in 21, 45, 16.

An unusual order of the conjunctions *τε* and *μέν* is found in 6, 12, 1 and 25, 5. 6, 12, 1 *οἱ ὕπατοι πρὸ τοῦ μὲν ἐξάγειν τὰ στρατόπεδα, πασῶν εἰσι κύριοι τῶν πράξεων,* in which passage the displacement of *μέν* is due to the wish to avoid hiatus. Krebs (Präp. p. 39) quotes several instances from Diodorus of *πρὸ τοῦ* c. inf. in one of which, 13, 30, 3, we find the same order with *γάρ*: *πρὸ τοῦ γὰρ ἐπιβῆναι τῆς Σικελίας,* where also the usual order would have involved hiatus. But the second passage cannot be so explained: 6, 25, 5 *πρὸ τοῦ τε τὴν ἐπιδορατίδα πρός τι προσερεῖσαι κ. τ. λ.,* where we may suppose that *πρὸ τοῦ* was regarded by Polybius as a single word equivalent to *πρίν,* and that in the former passages a similar feeling supported the desire to avoid hiatus.

χάριν and *ἕνεκα.*

See Krebs, Präpositionsadverbien in der späteren Gräcität, I 18, 19, 57 and II 25.

Although *χάριν* as a quasi-preposition with the genitive is well known in classical poetry, it is in Polybius that we find it first raised to a position of importance in prose. With Polybius,

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according to Götzeler (p. 24), it occurs 176 times, but it fell off after him in point of frequency, though it still remained a feature of later Greek (Krebs, II 25).

With the articular infinitive χάριν is extremely rare in classical authors (Krebs is not quite correct, P.-A. I 49, in calling it a *novum* in Polybius). The only classical instances are Aristoph. Plutus 1009 τοῦ λαβεῖν μὲν οὖν χάριν, and in Plato Theaet. 173e οὔτε ἀπέχεται αὐτῶν τοῦ εὐδοκιμεῖν χάριν. Repub. 499a ζητεῖν τὸ ἀληθὲς τοῦ γνῶναι χάριν, and Timaeus 72a χάριν ἐκείνου, τοῦ παρέχειν αὐτὸ λαμπρόν. Polybius has no less than 78 examples of the construction, and extending this classical use of the simple infinitive with χάριν τοῦ to the employment of a subject in the accusative (or nominative) he obtained yet another form of the purpose clause besides those he had already to hand—ἵνα, πρὸς τὸ c. inf., ἕνεκα τοῦ c. inf., ἐπὶ τῷ c. inf. or τοῦ c. inf.—and has given χάριν τοῦ the preference over the other final constructions of the articular infinitive. We may notice here the occurrence in the Sestos inscription (for which see Jerusalem Wiener Studien, I, p. 57) by the side of other marks of Polybian phraseology, of an example of χάριν τοῦ c. inf. (line 44).

Of Polybius' 78 instances of χάριν τοῦ c. inf. 22 occur in books 1–5. Krebs, who has treated χάριν very fully, and from whose discussion both of this and the other quasi-prepositions I have derived great assistance, notices ten passages in which χάριν τοῦ occurs as a stereotyped locution where Polybius addresses to the reader an elucidation or statement of the plan of his narrative. Krebs indeed considers that the high frequency of χάριν in Polybius is due very largely to the 'pragmatic' method of his history. The passages just mentioned are: 3, 38, 4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν τοῦ μὴ τελέως ἀνυπότακτον εἶναι τὴν διήγησιν. 4, 8, 12 ταῦτα μὲν εἰρήσθω μοι χάριν τοῦ μὴ διαπιστεῖν τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, and similarly after ταῦτα εἰρήσθω 4, 21, 10 and 9, 31, 1. 3, 34, 3 ὑπὲρ οὗ διήλθομεν ἡμεῖς χάριν τοῦ συμπεριφέρεσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τοῖς νῦν μέλλουσι λέγεσθαι. Similarly 1, 20, 8. 12, 9. 2, 14, 2. 18, 28, 12. 38, 6, 8.

Krebs (I, p. 58) quotes from Diodor. 18, 8, 1 τούτου τὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι προεκθέσθαι χάριν τοῦ σαφεστέρας γενέσθαι τὰς πράξεις.

We find χάριν τοῦ c. infin. with subject in accusative:

8, 28, 1 ἐπεπόριστο σκῆψιν ὡς ἀρρωστῶν χάριν τοῦ μὴ θαυμάζειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους. 38, 9, 2 τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπισπασαμένων χάριν τοῦ σύμφωνον γενέσθαι τὴν δικαιοδοσίαν. So 5, 88, 6. 9, 41, 9. 11, 25, 9. 14, 3, 6. 15, 16, 4. 18, 3, 7. 24, 9, 10. 11, 8. 30, 5, 1. 38, 10, 3.

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After *πᾶν ὑπομένειν, χάριν* with infin. is a mannerism of Polybius. 1, 49, 8 *πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ περιιδεῖν σφᾶς συγκλεισθέντας*. And 6, 52, 11. 54, 3. 29, 9. 12. Cf. also 6, 42, 5. In 4, 31, 3 *ἐγὼ γὰρ φοβερὸν μὲν εἶναί φημι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐ μὴν οὕτω γε φοβερὸν ὥστε πᾶν ὑπομένειν χάριν τοῦ μὴ προσδέξασθαι πόλεμον*. After *ὑπομένειν δεῖν* seems to me to be required, and as *δεῖν* not rarely has to be supplied by conjecture (see Hu.[2], Preface, xxxii) I would read *ὑπομένειν δεῖν*; after the termination *ειν* the short word might easily drop out. A similar insertion seems necessary in 1, 35, 2.

Tense of the infinitive with *χάριν τοῦ*: The aorist is commoner than the present, and the future only occurs once—4, 9, 5 *ἐὰν ὅμηρα δῶσιν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν υἱεῖς χάριν τοῦ μὴ διαλυθήσεσθαι πρὸς Αἰτωλούς*. So there is little probability in Dindorf's proposal to read *ποιήσεσθαι* in 11, 18, 7 for *ποιήσασθαι*.[1]

ἕνεκα.

ἕνεκα or *ἕνεκεν τοῦ* c. infin. (for the form of *ἕνεκα* see Krebs, P.-A. I 8) is much rarer in Polybius, with whom it occurs 8 times (1–7), than in classical prose; Xenophon has 29 instances of it, and Plato 22. See Weiske, p. 540. In this respect *ἕνεκα τοῦ* has changed places with *χάριν*, which is very rare in classical prose and a favorite with Polybius.

ἕνεκα τοῦ is used like *χάριν* of purpose, 'for the sake of,' e. g.:

6, 37, 10 *ἐὰν ψευδῆ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνδραγαθίαν ἀπαγγείλωσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ τιμὰς λαβεῖν*. So 3, 4, 10. 15, 16, 3. 18, 18, 1. 29, 27, 1. 30, 1, 2. 31, 25, 3. In one passage the sense may be causal: 12, 25e, 3 *πρὸς τοὺς καιροὺς ἀεὶ βλέποντες, ἕνεκα τοῦ πορίζειν τὸν βίον διὰ τούτων* 'because they make their living by these means.'[2]

[1] For the sake of completeness the remaining examples of *χάριν τοῦ* are enumerated:

(1). With aorist infin. 1, 27, 8. 2, 61, 10. 3, 4, 10. 50, 6. 5, 74, 9. 103, 2. 6, 49, 5. 10, 12, 7. 42, 4. 45, 10. 12, 12a, 2. 14, 1, 13. 2, 12. 15, 4, 4. 16, 2. 36, 5. 16, 25, 1. 18, 11, 8. 20, 10, 14. 21, 44, 4 and 7. 22, 3, 6. 19, 2. 24, 12, 6. 27, 15, 4. 29, 7, 4. 31, 20, 8. 33, 18, 2. 37, 9, 7. 39, 12, 11.

(2). Present infin. 1, 39, 8. 3, 42, 4. 106, 4. 4, 9, 10. 8, 26, 6. 27, 8. 9, 20, 2. 25, 6. 13, 3, 2. 16, 8, 3. 18, 30, 3. 20, 5, 8. 24, 12, 13. 27, 7, 5. 31, 25, 2. 32, 7, 16.

[2] In respect of the *position* of the quasi-prepositions *χάριν* and *ἕνεκα* there remains to be noticed a marked difference between classical and later prose. We see that in Polybius *χάριν* always precedes the articular infinitive, while in three of the four classical examples of the construction, quoted above, *χάριν* follows; the fourth example, from the Timaeus, being appositional. Similarly *ἕνεκα* in Polybius always precedes the articular infinitive, although in classical

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πλήν.

πλὴν τοῦ c. inf. in the same sense as χωρίς 'except' was rare in classical prose (Weiske, p. 540), and in Polybius it occurs only 5 times. Krebs, P.-A. I 56.

2, 58, 12 οὐδενὸς περαιτέρω συνεξακολουθήσαντος Μαντινεῦσι πλὴν τοῦ διαρπαγῆναι τοὺς βίους. 2, 60, 8. 18, 50, 9. 34, 9, 15. 8, 9. 5. πάσης ἐλπίδος πεῖραν λαμβάνειν πλὴν τοῦ διὰ πολιορκίας ἑλεῖν τὰς Συρακούσας.

χωρίς.

For the use of χωρίς in general in the κοινή see Krebs, P.-A. II 29. It occurs with the art. inf. in Demosthenes and Plato in the sense of 'besides, apart from.' Weiske, p. 540. Of the four Polybian instances of the construction, two bear this force: 3, 32, 4 χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ πολλαπλασίους αὐτὰς ὑπάρχειν τῶν ἡμετέρων ὑπομνημάτων, οὐδὲ καταλαβεῖν οἷόν τε κ. τ. λ. 6, 46, 6 χωρὶς τοῦ παραβλέπειν πολὺν λόγον διατίθενται.

In the other two passages it has a different meaning 'without,' thus representing a negatived participle or ἄνευ τοῦ c. inf.: 2, 51, 6 μήτε δοκεῖν ἂν βοηθῆσαι χωρὶς τοῦ κομίσασθαι τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον. 7, 11, 5 εἰ μὲν χωρὶς τοῦ παρασπονδῆσαι δύνῃ κρατεῖν τοῦ τόπου.

prose it frequently follows it. Where χάριν and ἕνεκα govern nouns, etc., this tendency is observed, but is not so marked. According to Götzeler (p. 24), in all instances χάριν precedes 100 times but follows 76 times. On this point of the position of these quasi-prepositions, Krebs, who is entitled to speak comprehensively on such a subject, has some valuable remarks (P.-A. I 18) of which I will give the substance. "As the quasi-prepositions came to be used in the later historical prose as equivalents for obsolescent proper prepositions, they lost their former freedom and independence, and in connection with a noun had, like prepositions, generally to stand before it. [Götzeler, p. 24, regards the precedence of χάριν as a Latinism after *gratia*, but the same tendency is observed of all the other quasi-prepositions for which no Latin analogy can have served.] This is most marked, however, in the construction with the infinitive, where there is an essential difference between the earlier language and the κοινή." While the classical usage as to the position of χάριν and ἕνεκα with the articular infinitive is as has been stated above, in the whole range of later literature which Krebs examines he quotes the following as rare exceptions among a great number of cases of ἕνεκα τοῦ c. inf.: Dion. H. 1, 41 οὔτε τοῦ διελθεῖν ἕνεκα, and Herodian 3, 3, 2 τοῦ πανταχόθεν κωλύεσθαι ἕνεκα. And though of χάριν with the art. inf. he finds 87 instances from Polybius to the Byzantines, including the inscriptions, among these the only case of post-position is Dionys. H. 3, 49 τοῦ μηδὲν ἔτι παρακινῆσαι χάριν—Dionysius being fond of recherché features in his style. Of the other adverbs which are found with the articular infinitive there is no instance of post-position in the whole late literature (Krebs, P.-A. I, pp. 18, 19).

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ἕως.

See Krebs, P.-A. I 52; II 13, 15. Though the word is extremely common with nouns, etc., in Polybius, with the articular infin. it occurs only four times. 'Until' was more commonly expressed by *ἕως οὗ* or *ἕως* with the indicative or conjunctive. With the articular inf. the first occurrence of *ἕως* is Aristotle, Part. Anim. 3, 6 *ἕως τοῦ γενέσθαι τοὺς πόρους ἐλάσσους*, so that we cannot with Krebs describe it as a new thing.

1, 69, 10 *περιμείναντες ἕως τοῦ γνῶναι* 'until.' In the other passages the force is rather 'up to the point that, so far as.' So in a treaty 3, 24, 11 *ἐν Σαρδόνι μηδεὶς ἐμπορευέσθω, εἰ μὴ ἕως τοῦ ἐφόδια λαβεῖν.* 5, 10, 3 *μέχρι τούτου πολεμῶν ἕως τοῦ λαβεῖν ἀφορμάς.* 5, 109, 2 *χρεία πλοίων ἐστι . . . οὐχ ὡς πρὸς ναυμαχίαν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἕως τοῦ παρακομίζειν στρατιώτας*, with which compare 1, 18, 2 *οὐκ ἀντεξήεσαν πλὴν ἕως ἀκροβολισμοῦ.*

For 9, 36, 1 *ἕως τούτου βούλομαι ποιήσασθαι τὴν μνήμην [ἕως] τοῦ μὴ δόξαι, ἕως* bracketed by Hultsch as spurious is undoubtedly a gloss by some one to whom the final genitive was unfamiliar. See under the genitive.

ἕξω.

ἕξω τοῦ c. inf. occurs twice in Polybius, 1, 15, 3 and 30, 4, 5, in the phrase *ἕξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γενέσθαι.* Cf. Krebs, P.-A. I 25, who cites the same phrase from Dion. H. 4, 70. 5, 29, and compares Herodian 3, 11, 8 *ἕξω φρενῶν καθεστώς. ἕξω τοῦ φρονεῖν* occurs for the first time Euripides, Bacchae 853 (Birklein, p. 37), and *ἕξω* with the art. inf. occurs in Demosthenes and Thucydides. See Weiske, p. 540.

μέχρι.

μέχρι τοῦ c. inf. has occasional occurrence in classical prose (Weiske, p. 540), and occurs twice in Polybius. 3, 92, 5 *μέχρι μὲν τοῦ συνάψαι τοῖς τόποις ἔσπευδε*, with which Krebs (P.-A. I 51) compares 3, 93, 5 *μέχρι συνάψωσι*, and 37, 1, 6 *πᾶσι πεπολεμηκέναι μέχρι τοῦ κρατῆσαι καὶ συγχωρῆσαι τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους*, for which Krebs cites almost the same words, Diod. 13, 24, 4.

ἄνευ.

ἄνευ τοῦ c. inf., which in Xen., Plato and Demosthenes is a common expression for 'without,' has only one instance in Polyb.: 22, 13, 8 *ἀδύνατον εἶναι—ἄνευ τοῦ παραβῆναι τὰ δίκαια.* In Polybius *ἄνευ* was falling out of use and being replaced by *χωρίς* and *πλήν*, as it was later by *δίχα, ἔξω* and *πόρρω*. See Krebs, P.-A. I 56; II 29.

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Prepositions and Quasi-Prepositions with the Dative.

ἐπί.

In classical prose *ἐπὶ τῷ* c. infin. has three usages (see Birklein, p. 107; Weiske, p. 538): (1) as equivalent of *ἐν τῷ* c. inf.; (2) as final; (3) as causal with verbs of emotion. Of these Polybius has dropped the first, has two or three instances of the second, but has made unstinted use of the third. He employs *ἐπὶ τῷ* c. inf. 47 times (16–31), more than twice as often as any classical prosaist; an extension which is entirely confined to the usage of *ἐπὶ τῷ* in phrases indicative of emotion or expression of emotion, anger, love, joy, hope, courage, thanks, etc., where *ἐπὶ* c. dat. introduces the ground of the emotion. As Krebs remarks (Präp. bei P. 87), use is frequently made of this construction where the earlier prose would have employed a sentence with a conjunction, and this observation is borne out by the fact that in one-half of the causal examples of *ἐπὶ τῷ* in Polybius we find following the article an infinitival sentence with subject in the accusative.

The same use of *ἐπί* is common in Polybius with nouns and pronouns as well as with the articular infinitive, and Krebs, p. 87, remarks on the verbs of feeling with which it occurs that they are frequently newly-coined words, such as *ἀσμενίζειν* 'be satisfied,' *μεμψιμοιρεῖν*, *δυσελπιστεῖν*, to which we may add *διοργίζεσθαι*, *δυσχρηστεῖσθαι*. Some of the verbs also he describes as poetical expressions, but those which he quotes as such, *ἀσχάλλειν*, *μεγαλαυχεῖν* and *σχετλιάζειν*, had all been sanctioned by prose use in the classical times.

The simple dative of the infinitive is occasionally found in this same usage with verbs, etc., of emotion; sometimes to avoid a hiatus (e. g. 5, 57, 6. 22, 13, 7), but also where *ἐπὶ τῷ* could have stood.

Noticeable in the use of *ἐπὶ τῷ* c. inf. is the frequent use of the perfect tense, which occurs nearly as often as the present, while the aorist is rare.

(1). *περιχαρής* 1, 41, 1 *περιχαρεῖς ἦσαν οὐχ οὕτως ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἠλαττῶσθαι . . . ὡς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἰδίους τεθαρρηκέναι τῶν ἐλεφάντων κεκρατηκότας.* And 1, 44, 7. 2, 4, 6. 8, 31, 11. 15, 32, 4. *χαίρειν* 21, 43, 2. 27, 9, 8.

συγχαίρειν 15, 5, 13 *συγχαρεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ πάντας ὑπηκόους πεποιῆσθαι*, with which compare from an inscription of the period *συγχαρέντας ἐπὶ τῷ ὑγιαίνειν αὐτόν* (Dittenberger, Sylloge 247, 41, 118 B. C.). *ἀσμενίζειν*

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5, 87, 3. 31, 12, 10. *εὐελπις* 2, 27, 4. *δυσελπιστεῖν* 2, 44, 3. *θαρρεῖν* 3, 18, 3.

μεγαλαυχεῖν 12, 13, 10. *σεμνύνεσθαι* 37, 1, 9 *ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς πολέμους γενναίως πολεμεῖν. χάριν ἔχειν* 5, 56, 4. 20, 5, 11. *ἐπαινεῖν* 30, 7, 4.

θαυμάζειν 21, 30, 11 *θαυμάζων ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἀπαντᾶσθαι.*

δυσχεραίνειν 3, 78, 5 *δυσχεραίνοντες ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν πόλεμον λαμβάνειν τὴν τριβήν*, and 18, 45, 1. 52, 3. 23, 17, 4. *βαρέως φέρω* 15, 1, 1 and 22, 17, 2. *βαρύνεσθαι* 27, 18, 1. *διοργίζεσθαι* 20, 6, 10. *ἀσχάλλειν* 31, 27, 3. *δυσαρεστεῖν* 2, 41, 5. 4, 49, 2.

ἀγανακτεῖν 25, 5, 1. *καταμέμφεσθαι* 28, 4, 13. *ἐπιτιμᾶν* 28, 10, 1. *μεμψιμοιρεῖν* 18, 48, 7 *καὶ τῶν μὲν πράως καὶ πολιτικῶς μεμψιμοιρούντων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κοινωνικῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς εὐτυχήμασι. ἐγκαλεῖν* 5, 57, 2 *ἐγκαλῶν καὶ διαμαρτυρόμενος πρῶτον μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τετολμηκέναι διάδημα περιθέσθαι.* So even with *ἔγκλημα* 22, 16, 5 *οὐδ' ἀξίους ἐγκλήματος ὑπαρχειν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ συνάγειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.* In 27, 13, 2 *ἐπί* for *ἐν* is Reiske's correction *καταλαλούμενος πικρῶς ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν προῖεσθαι.*

δυσχρηστεῖσθαι 3, 107, 5. *ἀπόρως διακείμενος* 11, 1, 6. And in 15, 26a, 2 *τῷ* is Geels' correction for *τὸ*: *πρὸς πολλοὺς οἰκτιζόμενος καὶ μεταμελόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν παραλιπεῖν.*

(2). *ἐπὶ τῷ* c. inf. of purpose. See Krebs, p. 88. 1, 45, 11 *ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ ταχθέντες, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ τρέψασθαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προῖεσθαι ταῦτα*, with which Krebs compares 1, 44, 1 *τὸν ἐπὶ τούτοις τεταγμένον* and 20, 11, 8. Final also is Fragm. 180 *οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπίνειον ἐποίησαν, ἐπὶ τῷ προκαθίσαντας ἐπὶ τῆς διαβάσεως διαφυλάξαι τοὺς συμμάχους.* On the analogy of the above it might be suggested that *τῷ* should be read for *τὸ* in Fragm. 166. *Σκιπίων γοῦν ἐκπεμπόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου ἐπὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι τὰς βασιλείας.*[1]

ἐν.

ἐν τῷ c. inf. occurs 21 times in Polybius (9–12), a frequency about equivalent to that in Plato. The force of *ἐν* is (*a*) local, (*b*) temporal.

(*a*). Local in metaphorical sense: *αἱ τοῦ νικᾶν ἐν τῷ πολεμεῖν ἐλπίδες* 1, 62, 4. *τὴν ἐν τῷ νικᾶν ἐλπίδα* 3, 89, 6.

Similarly 2, 29, 3. 32, 10. 8, 14, 8. 9, 8, 1. 10, 19, 5. 6, 42, 2. *οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνες ἐν τῷ στρατοπεδεύειν ἡγοῦνται κυριώτατον τὸ κατακολουθεῖν κ. τ. λ.*

[1] In 38, 7, 6 *δῆλον ἐγένετο διότι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αὐρήλιον ἔδωκε (ἡ σύγκλητος) τὰς ἐντολὰς . . . διασπάσαι τὸ ἔθνος ἀλλὰ πτοῆσαι βουλομένη κ. τ. λ.* Hultsch supplies *οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ* before *διασπάσαι.*

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21, 4, 5 τὸ τέλος ἐστὶ τοῦ πολέμου οὐκ ἐν τῷ χειρώσασθαι . . . ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ κρατῆσαι τῆς Ἀσίας.

(*b*). Temporal 'whilst,' corresponding to the classical (not Polybian) use of ἅμα τῷ c. inf. 10, 12, 9. 31, 12, 5. 3, 79, 9. μίαν παρεχόμενα χρείαν ἐν τῷ πεσεῖν.

ἐν τῷ ζῆν 6, 53, 2. 7, 8, 9. 15, 25, 9 and 23, 12, 6.

ἐν τῷ συνεγγίζειν 1, 23, 8. The infinitive has a subject in the accusative 4, 12, 7 ἐν τῷ τούτους ἐγκλίναντας φεύγειν. 4, 64, 7 and 5, 52, 8.

πρός.

πρὸς τῷ c. inf. occurs 10 times (9–1), of which nine are examples of the use with εἰμί and γίνομαι, for which see below and compare also Krebs, Präp. bei P. pp. 115 and 122. Besides these there is one case of πρὸς τῷ in the sense of 'besides': 12, 28, 12 πρὸς τῷ κατεψεῦσθαι ἐκείνου, where, however, the epitomizer's hand can be traced. See Krebs, p. 116. In classical prose this is the only use of πρὸς τῷ and is quite frequent. Weiske, p. 537.

ἅμα.

See Krebs, P.-A. I 28, 58; II, p. 46, note. ἅμα τῷ c. inf., used as Polybius uses it, is a new feature in syntax. It occurs with him altogether 102 times (55–47). In classical prose the construction is extremely rare, and appears only four times, twice in Plato and once each in Demosthenes and Xenophon (Weiske, p. 540). It is there used to denote an action contemporaneous with and accompanying the main action, e. g. Plato, Repub. 468e ἵνα ἅμα τῷ τιμᾶν ἀσκῶμεν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας. Three of these classical passages have the present tense of the infinitive, but in Dem. 25, 23 the aorist is found: τὰς ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας ἅμα τῷ τὸν ὑπηρέτην εἰπεῖν τῶν νόμων κρατεῖν. In Polybius, however, ἅμα τῷ c. inf. has a different function from this. He uses it, not to express a contemporaneous action for which he employs ἐν τῷ, but one which is immediately antecedent to the main action. The precise force given is dependent upon the tense of the infinitive; with the aorist a single action is introduced by ἅμα and conceived as occurring immediately before the action expressed by the main verb; with the present an action which is commenced immediately before the main action, but may be going on at the same time. Thus ἅμα c. inf. is used in Polybius where in classical prose a participial phrase or temporal clause would have stood.

With the aorist infinitive ἅμα τῷ is found in four-fifths of the passages in Polybius, and is used almost as a synonym of μετὰ τό

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c. inf. For this compare 9, 26, 2 *ἅμα γὰρ τῷ γενέσθαι τὴν Καπύην τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὑποχείριον εὐθέως ἦσαν αἱ πόλεις μετέωροι* with 20, 9, 1 *μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὴν Ἡράκλειαν ὑποχείριον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, ἔκριναν διαπέμπεσθαι. μετὰ* does not, however, like *ἅμα* imply *immediate* consecution, which in the case of *ἅμα τῷ* c. inf. is often explicitly indicated by temporal adverbs such as *εὐθύς, ταχέως, παραυτίκα, παραχρῆμα, ἐξ αὐτῆς.*

The frequency of this construction, which Polybius fashioned for himself and made into such a useful instrument—useful if inelegant—is an indication of his striving after graphic and clear narration; see Krebs (P.-A. I 28), who attributes the prevalence of *ἅμα* in all constructions, which is a mark of later Greek, to the 'synchronistic' method of historical writing. Krebs has further (id. p. 58) some interesting observations on the history of *ἅμα τῷ* c. inf. in the writers following Polybius. In the authors he takes into his survey, including Polybius, he finds 210 instances of this construction, one-half of which occur in Polybius alone. After Polybius it sinks to five cases in Diodorus and still fewer in Josephus, but has a larger currency in Dion. Hal. and Plutarch. After Plutarch the construction disappears from Greek syntax for a hundred years, but reappears with Dio Cassius to a moderate degree, has a considerable place in Herodian, which it loses in Aelian but recovers in Zosimus (id. p. 59).

The occurrences in Polybius are as follows:

(*a*). With present tense of infinitive:

2, 25, 8 *ἅμα τῷ συνεγγίζειν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦν ἀγὼν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν βίαιος*; cf. 8, 16, 1. 3, 104, 5 *ἅμα τῷ διαυγάζειν.* 4, 78, 7 *ἅμα τῷ τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιβάλλειν.* With *παραχρῆμα* 2, 11, 8 *ἅμα τῷ προσέχειν ἑκατέρας τὰς δυνάμεις, παραχρῆμα ἀνήχθησαν.*[1]

(*b*). With aorist infinitive:

3, 113, 1 *ἅμα τῷ παραλαβεῖν τῇ κατὰ ποδὸς ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐκίνει τὴν δύναμιν*; with which compare 7, 12, 4 *μετὰ τὸ παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν.* 2, 7, 10 *ἅμα τῷ διαλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, οὐδὲν ἐποιήσαντο προυργιαίτερον κ. τ. λ.* Compare 3, 10, 1 *μετὰ τὸ καταλύσασθαι τὴν ταραχήν.*

With *εὐθύς* 1, 7, 2. *ἅμα τῷ λαβεῖν καιρὸν εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρησαν.* And so 1, 68, 8. 2, 13, 7. 53, 5. 3, 6, 13. 73, 6. 93, 7. 5, 13, 3. 9, 35, 4. 10, 31, 3. 34, 2. 11, 11, 1. 15, 2. 14, 8, 8. 15, 4, 4. 16, 2, 5. 18, 24, 3. With *ταχέως* 1, 61, 6. 15, 25, 26. 29. 3. *παραυτίκα* 2, 57, 4. 3, 18, 1. 72, 1. *ἐξ αὐτῆς* 15, 12, 2. *παραχρῆμα* 18, 28, 9.[2]

[1] And 1, 23, 5. 2, 64, 1. 3, 78, 6. 2, 30, 1 and 6. 50, 10. 8, 34, 5. 11, 12, 1. 18, 4. 15, 2, 12. 37, 7, 7 (*ἀντέχεσθαι*, Hultsch). 16, 37, 7.

[2] The phrases following are traced by Krebs through later authors, where he assigns them to Polybian influence:

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(*c*). The following are noticeable in point of tense, showing present and aorist side by side.

1, 67, 1 ἅμα τῷ συλλεχθῆναι πάντας εἰς τὴν Σίκκαν, καὶ παραγενόμενον Ἄννωνα μὴ οἷον τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐκπληροῦν ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον ἐπιχειρεῖν παραιτεῖσθαι, εὐθὺς στάσις ἐγεννᾶτο. So 1, 76, 7. 3, 65, 4. ἅμα δὲ τῷ πλησιάζειν αὐτοῖς καὶ συνιδεῖν τὸν κονιορτόν, εὐθὺς συνετάττοντο πρὸς μάχην.

3, 84, 1 ἅμα τῷ προσδέξασθαι καὶ συνάπτειν. 4, 14, 7. 10, 14, 4 ἅμα τῷ σημῆναι καὶ προσβαίνειν 14, 6, 8.

With Prepositions with the Accusative.

διά.

In classical authors, and especially in Plato and Xenophon, the construction διὰ τό c. inf. is extremely common, but in none of them does it occur with such enormous frequency as in Polybius, who uses it 441 times (201 in books I–V, 240 in the rest). Xenophon, of the Attic writers, has the highest number of instances, 197, a proportion of .15 per page; but the average frequency in Polybius is double of this, .3.

διὰ τὸ c. inf. is a handy form of the causal clause, and is equivalent to ὅτι with the indicative, a causal participial clause, or to the simple dative of the articular infinitive (see above). Thus it always represents a sentence, and so in Polybius the infinitive more often than not has a subject in the accusative. The tense of the infinitive with Polybius is generally the present, but the perfect is found in one-fifth of the occurrences; the aorist is rarer, and the future only occurs twice. As with the infinitive in τό, I have not quoted every instance, as one is very much like another, and merely cite examples.

(1). With present may be quoted:

1, 7, 9 οὐκ εἶχον ποιεῖν οὐδὲν διὰ τὸ συνέχεσθαι τοῖς πολέμοις. 3, 48, 8 αἱ καταστροφαὶ τῶν δραμάτων προσδέονται θεοῦ καὶ μηχανῆς διὰ τὸ τὰς πρώτας ὑποθέσεις ψευδεῖς λαμβάνειν. 4, 20, 11 τήν γε μὴν ᾠδὴν οὔτ' ἀρνηθῆναι

ἅμα τῷ συνιδεῖν 3, 43, 6. 72, 7. 94, 1. 5, 20, 8.

ἅμα τῷ πυθέσθαι 21, 13, 2. ἅμα τῷ παρελθεῖν 3, 40, 12. 18, 54, 1.

ἅμα τῷ φανῆναι 15, 32, 3. ἅμα τῷ προσπεσεῖν 11, 1, 10 (Krebs, I 60).

Other recurring phrases are: ἅμα τῷ συμμίξαι 3, 19, 1. 8, 29, 5. 31, 11. ἅμα τῷ προσμίξαι 10, 30, 6.

ἅμα τῷ σημῆναι 10, 12, 4. 11, 27, 6. 16, 37, 5.

ἅμα τῷ διελθεῖν τὰς ἡμέρας 20, 10, 17. 32, 13, 7. ἅμα τῷ ἰδεῖν 4, 12, 2. 8, 30, 10. Other examples with the aorist are: 1, 21, 3. 34, 1. 40, 11. 2, 33, 6. 53, 2. 3, 13, 2. 54, 7. 66, 7. 71, 6. 85, 8. 115, 2. 117, 10. 4, 12, 4. 17, 12. 35, 9. 64, 7. 69, 6. 5, 14, 3. 54, 1. 7, 17, 1. 8, 29, 2. 36, 10. 11, 16, 1. 12, 19, 6. 14, 8, 11. 15, 30, 2. 33, 5. 21, 4, 6. 27, 3, 3. 30, 13, 1.

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δύνανται διὰ τὸ κατ' ἀνάγκην πάντας μανθάνειν, οὔθ' ὁμολογοῦντες ἀποτρίβεσθαι διὰ τὸ τῶν αἰσχρῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς νομίζεσθαι τοῦτο. And so 4, 2, 1. 38, 11. 12, 14, 7. 21, 4, 14, etc.

(2). With perfect:

3, 58, 8 *δυσχερὲς γὰρ ἐπὶ πλέον τινῶν αὐτόπτην γενέσθαι, διὰ τὸ τοὺς μὲν ἐκβεβαρβαρῶσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἐρήμους εἶναι τόπους.* 8, 26, 11 *ὁ μὲν Ἀννίβας περιχαρ�ὴς ἦν διὰ τὸ μόλις ἀφορμῆς ἐπειλῆφθαι πρὸς τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιβολήν.* And 5, 8, 6. 5, 56, 11. 9, 6, 2. 10, 8, 9, etc.

(3). The aorist is found in over thirty passages, e. g.:

4, 1, 4 *ἀναμνήσαντες . . . διὰ τὸ τοῦτο τὸ πολίτευμα παράδοξον ἐπίδοσιν λαβεῖν.* 2, 7, 6. 18, 6. 5, 45, 4, etc.

We find *ἄν* with the aorist infinitive in 3, 31, 3: *διὰ τὸ, κἂν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν εὐτυχῇ, τήν γε περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐλπίδα μηδέποτ' ἂν εὐλόγως βεβαιώσασθαι μηδένα τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων,* where Krebs (Präp. p. 69) observes the insertion immediately after *διὰ τό* of a conjunctional clause *κἂν—εὐτυχῇ.*

(4). Analogous to the last passage are two cases of the future infinitive after *διὰ τό*:

3, 5, 8 *οὐδ' ἀπορήσειν ἀνδρῶν ἀξιόχρεων διὰ τὸ κἄλλους πολλοὺς κατεγγυηθήσεσθαι καὶ σπουδάσειν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν αὐτήν.*

32, 16, 2 *βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν τοῖς μέλλουσι λέγεσθαι πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας διὰ τὸ παράδοξά τινα φανήσεσθαι τῶν συμβαινόντων.*[1]

9, 9, 10 *ἵνα τῶν μὲν ἀναμμνησκόμενοι τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν λαμβάνοντες ζηλωταὶ γίνωνται . . . παράβολον ἔχειν τι καὶ κινδυνῶδες τοὐναντίον ἀσφαλῆ μὲν τὴν τόλμαν, θαυμασίαν δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, ἀείμνηστον δὲ καὶ καλὴν ἔχει τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ κατορθωθέντα καὶ διαψευσθέντα παραπλησίως ἐὰν μόνον σὺν νῷ γένηται τὰ πραττόμενα.* Here Polybius has been citing the instances

[1] Included in the above calculation are the following passages in Hultsch's edition, where the reading is not quite certain or conjectural:

1, 3, 3 *σποράδας εἶναι συνέβαινε τὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης πράξεις *διὰ τὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβολὰς—διαφέρειν ἕκαστα τῶν πεπραγμένων.* Here *διὰ* and *διαφέρειν* are restorations of Ursinus and find support from 11, 32, 7 *πιστεύων τοῖς πεζοῖς, διὰ τὸ κατὰ τὰς μάχας τόν τε καθοπλισμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας πολὺ διαφέρειν τῶν Ἰβήρων,* where *τὸ κατὰ* is supplied by Casaubon.

Ursinus corrected also *διὰ τὸν* to *διὰ τὸ τὸν* in 33, 16, 6, and *διὰ τοὺς* to *διὰ τὸ τοὺς* in 14, 1, 15; the same correction being made also in 3, 115, 7 in C. Similarly *διάτε* to *διὰ τὸ* in 16, 22, 7 (Reiske); *βίᾳ τὸ* to *διὰ τὸ* 10, 26, 6 (Dindorf). 11, 13, 2 *ὥστε τὰς λοιπὰς δυνάμεις μὴ δύνασθαι συμβαλεῖν διὰ τὸ μένειν ἀμφοτέρους κ. τ. λ.,* where *τὸ* was added by Casaubon and *μένειν* is Schweighäuser's emendation of *μὲν.*

For 18, 18, 14, where *δεύτερον διὰ τὸ* seems to me probable, see above under the dative.

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of Epaminondas and Hannibal as examples of a boldness which calculates the chances, for the benefit of present and future leaders. By the τῶν μὲν ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι he refers, I think, to the case of Epaminondas, which was a matter of history, and by τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν λαμβάνοντες to that of Hannibal, a matter of recent experience (see Schweighäuser ad loc.)

From the usage elsewhere of παράβολος and κινδυνώδης (see Schweigh. lex. sub voce), as well as from their opposition by τοὐναντίον to the following ἀσφαλῆ τὴν τόλμαν, etc., one infers that Polybius used those words in a bad sense, as of something to be avoided. Hence the proposal which Hultsch makes here cannot stand: ζηλωταὶ γίνωνται τοῦ παράβολον ἔχειν τι καὶ κινδυνῶδες, ὡς τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἀσφαλῆ μὲν κ. τ. λ. Assuming that a line has dropped out, I believe the original ran somewhat as follows:

ζηλωταὶ γίνωνται τῶν τοιούτων, διὰ τὸ μὴ οἷον παράβολον ἔχειν τι καὶ κινδυνῶδες, τοὐναντίον δ' [or τὸ δ' ἐναντίον] ἀσφαλῆ μὲν τὴν τόλμαν, θαυμασίαν δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, ἀείμνηστον δὲ καὶ καλὴν ἔχειν τὴν προαίρεσιν καὶ κατορθωθέντα καὶ διαψευσθέντα παραπλησίως, ἐὰν μόνον σὺν νῷ γένηται τὰ πραττόμενα. For parallels to μὴ (οὐχ) οἷον—τὸ δ' ἐναντίον or ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον "not only not, but on the contrary," cf. 5, 40, 2 τὰ δὲ διαπιστήσας τοῖς περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν διὰ τὸ . . . ἀξιολόγους παρασχόμενος χρείας μὴ οἷον τυχεῖν τινος χάριτος ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον παρ' ὀλίγον κινδυνεῦσαι τῷ βίῳ. So 1, 67, 1 (Götzeler, p. 32). 8, 10, 4 (οὐχ οἷον ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον) and 8, 12, 5. 9, 23, 4 ὥστε μὴ οἷον ἐλέγχεσθαι τὰς φύσεις, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἐπισκοτεῖσθαι μᾶλλον and 23, 11, 8. The phrase is a Polybian substitute for the Attic οὐχ ὅπως—ἀλλὰ. See Götzeler, p. 32.

In 28, 8, 3 Lammert (Fleck. Jahrb. 1888, p. 620) rightly denies the correctness of διὰ τὸ δυσέργους ποιῆσαι and inserts with probability βούλεσθαι before δυσέργους. Without some such alteration the words cannot be made to correspond with Livy's ne transitus faciles Dardanis in Illyricum aut Macedoniam essent (Livy 43, 20, 1). As Μακεδόνες precedes διὰ τὸ, perhaps the original was Μακεδόνες, εἰς τὸ.

πρός.

Compared with its use in Plato and Xenophon, by whom it is frequently employed, πρὸς τὸ c. inf. shows a considerable increase in frequency in Polybius, occurring 134 times (48–86).

In construction Polybius follows generally classical precedent and analogy. He has many phrases with πρὸς τὸ which, though not quotable from classical prose, are quite analogous to attested classical instances. He has, however, developed two interesting

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novelties, the uses of *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. as a pure final, and with *γίνομαι* and *εἰμί*. For the use of *πρός* in Polybius see Krebs, Präp. p. 117 ff. (who does not notice the pure final use); and for the classical use of *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. Weiske, p. 535, 6.[1]

1. After figurative expressions of motion, impelling, inciting, *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. signifies the end to which the motion is directed.

1, 17, 9 *ὥρμησαν ἐκθυμότερον τοῦ δέοντος οἱ στρατιῶται πρὸς τὸ σιτολογεῖν.* So with *ὁρμάω* 1, 69, 3. 12, 27, 2. 3, 96, 2. With *ὁρμὴν σχεῖν* 33, 20, 1, but we find the simple infinitive with *ὁρμὴν ἔχειν* 33, 16, 7.

ἐτράπησαν πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν αὐτούς 4, 32, 6. *ῥέπειν* 29, 24, 9. *ῥοπὰς ποιεῖν* 18, 32, 8. *ῥοπὴν ἔχειν* 32, 20, 9 and Fragm. 101. *συντείνει* 'tends towards' 16, 12, 9. *προῆλθε πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν* 32, 14, 10. *προσέρχομαι* 12, 27a, 3.

παρορμάομαι 3, 103, 5. 6, 54, 3. *ἡμᾶς ἐξεκαλέσασθε πρὸς τὸ λέγειν ὑμῖν τὸ φαινόμενον* 21, 21, 6, and so 6, 39, 1.

παροξύνειν 29, 4, 1 *παρώξυνε τὸν νεανίσκον πρὸς τὸ μὴ καθυστερεῖν ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἀλλὰ προκαταλαμβάνειν.* So 5, 38, 6. 24, 7, 8. Similarly 29, 3, 5 *παρεστήσατο τὸν νεανίσκον πρὸς τὸ κοινωνεῖν τῷ Περσεῖ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων.* 14, 7, 8 *ἐπερρώσθησαν πρὸς τὸ—ἀντιποιήσασθαι.*

In the Sestos inscription, l. 91, we find *παρορμωμένων πάντων πρὸς τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν.*

2. *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. of purpose. This use is of a very varied character, and is found not only with nouns, adjectives and verbs which have in them an idea, more or less distinct, of purpose and intention, but also in relation to a whole sentence, without any qualifying phrase. The latter use of *πρὸς* occurs in Polybius for the first time.

(*a*). With adjectives and other expressions of 'eagerness.' *πρόθυμος* 3, 17, 11 *τοὺς στρατιώτας προθυμοτέρους ἐποίησε πρὸς τὸ κινδυνεύειν.*

[1] Many constructions of *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. are paralleled by similar uses of *εἰς* and *ἐπί*, and it is evident that the choice of *πρός* in many such cases was regulated by the study to avoid hiatus. Thus, after *ὁρμάω*, *ἐπὶ τὸ* is the regular phrase with the infinitive, occurring no less than 20 times; but in all the four cases where *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. is found after *ὁρμάω*, *ἐπὶ τὸ* would have brought about a hiatus. But in other cases Polybius shows no decided preference for one particular construction as he does in the case of *ὁρμάω*, and several instances of *πρὸς τὸ* after a consonant bear out the truth of Büttner-Wobst's contention (Fleck. Jahrb., 1884, p. 115) that after a consonant final Polybius did not confine himself to the form beginning with a vowel. For instances with *πρός* we may cite 29, 3, 5. 32, 20, 9. 33, 20, 1. Altogether in the cases where *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. is found side by side with *ἐπὶ τὸ* or *εἰς τὸ*, *πρὸς τὸ* is found 25 times where it was required to avoid a hiatus, but 10 times where *ἐπί* or *εἰς* might have stood.

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33, 11, 2 *προθύμους πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν* and 10, 22, 10. The simple infinitive occurs, however, 4, 7, 9 and 23, 16, 8. *προθύμως ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν* 10, 38, 9. *ἐκθύμως ἔχειν* 3, 64, 11. *πάντων ἐκθύμως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ κινδυνεύειν.* And 5, 6, 1. 3, 70, 1 *φιλοτίμως εἶχε*; and with *φιλοτίμως διάκειμαι* 15, 3, 2. *φιλότιμος* 21, 16, 5.

φιλοδοξεῖν 27, 9, 7 *Πτολεμαῖόν φασι τὸν βασιλέα φιλοδοξήσαντα πρὸς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ—ἐξαποστεῖλαι*, where the meaning is 'ambitious of lowering his reputation,' and is analogous to the weakened force of *φιλότιμος*.

3, 63, 6 *διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἐπιθυμίαν*, and so 5, 48, 6 *διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σώζεσθαι ἐπιθυμίαν.*

(*b*). *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. in phrases indicating 'assistance, contribution' towards an object:

συνεργεῖν 2, 22, 9 *οὐκ ἐλάχιστα συνήργησεν τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ κατασκευάσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν.* So 11, 22, 3. 31, 7, 19. *συνέργημα* 15, 27, 1. *συμπράττειν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς* 33, 18, 8. *συμβάλλεσθαι* 'contribute, assist' 3, 2, 6. 6, 50, 6 *οὐ μικρὰ πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς πράξεως ταύτης συμβαλλομένης αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐπορίας*, and 32, 4, 4.

3, 5, 7 *ἵνα συνδράμῃ τὰ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὸ τὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν.*

(*c*). The force of *πρὸς τὸ* 'to the effect that' is noticeable in the following passages:

8, 23, 11 *κατὰ δύο τρόπους οὐκ ἀνωφελὲς ὑπόδειγμα γενόμενος τοῖς ἐπεσομένοις, καθ' ἕνα μὲν πρὸς τὸ μηδενὶ πιστεύειν ῥᾳδίως, καθ' ἕτερον δὲ πρὸς τὸ μὴ μεγαλαυχεῖν.*

15, 31, 13 *δεῖσθαι τῶν Μακεδόνων, πᾶσαν προῖέμενοι φωνὴν πρὸς τὸ περιποιήσασθαι τὸ ζῆν αὐτὸ μόνον.*

21, 18, 5 *Ῥωμαίοις ἂν ἐχρήσατο συμβούλοις πρὸς τὸ μήτ' ἐπιθυμεῖν μηδενὸς παρὰ τὸ δέον μήτ' ἀξιοῦν κ. τ. λ.*

We find, however, *χάριν* used similarly in 32, 7, 16 *ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες ἀξιωματικὰς χάριν τοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ*; and analogous is the late use of *ἵνα* after verbs of commanding, etc.

(*d*). With expressions of 'readiness.'

ἕτοιμος 3, 109, 1 *ἑτοίμους παρεσκευάκαμεν πρὸς τὸ μένειν καὶ μετέχειν τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγώνων.* 5, 17, 6 *ἕτοιμος πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν*, and 18, 8, 3. The simple infinitive is also found with *ἕτοιμος*, e. g. 1, 62, 1.

ἑτοίμως διάκειμαι 6, 25, 4, and Fragm. 81.

παρεσκευασμένος 1, 48, 5 and 3, 109, 5. *ἀπαράσκευος* 3, 69, 12. *ἀπαράσκευος ὢν πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ ὅλα.*

(*e*). 'Sufficiency.'

ἱκανός 9, 12, 10 *πρὸς τὸ κατορθοῦν μόλις ἱκανὰ πάντα.* So 10, 13, 10. 24, 14, 4. 33, 20, 1. 12, 21, 5 *ἱκανὸν τόπον ἀφεστάναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποπεπτωκέναι.*

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ἀρκοῦν 2, 56, 5 *ἔσται πάντως ἀρκοῦντα ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ τὴν ὅλην προαίρεσιν καταμαθεῖν. αὐταρκής* 6, 50, 1.

Frag. 156 *αὐτοτελεῖς δὲ νομιζόντων εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κατορθοῦν τὰς σφετέρας δυνάμεις.*

ἀξιόχρεως 11, 20, 6 *οὐκ ἀξιόχρεοι ἦσαν αἱ Ῥωμαϊκαὶ δυνάμεις αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν.* 4, 3, 3 where *ἀξιόχρεως* is Schweighäuser's correction. On the other hand the simple infinitive is found 5, 20, 7 *καὶ μάλιστα προελθεῖν μήτε κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἀξιόχρεοι ὑπάρχοντες*, and in 11, 16, 7.

σύμμετρος 8, 8, 1 *ἐφίει λίθους συμμέτρους πρὸς τὸ φεύγειν ἐκ τῆς πρώρας τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους*: which Schweighäuser translates: 'lapides emittebat satis magnos ad pellendos de prora navigantes.'

(*f*). 'Suitability, qualification.'

εὐφυής 3, 71, 3 *καὶ πρὸς τὸ λαθεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν παθεῖν τοὺς ἐνεδρεύσαντας εὐφυέστεροι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες.*

In 15, 34, 6. 22, 25, 3 we have *εὐφυὴς καιρὸς πρὸς τὸ* c. inf.[1] *εὐφυῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκβαλεῖν* 1, 11, 7. 18, 9, 9. *εὖ πεφυκώς* 10, 14, 10, but *πρὸς τὸ διαχλευάζειν* after *πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος εὖ πεφυκώς* in 18, 4, 4 is condemned by Naber and bracketed by Hultsch. *ἀφυῶς διακείμενος* 1, 88, 11. *εὔχρηστόν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ *συνεῖναι* 12, 25e, 5. See Hultsch.

ἐπιτήδειος 29, 7, 7, and 32, 23, 4 *ὑπέλαβε τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πολεμῆσαι.*

ἁρμόζων 5, 4, 6 *κατὰ τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας τόπους πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τοὺς ἀμυνομένους.*

So too after phrases of 'necessity':

3, 87, 8 *προσδέονται τῆς συγκλήτου πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν τὰς ἐπιβολάς.*

9, 15, 4 *ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ γινώσκειν.*

12, 18, 3 *ἴσον ὑπάρχειν δεῖ διάστημα πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι.*

Analogous to the above-mentioned phrases of sufficiency and suitability are the following expressions with *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf.: 16, 31, 4 *τὴν σωματικὴν δύναμιν ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι τὸ κριθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν.* See Krebs, p. 122, note 2, for a defence of this awkward phrase against Naber. After *ἰσχύω* 3, 114, 3 *οὐκ ἔλαττον ἴσχυε πρὸς τὸ βλάπτειν.*

With *ἀφορμαί* 'opportunity': 5, 35, 5 *ἱκανὰς ἀφορμὰς πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς.* 10, 33, 4. 18, 53, 2.

ἀναστροφή 'time, opportunity': 8, 26, 9 *ἀναστροφὴν δοῦναι πρὸς τὸ*

[1] In 4, 74, 8 *ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν καιρῶν οὐδέποτε πρότερον εὐφυεστέραν διάθεσιν ἐσχηκε τῆς νῦν πρὸς τὸ παρὰ πάντων ὁμολογουμένην κτήσασθαι τὴν ἀσυλίαν, πρὸς τὸ* was added by Casaubon, and has been rightly adopted by all the editors. Krebs, however, prefers *τοῦ* (Präpositionsadverb. I 53).

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πολυπραγμονῆσαι, but with the simple infinitive 12, 6b, 10 and 2, 33, 3 (Lammert, l. c. p. 622).

21, 26, 3 πρὸς τὸ μάχεσθαι τοῖς στρατοπέδοις καλλίστους εἶναι τόπους. Similar is 18, 32, 5 δέδοται διάστημα καὶ τόπος πρὸς τὸ μηκέτι ὁρμᾶν ἀλλὰ παρίστασθαι.

(*g*). Freer in construction, but still in dependence upon a phrase containing an idea of purpose, are the following:

1, 62, 5 τῶν κατὰ λόγον οὐδὲν κατελείπετο πρὸς τὸ σώζειν τοὺς ὑποταττομένους. 11, 2, 10 οὐδὲν παραλιπὼν πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν.

15, 16, 5 πάντα τὰ δυνατὰ ποιήσας πρὸς τὸ νικᾶν.

3, 60, 13 ἔκρινε πράττειν τι πρὸς τὸ θαρρῆσαι τοὺς βουλομένους μετέχειν σφίσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων.

24, 11, 12 πολλὰ ποιήσαντος πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς βουλεύσασθαι.

The two last of these, with a subject-accusative in the infinitival clause, approach the free use of final πρός with the whole sentence. Similar cases with εἰς τό are 18, 3, 7 (πάντα ποιεῖν) and 4, 85, 6 (μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν τῶν δυνατῶν).

30, 2, 2 πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι μηχάνην πρὸς τὸ μὴ κατακολουθῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον.

18, 45, 2 τινὰς ἐλάμβανον πιθανότητας πρὸς τὸ διασείειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

6, 48, 2 πρὸς τὸ σφίσιν ὁμονοεῖν οὕτως νενομοθετηκέναι καὶ προνενοῆσθαι. 4, 50, 10 πραγματικῶς διενοήθησαν πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι τῆς προθέσεως. 12, 4, 11 ἐπινενόηται πρὸς τὸ διακρίνειν.

3, 68, 9 οὐκ ἠπόρουν σκήψεων πρὸς τὸ μὴ δοκεῖν ἧτταν εἶναι τὸ γεγονός. 6, 58, 12 τὸν σοφισάμενον πρὸς τὸ λῦσαι τὸν ὅρκον. 29, 24, 3 ἀπεδείκνυσαν σκῆψιν οὖσαν πρὸς τὸ διακωλῦσαι βοηθεῖν.

38, 6, 8 διορθοῦσθαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς πρὸς τὸ μὴ διασφάλλεσθαι.

8, 8, 1 διὰ τούτων ἠσφαλισμένους πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν πάσχειν.

(*h*). In the two last-quoted instances the dependence of the πρὸς τό clause is very slight, but still traceable. There remains a considerable number of cases of πρὸς τό c. inf., expressing the purpose of the action, which are not dependent upon any qualifying phrase, but are to be taken in free relation with the whole sentence. This is a usage of πρός with the articular infinitive which Polybius is the first to develop. According to Weiske, p. 536, there are but two isolated instances of this use in classical prose: Plato, Prot. 328 B νοῆσαί τινα πρὸς τὸ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι, but the correct reading there is probably ὀνῆσαί, see Wayte's note; and in Repub. 456c, where, as Weiske says, πρός may simply mean "as regards," and probably does.

The free final use of πρὸς τό c. inf. has no doubt grown out of

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the use in dependence upon a phrase containing an idea of purpose, by a process the gradual stages of which I have attempted to indicate above. It is the more desirable to treat it fully, as it has hitherto been passed over as a characteristic of Polybius.

3, 51, 13 *φύβον ἐνειργάσατο τοῖς ἐξῆς πρὸς τὸ μὴ τολμᾶν αὐτῷ ῥᾳδίως ἐγχειρεῖν μηδένα τῶν παρακειμένων ταῖς ἀναβολαῖς.* 3, 69, 3 *δεῖγμα βουλόμενος ἐκφέρειν τῆς σφετέρας προαιρέσεως, πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεδιότας ἀπελπίζειν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν τοὺς καταλαμβανομένους.*

1, 79, 12 *ἡμῶν ἐγκρατῆ γενέσθαι σπουδάζοντα, πρὸς τὸ μὴ τινὰς ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἅμα τιμωρήσασθαι πιστεύσαντας αὐτῷ.*

3, 46, 3 *τὴν πλευρὰν ἠσφαλίζοντο τοῖς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐπιγύοις, πρὸς τὸ συμμένειν καὶ μὴ παρωθεῖσθαι τὸ ὅλον ἔργον κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ.*

7, 13, 2 *βουλόμεθα προσαναμνῆσαι τοὺς συνεφιστάνοντας, πρὸς τὸ μηδεμίαν τῶν ἀποφάσεων ἀνυπόδεικτον καταλιπεῖν.*

32, 16, 2 *βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκεύαζειν, πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας κ. τ. λ.*

7, 13, 8 *ἐναργέστερον ἔτι δεῖγμα τὸ προβούλευμα, πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαπορεῖν κ. τ. λ.*

10, 10, 13 *γέφυρα κατεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὰς ἁμάξας ταύτῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν παρακομιδήν.*

16, 1, 5 *καὶ τοὺς λίθους ἔθραυε, πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ πάλιν ἀνασταθῆναι μηδὲν τῶν κατεφθαρμένων.*

32, 6, 7 *δεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πρεσβευτὰς ἀπολωλέναι πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ τὸν ἀγγελοῦντα καταλειφθῆναι—ἵνα παύσωνται κ. τ. λ.* Where we have *ἵνα* and *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. in the same sentence.

15, 3, 2 *πρὸς πᾶν ἑτοίμως εἶχον πρὸς τὸ μὴ ὑποχείριοι γενηθῆναι.*

Fragm. 146 *προσεπιμετρῶν τῷ δεομένῳ, πρὸς τὸ παρὰ πάντων γενέσθαι τὴν χάριν.*

From these passages it will be seen that in this use the infinitive has nearly always a subject in the accusative. In the other uses of *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. this is extremely rare. This is due to the fact that in its free final use *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. represents a sentence, while it corresponds usually to a simple abstract noun when in dependence upon a 'purpose' phrase.[1]

(3). *πρὸς τὸ* c. inf. in the sense 'as regards, quod attinet ad,' occurs but once in Polybius, but is classical; see Weiske, p. 536. 1, 67, 4 *πρὸς μὲν τὸ μὴ ταχέως συμφρονήσαντας ἀπειθεῖν ὀρθῶς στοχάζονται, πρὸς δὲ τὸ πραῦναι τοὺς ἠγνοηκότας ὀλοσχερῶς ἀστοχοῦσι,* for which compare 1, 33, 10.

[1] 10, 16, 3 *ἐφειδρεύουσι πρὸς τὸ δεικνύειν* if it means 'ita ut semper tamen se ostendant' (Lipsius ap. Schweigh. ad loc.) it will be another instance of the free final use, but it is without doubt corrupt.

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(4). πρὸς τὸ and τῷ c. inf. with εἰμί and γίνομαι. These uses of πρὸς with the articular infinitive are characteristic of Polybius, to whom they were probably suggested by the analogy of περὶ τὸ c. inf. with εἰμί and γίνομαι, and they do not occur in classical prose. They have been discussed in detail by Hultsch, Quaestiones Polybianae, I 20, and Krebs, Präp. bei P. 115 and 122. πρὸς τὸ c. inf. with γίνομαι or εἰμί has a force akin to that of purpose; with the dative the notion is that of 'engagement' in a thing. The construction of γίνομαι and εἰμί with πρός is not confined to the articular infinitive, but is found also with nouns. See Krebs.

(*a*). γίνομαι πρὸς τὸ c. inf. 'to set about a thing' occurs six times: 1, 29, 3 τάφρῳ περιβαλόντες τὰς ναῦς, ἐγίνοντο πρὸς τὸ πολιορκεῖν αὐτήν. 1, 36, 5. 55, 5. 3, 82, 11. 5, 56, 9. 7, 4, 9. And it is with great probability restored by Hultsch in 18, 26, 8.

(*b*). Occupation in an action is naturally expressed by εἰμὶ πρὸς τῷ c. inf., and this is a phrase which Polybius employs: 1, 50, 1 θεωρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους πρὸς τῷ ναυμαχεῖν ὄντας. 3, 94, 10 πρὸς τῷ παραβάλλεσθαι ὅλος καὶ πᾶς ἦν. 3, 103, 7 πολὺν ὄντα πρὸς τῷ διακινδυνεύειν. And 2, 32, 11.

But the dative with γίνομαι πρός and the accusative with εἰμὶ πρός are also admissible, and as we find, e. g. γίνομαι πρὸς ἀναγωγῇ in 14, 10, 4, and πρὸς ἀναγωγὴν ὄντων in 21, 24, 16, so the best MSS give us examples of γίνομαι πρὸς τῷ c. inf. and εἰμὶ πρὸς τὸ c. inf. Although attempts have been made to improve upon the MS reading in these cases, if the construction is accepted in the case of nouns it should be admitted with the articular infinitive also; the best course is then to follow the MSS adopting Schweighäuser's dictum: "Utrumque recte dici videtur εἶναι vel γίνεσθαι πρός τι et πρός τινι. Si quod tamen discrimen est ponendum, commodius fortasse dicetur εἶναι πρός τινι et γίνεσθαι πρός τι." γίνομαι πρὸς τῷ c. inf. will then be read with Hultsch in 3, 98, 4 ἐγίνετο πρὸς τῷ . . . ἐγχειρίσαι: 4, 81, 3 and 5, 79, 1, in which passages Krebs, p. 124, proposes to read τό; and in 3, 71, 1 εἰμὶ πρὸς τὸ c. inf. occurs in the MSS in two passages, 1, 26, 3 ὄντων δὲ τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ βιάζεσθαι, and 14, 2, 7 ἐπείσθη διότι πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν ἐστι τᾶς διαλύσεις. In both of these τῷ was conjectured by Scaliger, but only in the latter passage has Hultsch adopted it. Krebs justly prefers the accusative in both passages, but he should strike out 14, 2, 7 from his list of the datives on p. 115.

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εἰς.

Analogous in its usages to πρὸς τό, εἰς τό c. inf. is much rarer. It has 55 occurrences in Polybius (22–33), and shows a falling-off in frequency as compared with its use in Xenophon, who was fond of the final use of εἰς. See Weiske, p. 531–3. For the later history of εἰς τό c. inf. see Krebs, P.-A. I 49 note. The following usages are to be compared with those of πρός above.

1. After expressions of motion in metaphorical sense, of inciting, impelling, etc.

With ὁρμή 2, 48, 5 ὁρμὴν παρέστησε τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις εἰς τὸ πρεσβεύειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς. So 5, 36, 8. 37, 7, 7.

παρορμάω 27, 7, 13 παρώρμησε τοὺς πολλοὺς εἰς τὸ κυρῶσαι τὸ ψήφισμα, but with simple infinitive 27, 6, 4 παρώρμων ἔχεσθαι τοῦ καιροῦ; where the use of the simple infinitive avoids the hiatus. 6, 52, 9 παρέχεται ῥοπὴν εἰς τὸ νικᾶν. 21, 19, 2 διὸ καὶ προῃχθαι νῦν εἰς τὸ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεστώτων.

With ἐκκαλεῖσθαι 28, 4, 12. προκαλεῖσθαι 9, 28, 4. παραστήσασθαι 2, 59, 5 βουλόμενος παραστήσασθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας εἰς τὸ μᾶλλον αὐτῷ συναγανακτεῖν. 1, 41, 2 ἐπερρώσθησαν εἰς τὸ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐκπέμπειν. 3, 49, 9 ἐπισπωμένου καὶ παρακαλοῦντος εἰς τὸ συμπρᾶξαι.[1]

Under this head may also be classed 36, 3, 2 εἰ συγκαταβαίεν εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ αὐτῶν 'if they agree.' 32, 20, 10 συνεπέδωκαν αὑτοὺς εἰς τὸ συνεπισχύειν καὶ κοινωνεῖν κ. τ. λ. 'they gave themselves up to.'

18, 9, 10 τοῦτον ἀποθέσθαι τὸν χρόνον εἰς τὸ προσανενεγκεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ 'devote, give up the time to.'

2. εἰς τό of purpose or goal.

(*a*). With phrases of 'eagerness.'

πρόθυμος 22, 18, 8 πρόθυμος ἦν εἰς τὸ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι καὶ μετελθεῖν αὐτούς. σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι 5, 49, 5. 67, 2 and 18, 42, 3 πολλὴν ἐποιεῖτο σπουδὴν εἰς τὸ διακόψαι τὰς συνθήκας. 4, 49, 2 πᾶσαν προσενέγκασθαι φιλονεικίαν εἰς τὸ διαλῦσαι τὴν ἔχθραν.

(*b*). With expressions indicating *contribution* towards an object.

4, 48, 10 τῆς τῶν ὄχλων ὁρμῆς συνεργούσης εἰς τὸ διάδημα περιθέσθαι. So with συνεργός 32, 10, 5 ἐγὼ δὲ κἂν αὐτὸς ἡδέως σοι συνεργὸς γενοίμην εἰς τὸ καὶ λέγειν τι καὶ πράττειν ἄξιον τῶν προγόνων. 3, 117, 4 τὴν μεγίστην χρείαν παρεσχημένου τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις εἰς τὸ νικᾶν.

[1] Lammert (Fleck. Jahrb., 1888, p. 622) with great probability inserts ἐπισπασθεὶς in 9, 9, 11 ὁ τῶν Καρχηδονίων ναύαρχος εἰς τὸ συμμαχήσειν μετὰ δυνάμεως πλείστης κ. τ. λ. The future infinitive is noticeable.

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5, 35, 1 *τῆς καθηκούσης ἐπικουρίας εἰς τὸ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀνακτήσασθαι βασιλείαν.*

(*c*). 'To the effect that.'

Such is the force of *πρός* in the following passage, which is rather singular: 9, 10, 3: *πότερα δ' ὀρθῶς τοῦτο καὶ συμφερόντως αὑτοῖς ἔπραξαν ἢ τἀναντία, πολὺς ἂν εἴη λόγος, πλείων γε μὴν εἰς τὸ μὴ δεόντως σφίσι πεπρᾶχθαι μηδ' ἀκμὴν νῦν πράττεσθαι τοῦτο τοὔργον* 'there would be more to show that it was an improper action'; as Schweigh. translates, 'plures tamen rationes suppeditant quae evincant,' etc.

So too 9, 40, 6 *περὶ τούτων ἀρὰς ἐποιήσαντο πᾶσι μέν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις, εἰς τὸ μηδένα τῶν φευγόντων δέξασθαι τῇ χώρᾳ*: 'obtestati sunt omnes ne quis reciperet': Schweigh.

(*d*). 'Sufficient,' with *ἱκανός.*

2, 46, 3 *τοὺς πρότερον πᾶσαν ἱκανὴν ποιουμένους πρόφασιν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν* 'who made any excuse sufficient for going to war.' 9, 16, 2 *ἱκανὰ τὰ παρὰ δόξαν γινόμενα—εἰς τὸ πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρασκευάζειν.* So 12, 25a, 1.

(*e*). 'Opportunity, suitable time,' and the like.

After *καιρός εἰς* is common. *καιρὸν λαμβάνειν* 1, 74, 13. *λαβὼν καιροὺς δὶς μὲν ἐκ παρατάξεως εἰς τὸ νικᾶν κ. τ. λ.*, for which see Hultsch, Praef.[2] xlvii. 9, 19, 1 *λαβὼν τὸν ἁρμόζοντα καιρὸν εἰς τὸ λαθεῖν τοὺς πολεμίους.* And 10, 35, 8. 40, 7. 11, 22, 7 *μόλις ἐδόθη καιρὸς εἰς τὸ καθοπλίσασθαι.* So 10, 30, 8 (*καιρὸς* Ca. for *κλῆρος*). 11, 24a, 3 *τὴν τύχην παραδεδωκέναι καιρὸν εἰς τὸ Ῥωμαίους Καρχηδονίοις ἐξενεγκεῖν πόλεμον.*

διδόναι ἀναστροφήν 1, 66, 3 and 4, 61, 4, but with the simple infinitive in 12, 6b, 10.

With *ἀφορμή, ἀφορμαί.* 3, 59, 4 *ἀφορμὰς εἰληφότων εἰς τὸ πολυπραγμονῆσαι καὶ φιλομαθεῖν* and 18, 19, 2. 5, 63, 6 *μεγάλας αὐτοῖς ἔδοσαν ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ λαβεῖν ἀναστροφήν*, and in 28, 17, 8. 12, 25b, 3 *ἀφορμαὶ γίνονται καὶ προλήψεις εἰς τὸ προϊδέσθαι τὸ μέλλον.*

Analogous are 6, 18, 1 *τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὸ καὶ βλάπτειν καὶ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλοις.* 8, 27, 4 *ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν εἰς τὸ πλεονάκις συμμιγνύναι.* 3, 15, 7 *λαβόντες τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν εἰς τὸ διαλῦσαι.* But in 32, 8, 7 we have the simple infinitive after *ἐξουσίαν λαμβάνειν* and 28, 1, 9 after *τὴν ἐπιτροπήν.*

(*f*). *εἰς τό* c. inf. after other expressions implying purpose.

4, 85, 6 *οὐδὲν παραλιπὼν τῶν δυνατῶν εἰς τὸ γνῶναι.*

18, 3, 7 *πάντα ποιεῖν εἰς τὸ καταγωνίσασθαι . . . ἀλλήλους.* Compare *πρός.* 27, 8, 3 *πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐλαβεστέρους ὑπάρξειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, πεῖραν εἰληφότας τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀνδρείας, εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἄδικον μηδὲ βαρὺ προστάττειν Μακεδόσι.*

4, 60, 4 *συνεφρόνησαν ἀλλήλοις εἰς τὸ τὰς εἰσφορὰς μὴ τελεῖν.*

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(*g*). As final and independent of any particular phrase *εἰς τὸ* c. inf. is not in Polybius nearly so common as *πρός*. It is, however, not like *πρὸς τὸ* a new feature, but occurs already in Xenophon, in a passage quoted by Lammert (p. 622), Anab. 7, 8, 20.

2, 68, 7 *ἔμενον ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων, ὡς ἀνωτάτω σπεύδοντες λαβεῖν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, εἰς τὸ τὴν φυγὴν ἐπὶ πολὺ καταφερῆ γενέσθαι.* Lammert's interpretation of this passage (Fleck. Jahrb., 1888, p. 622) will not stand scrutiny. Comparing the above-mentioned passage of Xenophon he makes it mean: 'They wanted to receive the enemy as high on the hill as possible—so high that their flight should be precipitous.' This introduces a confusion of thought of which there is no trace in the words of Polybius, which mean simply: 'They wanted to receive the enemy as high up the hill as possible, in order that their flight might be precipitous.'

8, 17, 7 *ὅ τε γὰρ Σωσίβιος ἅμα μὲν προεδίδου τῶν χρημάτων, εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν εἰς τὰς ἐπιβολάς, πολλὰ δὲ κ. τ. λ.*, where there is plausibility in Bekker's conjecture *πολλὰ* for *ἅμα*.

Fragm. 52 *φῶς ἑαυτοῖς παρεσκεύαζον εἰς τὸ μήτε σφάλλεσθαι.*[1]

On the other hand *εἰς τὸ* c. inf. is not final, but consecutive, and gives the result in the two following cases: 2, 13, 4 *ἐπικεκοιμημένους ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις καὶ προειμένους εἰς τὸ μεγάλην χεῖρα κατασκευάσασθαι Καρχηδονίους*: where *προειμένους* gives the same idea which *ἐπικεκοιμ.* contains: 'remiss and negligent'; for which cf Dem. 388, 23, *ὥστε οὐ προήσεσθαι*, 'we will not be negligent.' But there is still something unsatisfactory in the expression, which closer parallels would be required to remove.

12, 26c, 4 *καὶ τοῖς νέοις τοιοῦτον ἐντετόκασι ζῆλον, εἰς τὸ τῶν μὲν ἠθικῶν καὶ πραγματικῶν λόγων μηδὲ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἐπίνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι κ. τ. λ.* Here Geel conjectures *ὥστε* with considerable plausibility.

ἐπὶ τὸ c. inf.

Krebs has a full account of it, Präp. bei P., p. 95. *ἐπὶ τὸ* c. inf. occurs 31 (15–16) times in Polybius, and is rather commoner there

[1] *εἰς τὸ* is also conjectured in 10, 46, 3 *τὸ δὲ βάθος (παραπεφράχθαι δεῖ) ὡς ἀνδρόμηκες, τὸ τοὺς πυρσοὺς αἰρομένους μὲν παρὰ ταῦτα τὴν φάσιν ἀκριβῆ ποιεῖν κ. τ. λ.* For *τὸ* of the MSS Hultsch reads *τοῦ*, and Krebs supports him (P.-A. I 53 note 1). Casaubon first proposed *ἐς τὸ*, which Dindorf adopted as *εἰς τὸ*, and this is approved by Lammert, p. 621. After *ἀνδρόμηκες, εἰς τὸ* has some probability, and *εἰς* is as likely to have been omitted by a scribe, as *τοῦ* to have been mistaken for *τὸ* before *τοὺς*. It is true that the final genitive of the art. inf. is commoner than *εἰς τὸ* c. inf. used as final, but without a negative *τοῦ* c. inf. is very rare, and therefore *εἰς τὸ τοὺς* is to be preferred in this passage.

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than in Xenophon or Plato, see Weiske, p. 538. It is in Polybius always in dependence upon a verb of motion used metaphorically, and thus shares many constructions with *πρός* and *εἰς*. The most striking feature of its use is the regularity with which Polybius employs it in the phrase *ὁρμάω ἐπὶ τὸ* c. inf. in which it occurs 23 times, and is only exchanged for *πρός* in four cases where *ἐπί* would leave a hiatus.

After *ὁρμάω* 2, 39, 5. *ὁλοσχερῶς ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ μιμηταὶ γενέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῶν.* 1, 20, 7. 25, 5. 29, 6. 70, 4. 87, 7. 2, 13, 3. 2, 34, 2. 44, 4. 45, 6. 3, 84, 9. 4, 35, 9. 6, 9, 6. 50, 5. 7, 10. 4. 11, 21, 7. 15, 20, 2. 32, 11. 18, 39, 4. 31, 7, 3. 32, 11, 9 *ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ καθαρότητι διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων.* Here the article *τῇ* seems to me to be required after *τό*, to connect *μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ καθαρότητι* with *περὶ τὰ χρ.*

Krebs replaces *ἐπὶ τὸ* for *ἐπὶ τῷ* in 38, 7, 3 *ὡρμηκότων ἐπὶ τῷ παραδειγματίζειν.*

παρορμάομαι 2, 35, 10 *διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔγωγε παρωρμήθην ἐπὶ τὸ κεφαλαιώδη μέν, ἀνέκαθεν δὲ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν*: where *τό* is Casaubon's correction of *τά*. *ῥέπειν* 1, 31, 5 *ῥέπειν ταῖς γνώμαις ἐπὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τι τῶν λεγομένων*; compare *πρός* in 29, 24, 9.

παραγίνομαι 3, 6, 7 *δι' ὧν ἐπὶ τὸ κρῖναί τι καὶ προθέσθαι παραγινόμεθα.* 21, 28, 3 *καταντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ μεταλλεύειν.* 36, 5, 6 *φέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν.* 29, 5, 3 *κατηνέχθην ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν κεφαλαιωδῶς*, and so 11, 20, 7. 33, 18, 11 *συγκαταφέρεσθαι.*

For Frag. 166 *ἐκπεμπόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι* see under *ἐπὶ τῷ.*

μετὰ τὸ c. inf.

μετὰ τὸ c. inf. has but isolated use in classical writers, but occurs 29 times in Polybius. In this frequent use, as Krebs remarks, p. 61, we have therefore a feature of later style, another instance of the tendency to supplant conjunctional or participial clauses by prepositional structures. In this connection it is noticeable that the tense of the infinitive with *μετὰ τό* is always aorist, and in general a subject in the accusative accompanies it—indications that the *μετὰ τὸ* clause stands for an aorist participle with subject in the genitive absolute, or for a *ὅτε* clause with an aorist verb.

At the same time the frequency of this construction is due to some extent to the epitomizers, who found in *μετὰ τὸ* c. inf. a handy phrase in summing up. Thus, of the 29 occurrences only two, 3, 4, 12 and 3, 10, 1, come in books I–V, all the rest occur among the excerpts, and ten times immediately after the *ὅτι* with which an excerpt is introduced.

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3, 4, 12 *γνῶναι τὴν κατάστασιν ποία τις ἦν μετὰ τὸ καταγωνισθῆναι τὰ ὅλα* and 3, 10, 1.

There are some turgid phrases among the other occurrences, as might be expected, such as 21, 18, 2 *μετὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην* 'after the battle.' Especially with *συντελεῖσθαι*: 14, 12, 3 *μετὰ τὸ συντελεσθῆναι τὸν πόλεμον.* 15, 26a, 2. 16, 10, 1 and 22, 3, 7. *μετὰ τὸ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἀνανέωσιν τῆς συμμαχίας.* None of these quite equal 9, 41, 10 *συνέβη τὴν τῶν ἔργων ἐπιτελεσθῆναι συντέλειαν.*

Other cases of *μετὰ τό* 7, 1, 3. 12, 4. 9, 32, 7. 10, 36, 3. 49, 2. 16, 4, 9. 18, 8, 8. 22, 18, 5. 23, 17, 5. 32, 7, 2. 17, 2. 20, 6.

After *ὅτι* introducing an excerpt 10, 26, 1 *ὅτι Φίλιππος ὁ βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων μετὰ τὸ ἐκτελέσαι τὸν ἀγῶνα*, which the hiatus shows to be not original. So in 11, 24a, 1. 16, 10, 1. 20, 9, 1. 22, 4, 1. 28, 19, 1. 31, 18, 1. 32, 27, 1. 39, 17, 1. A startling construction is found 28, 22, 1 *ὅτι Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ τὸ καταλιπεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πολιορκεῖν, πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμψεν*: 'oratio inconcinna non Polybii culpa sed epitomatoris,' as Schweighäuser says.

Krebs, P.-A. I, p. 61, has an interesting note on the later history of *μετὰ τὸ* c. inf. It was neglected by Polybius' immediate followers, but taken up by Dion. Hal. and others, dropping finally out of use at the beginning of the Byzantine era.

περὶ τὸ c. inf.

This is found 8 (2–6) times in Polybius, and except 6, 52, 11 always in the phrase *γίνομαι περὶ*. Isocrates is the first to use *περὶ τὸ* with the infinitive, and in particular *γίνομαι περὶ τὸ* c. inf., which occurs, e. g. Isoc. 3, 12, but the construction was always a rarity (see Weiske, p. 537), and is more frequent in Polybius than in any classical author.

1. After *γίνομαι*, *περί* like *πρός* is used with the accusative of the articular infinitive as of nouns to indicate occupation in a thing. See Krebs, Präp., p. 102.

1, 41, 6 *τἆλλα πάρεργα ποιησάμενοι περὶ τὸ βοηθεῖν ἐγίνοντο καὶ παραβάλλεσθαι καὶ πᾶν ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.* 14, 5, 6 *ἐγίνοντο περὶ τὸ σῴζειν ἑαυτούς.* And 1, 66, 1. 18, 55, 3. 21, 17, 11. 30, 14. 38, 11, 8.

2. With *σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι, περὶ τὸ* c. inf. is found 6, 52, 11 *τῆς σπουδῆς ἣν ποιεῖται περὶ τὸ τοιούτους ἀποτελεῖν ἄνδρας ὥστε πᾶν ὑπομένειν κ. τ. λ.* With which compare 2, 17, 12 *περὶ δὲ τὰς ἑταιρείας μεγίστην σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦντο* (Krebs, p. 106). These passages, however, are not sufficient to warrant the change of *τοῦ* to *τὸ* which Naber makes in 22, 4, 4 *ἐσπούδαζε περὶ τοῦ καταπορευθῆναι*, for which see under *περὶ τοῦ* c. inf.

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παρὰ τό c. inf.

This occurs only once 29, 27, 12 ὥστε τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παρὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὀρθωθῆναι, παρὰ τὸ φθάσαι κριθέντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα. παρὰ τό with the infinitive occurs in Thuc. and Demosth., but never with the sense of παρά we find here, where it is causal (Krebs, Präp., p. 57) and equivalent to διά.[1] As Krebs points out, however, the causal use of παρά is frequent in Aristotle, and several instances with the articular infinitive are to be found. See Bonitz, and cf. Anal. Prior 1, 34 πολλάκις δὲ διαψεύδεσθαι συμπεσεῖται παρὰ τὸ μὴ καλῶς ἐκτίθεσθαι τοὺς ὅρους; and compare also C. I. G. 2058, 132 παρὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρίθμησιν ποιήσασθαι, οὐκ ὀλίγα χρήματα περιεποίησε τῇ πόλει.

E. G. W. HEWLETT.

[1] On this use of παρά, the first instance of which is found in Pind. Ol. II 71, see Rau in Curtius' Studien III 83, who has brought together several Demosthenean passages not in L. and S. Especially interesting is Dem. 21, 96, cited in Bekk. Anecd. I 163: παρά· ἀντὶ τῆς διά. ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μειδίου· καὶ ταῦτα πέπονθεν κτέ.—B. L. G.

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III.—ANALOGY IN THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES.

I.

The received opinion on the nature of analogy as a linguistic phenomenon, and on the relation of analogy and phonetic law may be stated as follows:[1]

1. The phonetic laws are absolutely without exception. There are not two classes of sound-changes, regular and irregular, systematic and sporadic.[2]

In speaking of phonetic law, however, it must be remembered that the idea of law is conditioned by the sphere in which it works and the material to which it is applied. We cannot speak of phonetic law in the same sense in which we speak of a natural law in physics or in chemistry. The student of linguistic phenomena should always take into account the individuality of the language-user.

2. Whatever cannot be explained by regular processes of phonetic law must, in the main, be due to the influence of analogy. Most, if not all, apparently irregular and exceptional forms which cannot be brought under any known phonetic law, or which seem to violate such laws, have been formed directly after the model of other forms without etymological consciousness, simply by the power of association.

These two forces, viz. phonetic variation and formation by analogy, are regarded as the most potent in bringing about individual instances of linguistic changes. Thus Sievers, in his article on Philology in the ninth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, speaking of these two forces, says: "They generally work in turns and often in opposition to each other, the former frequently tending to the differentiation of earlier unities, and the latter to the abolition of earlier differences, especially to the restoration of conformity disturbed by phonetic change. Phonetic change affects exclusively the pronunciation of a language by substitut-

[1] See Misteli, Lautgesetz und Analogie, in Lazarus' und Steinthal's Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft, XI 365–475.

[2] Cf., however, BAL 98 2, A. J. P., V 171.

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ing one sound or sound-group for another. Analogical change is confined to the formation and inflection of single words or groups of words, and often has the appearance of being arbitrary and irregular. It is beyond our power to ascertain whence analogical changes may start, and to what extent they may be carried through when once begun. All we can do is carefully to classify the single cases that come under our observation, and in this way to investigate where such changes are especially apt to take place, and what is their general direction."

Starting with these general premises, it is the purpose of this article to study the operation of analogy in the Semitic languages, and to present, in a systematic way, the results of this study. In a study of this kind we are confronted by three questions:

1. What is the relation of analogy to the characteristics and structure of the languages in which it occurs? Are its nature, its manifestations, and the scope of its application at all modified or conditioned by the well-known peculiarities of these languages?

2. What individual instances of analogical formations are found in these languages?

3. How are they to be classified?

In conducting our investigations we may start from the well-known fact that the whole structure of language, in its grammatical forms and categories, is, in a sense, analogical. It exhibits the operation of what we may call *constructive analogy*.

The working of analogy as a constructive force in building up groups of similar words and forms may be stated as follows: It is obvious that different stems, forming different words and presenting different sounds and combinations of sounds, are used to express different ideas; and further, that different modifications of the same stem, whether by internal vowel changes, or by the addition of prefixes, infixes and suffixes, express the same idea under different modifications and relations. But that different words should undergo the same changes and receive the same additions in the form of prefixes or suffixes in order to express the same relation or modification of the original idea, is clearly the result of analogy whereby words are grouped together in classes, and within these groups the change which is applied to one is applied to all. This formation of groups or classes of words and inflectional forms, and the application of the same inflectional change (using this term in its widest sense) to every word belonging to the same group, are the result of analogy. Each group is governed by a prevailing

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analogy, and each individual of the group is treated in its developments and its modifications to express different relations, in accordance with this prevailing analogy. The Semitic languages are peculiar in exhibiting with great clearness and fullness the effects of this constructive analogy by the regularity and uniformity of their structure. So, for example, in the inflection of the verb we find that the general analogy which is normally exhibited in the stems with strong and firm consonants holds good for all verbs, and the deviations from this model of the strong or regular verb are only modifications owing to the peculiar nature and feebleness of certain consonants. From the simple form of the primitives, called the *Qal* or first form, are formed according to an unvarying analogy in all verbs the verbal derivatives, sometimes called forms, or stems, or conjugations, each distinguished by a specific change or added element, with a corresponding definite change in its signification, such as intensive, causative, etc. In other languages where such formations exist they are usually regarded as new derivative verbs. But in the Semitic languages they are incomparably more regular than in the Indo-European languages.[1]

In these cases we have no reason to suppose that the present uniformity had to contend with original diversity. It may have been so, but the presumption is that it was not so. But the case is different when we consider another marked uniformity in the structure of these languages, viz. the fact that all inflectional stems have, or are asssumed to have, three stem-consonants. As the languages have come down to us, we find a striking uniformity of appearance, but we have reason to suspect that it is at the expense of original divergency. In this case we have an instance of analogy partly as a disturbing and partly as a constructive influence. There are indications that the number of tri-consonantal stems was originally much smaller than at present, but in the course of linguistic development bi-consonantal stems were made tri-consonantal by the addition of another consonant until finally the latter formed the majority.[2] And although we have reason to suppose that the inflection of bi-consonantal stems was originally to some extent peculiar and different from the inflection

[1] See Kautzsch-Gesenius, Hebrew Grammar, 25th ed., Leipzig, 1889, §§39, 2 and 41.

[2] Cf. Lagarde, Symmicta, I 122 (Göttingen, 1877); Deutsche Schriften (1886), 285; Bildung der Nomina (1889), 215.

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of tri-consonantal stems, yet the preponderance of tri-consonantal stems was so strong that even those bi-consonantal stems which remained for the most part gave up their individuality, in various ways assuming the appearance of tri-consonantal stems and conforming to their method of inflection.[1]

It may be assumed, then, as an established fact that the present uniformity in the appearance of the languages, namely, the predominance of tri-consonantal stems, is at the expense of original diversity. Still, even here, after the uniformity had once been established, analogy works as a constructive force in the further inflection of these stems.

But leaving for the present the consideration of analogy and the analogical structure of the Semitic languages in this sense of the term, let us examine the subject of analogy in its narrower, more specific sense, in the sense in which the word is generally used by recent writers, such as Misteli and Sievers; let us see what instances of such analogical formations we have in these languages, how they may be most conveniently classified, and how they are related to the fundamental structure and characteristics of these languages.

Whatever theory we may adopt as to the original form and constitution of the (so-called) weak verbs, this much at the least is certain, that in their present form they present the appearance of verbs regularly inflected after the model of the strong or perfect verb, modified, however, by the peculiarities of the weak consonants found in the stem. Add to this the fact that in some of the Semitic languages certain consonants (e. g. in Hebrew the gutturals) have certain peculiarities which give rise to corresponding peculiarities of inflection of the stems containing such consonants, and all the apparent irregularities of Semitic verb-inflection are accounted for. These different peculiarities give rise to different classes of verb-inflection, according to the ordinary denomination, verbs פ״י, פ״א, ל״ה, etc.

But knowing something of the nature of these weak consonants, something of the nature of the differences which distinguish these different classes of stems in their various formations and inflections on the one hand, and something of the nature of analogy as it is commonly understood, and as it is exhibited in

[1] Compare Whitney, Language and the Study of Language, p. 302 sq.; Stade, Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Grammatik, §12a, 1 and §142–144; Kautzsch, Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen, §§45 and 46; Nöldeke, Syrische Grammatik, §§41 and 57.

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other families of languages on the other hand, we are led to expect the occurrence of analogy just here. We are led to expect that the peculiarities which distinguish one class of weak verbs from another, the barriers, as we may call them, which separate the different classes from each other, should be entirely or partially disregarded and the different forms confused. And such we find to be the case. We have not only the general fact that all the inflection of those weak verbs which were originally bi-consonantal in their stems is analogical, i. e. based on the analogy of the stems with three stem-consonants, but we have also a great many specific cases of analogy. We find many individual instances of verbs of one class treated as if belonging to another class, and hence inflected after the analogy of that class, or even disregarding the weakness or peculiarity entirely and inflected directly after the analogy of the strong verb. We find also a few instances where the strong verb is inflected after the analogy of the weak. All such cases of analogical formation, therefore, which affect the real or assumed stem of any word comprise one class with three subdivisions.

Class I.

Analogical formations in the inflection of the verb or in the formation of verbal derivatives with reference to the different classes of stems.

Under this head we have three subdivisions:

A. Confusion of the different classes of weak stems.

B. Weak stems after the analogy of the strong.

C. Strong stems after the analogy of the weak.

This law of *tri-consonantality*, if we may so call it, in the stems of words, is one of the most prominent characteristics of the Semitic languages, and this class of analogical formations which has just been considered is closely connected with this same characteristic, in that stems which in their original form did not have three stem-consonants are conformed to the analogy of regular, original, tri-consonantal stems.

Another peculiarity of the Semitic languages is the function of the vowel and the use made of differences and changes in vocalization to differentiate various classes of words and to construct different inflectional forms. Thus, in Arabic, *qatala* is the type of the active transitive verb, *qatila* of the intransitive, and *qutila* of the passive.[1]

[1] Cf. Lagarde, Bildung der Nomina, p. 7 (ZDMG XLIV 536).

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We have also many phonetic processes whereby vowels are changed, lengthened, shortened, etc., in the various processes of inflection. These changes and variations are so light and delicate that we may expect some confusion at times, and such we find to be the case. Sometimes these phonetic processes are firmly maintained, enabling us to ascertain the law which governs them. But in a great many cases forms are transferred from one class to another, and changes take place which are not warranted by any phonetic law. All these analogical formations connected with the vocalization of the different words and forms can be comprised in one class. This gives us

CLASS II.

Analogical formations involving changes and confusion in vocalization.

Still another peculiarity of the Semitic languages is their method of inflection and of the formation of derivative words by preformatives, informatives, and afformatives, and the resulting distinction between servile and stem-consonant. These formations and distinctions are peculiarly subject to confusion, and hence give rise to many analogical formations which may be comprised in one class with four divisions.

CLASS III.

Analogical changes in the formative elements of words.

A. Mistaking servile or formative element for part of the stem.
B. Mistaking a stem-consonant for a servile.
C. Analogical changes in the formative elements themselves; influence of one formative element upon another.
D. Addition of serviles and formative elements where they do not belong.

I have thus shown, in a preliminary and provisional way, the possibility of the existence of three different classes of analogical formations affecting respectively the stem-consonants, the vowels, and the formative elements of the different words and forms. But when we consider that every Semitic word can be analyzed into these three elements, viz. its consonantal stem, its vowels, and its formatives, and that these three elements are in the main so strongly marked and so clearly separated, we see at once that this analysis has furnished us a basis for the classification of analogical formations which, though perhaps not so profoundly philosophical as some other modes of classification which might be

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adopted, still has the merit that it is simple, practically convenient, and exhaustive, and most of all, that it presents these analogical phenomena in closest connection with the structure and the characteristics of these languages.

The results of our study up to this point may be summed up in the following propositions:

1. The whole structure of the Semitic languages and all the formations and inflections of words are analogical, using the term analogy in its widest sense.

2. Using the term analogy in its restricted and more usual sense when speaking of it as a linguistic phenomenon, those cases of analogical formation which do occur are connected most closely with the structure and various characteristics of these languages, and *thus they are easily accounted for, in fact they occur just where this structure and these characteristics lead us to expect them.*

We find, then, these two factors in the structure of the Semitic languages: on the one hand a notable degree of regularity in the recurrence of certain fixed types of forms and in the application of inflectional modifications; on the other hand, certain deviations from these types and normal processes under the influence of a disturbing analogy. But when we look more closely into the nature and relations of these two factors it becomes evident at once that they sustain a most intimate relation to each other. They are not the result of separate and distinct linguistic forces, or to go back of the language to the mind of the language-user, of separate and distinct faculties of the mind. They are the result of the same law working under different conditions. As a linguistic law we call it *the law of the group.* As the product of the human mind we ascribe it to *the power of association.* By the constitution of the human mind each word is felt to be a member of a distinct class or group, and not simply an isolated individual; and the whole philosophy of analogy as a linguistic phenomenon may be thus briefly expressed:

Whenever the law or type of any group has been able to maintain itself, the individual conforms to the law of the group to which it belongs and the formations are normal.

But when the law breaks down and the distinction between the groups is disregarded, the individual, instead of conforming to the group to which it belongs, is transferred to another group, with which somehow it has become associated, and the result is a disturbing analogy.

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It is true that the unwarranted application or extension of analogy beyond its legitimate bounds is a marked feature of language. It is this that has given rise to the expression *mistaken* or *false* analogy. It might better be called disturbing analogy. One of its most frequent effects, as is pointed out in the words of Sievers, quoted above, is the obliteration of existing differences. But it is wrong to regard analogy simply as a disturbing influence. In fact, we might almost say that this is only an incidental effect. It is better to regard analogy as that which binds together the different individual members of each group of words or linguistic elements. Or to speak more accurately, it is natural for the mind to associate words which although different still are felt to be members of one and the same group, and to apply to all the inflectional changes which it has been taught to apply to one. This extension of the same inflectional changes to all the different members of the same group, this formation of different words from different stems after the same type or model, is not the work of memory, as is also pointed out by Brugmann in his book "Zum heutigen Stand der Sprachwissenschaft," p. 79. It is the work of the power of association or combination, or, as it might also be called, the analogical faculty. We are not concerned primarily with the name of this faculty, however. But that with which we are concerned is the fact that so-called analogical formations are not to be regarded as something isolated and entirely distinct from those formations which are called normal, but rather they are the results of the same mental process, and show the operation of the same law working under different conditions.

Starting from the principle that analogy is the modification of an existing form, or the origination of a new form after the model of another form with which it is associated, different schemes for the classification of such analogical phenomena have been proposed. These different schemes are presented and reviewed by Delbrück, "Einleitung in das Sprachstudium," p. 108 fg. According to him these classifications are made from three different points of view:

1. According to the nature of the psychological activities which are concerned in the different formations.

2. According to the nature of the words affected by analogy.

3. According to the results of the operation of this force of analogy.

The first of these principles is the one adopted by Misteli in

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the article already referred to (Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft, XI 365–475, XII 1–26), and after him by Wheeler, in his treatise on "Analogy and the scope of its application in language."[1] As this is by far the most satisfactory of existing methods of classification, I shall present it in some detail, using mainly the phraseology of Wheeler in the statement of the different classes, and illustrating them by examples taken from the domain of Semitic.

According to Sievers, the influence of analogy tends largely to the abolition of earlier differences. Similarly Wheeler (op. cit. p. 35): "The operation of analogy in language is in every case ultimately conditioned and determined by the natural quest of the mind for unity to replace multiplicity, system to replace anomalous diversity, and groups to replace monads. The office of the psychical factor in the development of language is therefore the maintenance and re-establishment of the groups which the phonetic laws tend to disrupt, and the creation of new groups. It aims to eliminate purposeless variety."

To this must be added the important statement on page 37 of the same work: "The formation of new groups very commonly appears as a readjustment of old groups. Changes in the character and use of the phonetic material of a language often cause a form or number of forms to be severed from one group and attached to another."

Wheeler thus classifies the phenomena of analogy:

I. *Likeness of Signification and Diversity of Form.* Two words entirely diverse in form, but which are capable of application to one and the same object or idea, may, through the influence of this limited likeness of signification, be confused into one word by the process known as "contamination of form."

No instance of this kind in Semitic has occurred to me.

II. *Affinity of Signification and Diversity of Form.* Words totally dissimilar in form, but expressing ideas of like category, are made to approximate slightly in form through the extended application of some sign of category or through the extended use of some element or combination of elements of sound which has come to be recognized as characteristic of a group.

As an illustration of this kind of analogy the following has occurred to me: The common people often say *masoner* for *mason*. The ending *er* came to be regarded as expressing trade or calling,

[1] Ithaca, N. Y., 1887. Cf. also A. J. P. V 165–85, X 202.

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from such words as *painter*, *joiner*, *carpenter*, *farmer*, etc. Hence they sought to bring *mason* into the same category of form by adding *er* and making *masoner*.

Instances in Semitic are the following among others: The prefix *m*, to form the passive participle of the Arabic first form, of which the ground-form is *qâtûl*. See Barth, Nominalbildung, p. 178, §123*a*.[1]

In Arabic this principle often works in the extension of existing groups. See Barth, Nominalbildung, p. 135, §85*d*. The form *qatîl*, formed nominally from the *i*- imperfect, is used to denote masses, collectives. Then in that sense it is formed from stems which have no *i*- imperfect, especially to denote masses or collections of animals, *kalîb* 'dogs,' *ḍa'în* 'sheep,' etc.

Cf. also the Mandean pronouns *ächnun*, *ächtun*, *ächtôchun* and *ächnôchun* (Nöld., Mand. Gramm., p. 86).

III. *Likeness of Function and Diversity of Form.* Words differing in *form* are reduced to groups upon the basis of likeness of function, i. e. of likeness of use in the economy of the sentence and for the expression of like modifications of thought.

An illustration of this kind of analogy is found in the formation of the Hebrew infinitive absolute of the Niphal. See Barth, op. cit. p. 72, §49*b*. The regular infinitive absolute of the Niphal is seen in נִכְסֹף. But as in the Piel and Hiphil a certain assonance was perceived between the imperfect and the infinitive absolute used to strengthen it, e. g. שָׁבֹר תִּשָּׁבֵר, Ex. 23, 24, a similar form was originated in order to produce a similar assonance in the case of the Niphal הִכָּרֹת תִּכָּרֵת, הִמָּלֵט אִמָּלֵט, I Sam. 27, 1, etc. This analogical formation almost entirely displaced the organic.

Other illustrations of this are seen in the formation of prepositions with suffixes in Hebrew and in Ethiopic. Compare אֵלַיִךְ, עָלַיִךְ, אַחֲרַיִךְ, תַּחְתַּיִךְ.[2]

The ַי is organic in the first two cases, because they are to be referred to the stems אלי and עלי. Starting from such stems it is extended analogically to stems of other prepositions where it has no place at all.

IV. *Contrast of Signification and Partial Likeness of Form.* Words of contrasted signification and of partly similar form are grouped in couplets, and a further approximation in the outward form is the result.

[1] Cf., however, Beitr. z. Assyriologie I 160 (ZA, IV 375).

[2] Cf. ZDMG, XLII part 3 (A. J. P. X 234) and Lagarde, Mittheil. II 231.

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An instance of this kind of analogy is given by Praetorius, Ethiopic Grammar, p. 86, §99. Eth. *waḍ'a, he has gone out*, has in the subjunctive *iḍâ'*, and imperative *ḍâ'*. These forms ought to be inflected thus: *teḍê'î, iḍê'û* or *ḍê'î, ḍê'û*. They follow, however, the analogy of their opposite *ibô'*, from *bô'a, he has gone in*, and hence we have the forms *teḍâ'î, iḍâ'û, iḍâ'â*, etc.[1]

Another illustration of the analogy of the opposites is the Hebrew קִיצוֹן, *last* (stem קצץ) after the analogy of רִאשׁוֹן, *first*.

V. *Likeness of Signification and Partial Likeness of Form.* Words whose stems have a like signification and are similar but not like in form are grouped together upon the basis both of meaning and form, and a levelling of the form of the stems is the result.

Under this head Wheeler brings the following classes of analogical formations:

A. Levelling between different cases of like stems.

As an instance, somewhat similar at least to the instances mentioned by Wheeler under this head, may be mentioned such cases as I have given under Cl. III, Div. B., the Assyrian plural *itâti* for *idâti*, from *ittu*, which stands for *idtu*,[2] the feminine of *idu, hand.*

B. Levelling between the different forms for person and number in the same tense of the verb.

Analogical influence of this kind is very conspicuous in the inflection of the perfect of the Semitic verb.

The original paradigm probably was as follows, in the singular:[3]

qatal a. 'he has killed.'
qatal at. 'she has killed.'
qatal tâ. 'thou hast killed.'
qatal tî. 'thou (fem.) hast killed.'
qatal kû. 'I have killed.'

In Ethiopic, the first person *qatal-kû* has influenced the second person masculine and feminine, so that they now have *qatalkă, qatalkî*. In the other languages the reverse of this process took place; *kû* of the first person was changed to *tû* under the influence of the analogy of the second person, while in Hebrew, by a further analogical change, *tû* was changed to *tî* under the influence of the possessive suffix *i*.[4]

[1] Cf. Hebraica II 6, i.

[2] See Hebraica I 178, 5; cf., however, Delitzsch, Prolegomena 46 and 115.

[3] See Nöldeke, Die Endungen des Perfects, ZDMG, XXXVIII 407 sq.

[4] Cf. SFG 53 below; ZDMG, XXXVIII 419; XLIV 539, 1; Wright, Comp. Gramm. 175.

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C. Levelling between the different parts (tenses), etc., of the same verb.

An instance of this kind of analogical formation is seen in the vocalization of the Hebrew perfect and imperfect *Piel* as compared with the corresponding forms in Arabic. In Arabic, which probably comes nearest to the primitive, we have *qattala, yuqattilu*, while in Hebrew we have קִטֵּל, יְקַטֵּל. The *e*-vowel of the second syllable of the perfect is probably due to the influence of the corresponding vowel of the imperfect. The *i*-vowel of the first syllable is then perhaps due to vowel-harmony.

D. Levelling between derivative and primitive.

No instances of this kind in Semitic have occurred to me, perhaps because there generally exists such a close connection between derivative and primitive.

For this classification Wheeler claims practical exhaustiveness. He says: "Under the five main categories which have been thus far established and discussed may be classified nearly if not quite all the phenomena usually associated with the action of analogy."

I have preferred, however, in my treatment of analogy to look at the phenomena from a different point of view, and adopt a different method of classification. The predominant characteristic of all Semitic analogical formations, as I have already shown, *is the formation of groups, and the disturbance of these groups* by transferring individual words, forms, portions, or characteristic elements of forms from one group to another, taking them from a group where they exist organically and applying them to or placing them in a group where they do not belong. These disturbances or transferments will naturally affect either the consonantal ground-stem of a word, or the vocalization of the stem, or those formative elements, prefixes, infixes, suffixes, by which different inflectional forms or derivative words are formed. Hence the classification which I have given will logically follow, and I trust that a study of the material as I have arranged it, in the second part, under these different heads, will bear out its suitability. This material will appear in a subsequent number of this Journal.

ABEL H. HUIZINGA.

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NOTE.

On the Article with Proper Names.

Many years ago, twenty or more, thoroughly dissatisfied with the ordinary statements as to the article with proper names, and convinced that the bare formulae 'deiktic' or 'demonstrative' and 'anaphoric' did not help my students to the real feeling of the articular proper noun, I ran through certain prose authors in order to ascertain whether there was any considerable variation in the amount of use, and I was not long in finding what I sought. That the poets, outside of comedy, did not make much use of the article with proper names is an old story. Homer does not use it. In lyric poetry it is rare, and Pindar's τὸν Ἱπποκλέαν (P. 10, 57), if genuine, is a blemish, pardonable in a boy of Doric leanings (see Müller, Dorier, III 504). In the tragic poets it is so little employed that Valckenaer (ad Eur. Phoen. 147) went so far as to deny its occurrence. In short, the use is essentially a prose use, and that fact gives the tone approximately. It does not belong to the more elevated range; it belongs to the sphere of familiar language. And no wonder. Pointing is vulgar, and with the proper name the article is a pointer, and in the main a needless pointer, so that it may well serve as an index of familiar style, a linguistic gesture allowable only where an actual gesture would be tolerable. But any observation to this effect will be sought in vain either in Krüger, or in Kühner, or in Madvig, or in Hadley-Allen, or in Goodwin, or in Koch, or in Kaegi. To be sure, the absence of such an observation may be due to the fact that the Germans, who write our school-grammars directly or indirectly, do not need to be told about the tone of the article with proper names, but English-speaking people do need to be told about it, for standard English does not use the article with proper names, except in the plural, as 'the Smiths,' and in that case the proper noun becomes a common noun. Such expressions as '*the* Patti,' '*the* Materna,' are exotic and hopelessly vulgar. I have said that the Germans ought to have no difficulty about the tone, but even they have become uneasy of late, and Blass has waked up to the importance of the matter for Demosthenes (see A. J. P. XI 107), and some years ago Herbst wrote an elaborate paper on the article with proper nouns in Thukydides (see A. J. P. II 541),

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so that we may expect something exhaustive before long, and with the exhaustiveness the usual over-refinement and minute and unremunerative subdivision.[1]

[1] This little note, which was intended simply to call attention to an important subject, has been repeatedly crowded out by the pressure of other matter, and ought to be superfluous now that a special treatise has been published which professes to cover the whole ground of the article with the proper noun in Attic prose. But the dissertation of Carolus Schmidt, de articulo in nominibus propriis apud Atticos scriptores pedestres (Kiel, 1890), does not present a full statistic, does not answer all the questions that might properly be asked, and deals with the formulae of anaphora and stress in the usual unsatisfactory, shifty way. Still some stylistic points come out from Schmidt's researches, and even he sees that authors like Thukydides and Plato differ from each other in this point as in others, that dialogue and narrative show marked divergencies, that rapid recital and leisurely description, summarizing *oratio obliqua* and detailed *oratio recta*, follow different laws.

In the general part Schmidt discusses the article with names of continents, Εὐρώπη and Ἀσία being regularly articular, while the names of countries, though felt as adjectives, and felt as elliptical, are not so regular. Islands vary. Mountains have the article more frequently than not, and the very common addition of τὸ ὄρος or the like shows that the mere name did not satisfy the Athenian mind. Seas have the article in inscriptions, otherwise they are fluctuating. Rivers usually take ὁ ποταμός and follow the pattern of the mountains. Cities and towns lack the article in inscriptions. ὁ Πειραιεύς is used when a part of the city is meant and not the harbor as such—a distinction which may, however, be wiped out by the ever ready anaphora. Shrines and sacred inclosures, being substantivized adjectives, have the article, but the festivals of the gods are anarthrous in the inscriptions of the best time. Writers vary. In combination with χορηγεῖν, which suggests legal formality, Demosthenes omits the article. The names of the tribes vary. The Athenian says of ships ἡ Ἀργώ, ἡ Σαλαμινία, ἡ Πάραλος, just as we say 'The Etruria,' 'The Umbria'; and the article is used with statues as in English. In the matter of the article gods fare very much as men do. In faded oaths, νὴ Δία, μὰ Δία, πρὸς Διός, the article is omitted as a rule. If an appellative is added to the name of the god, both name and appellative take or omit the article, as we have seen above. A few names of men and women always have the article, as ἡ Πυθία, hardly a substantive. Every one knows the difference between Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος and Θ. ὁ Ἀθηναῖος. Φαλίος Ἐρατοκλείδου is an official designation, Ἀξίοχος ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδου is a popular designation, but even in inscriptions the genitive of the first name forces the article. So Ἀξιόχου τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου. As we have had occasion to emphasize before (A. J. P. VI 486), we cannot always distinguish between οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι and οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. The Greeks were not so particular in this respect as they ought to have been. In fact they were often as careless as we are habitually in the repetition and in the omission of the article in such cases (A. J. P. IV 254). Much of this general part lacks novelty and one is wicked enough to prefer naked figures.

As to the individual usage, Schmidt reminds us that we are not to look for a

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The plan that I followed in my little investigation was to attack those passages in which the same proper name recurred often. In some authors I found that there was a certain steadiness in the

history of the article with proper nouns because the earliest author and the latest are sundered by too brief a space. And then their provinces are so different and their geniuses are so different. Fortunately that is precisely what interests us in the whole matter. It is with the article here as with the article in combination with the infinitive, a matter of style.

The first author taken up is Thukydides, whose characteristic 'duritas' in the use of the article Schmidt does not fail to emphasize. Herbst, as is well known (see above), has consecrated a special study to the article with the proper noun in Thukydides, and has drawn the most important conclusions from the results of his examination. But Schmidt is far from accepting all Herbst's categories, and prefers his own 'stress' to Herbst's 'contrast.' Unqualified approbation, however, is given to Herbst's rule that all side-remarks, all parenthetic observations, everything that lies outside of the narrative proper is free from the law of anaphora. And yet in the application of the law Schmidt cannot always agree with Herbst. Another and not dissimilar law is the omission of the article in *oratio obliqua*, which lacks the lively tone, the familiar emphasis, the verbal gesticulation of *oratio recta*, and lacking these naturally lacks the article, though even *oratio obliqua* is exposed to the intrusion of intense stress. Especially interesting is the observation that the same rapidity of movement that prompts the use of the historical present prompts the disuse of the article with the proper noun, and as specimens of contrasted styles Schmidt selects the first book as comparatively oligarthrous, the sixth and seventh as comparatively polyarthrous. In the speeches little use is made of the article with proper nouns.

For Plato Schmidt formulates the rule that in the narrative portion the proper name after its first introduction has an anaphoric article. In the dialogue itself the article is not used. In the Apology the absence of the article with the names of the accusers is in conformity with the best oratorical usage.

The unsatisfactory character of the MSS of Xenophon casts suspicion on the soundness of the tradition as to the articular proper noun in that author. Still the article is used, as in Thukydides, more freely in easy, flowing narrative than in succinct account. It is lacking in *oratio obliqua*, lacking in dialogue.

Turning to the orators, in the Helena of Gorgias, the heroine lacks the article only when she is first mentioned and only when she is last mentioned. In Antiphon I Φιλόνεως is anarthrous when first mentioned, then always articular (nine times). So Ἠρῴδης in V. The article is little used in Andokides. In Lysias the names of opponents have no article, as a rule, and the names of nationalities are anarthrous. In the epideictic orations of Isokrates the article is rarely employed with proper names; and in the forensic speeches the opponents are anarthrous. But it is not until he comes to Isaios that Schmidt wakes up to the truth from which I started in my little note that the article with the proper name belongs to popular diction. The article with the proper noun is an innovation, he says, and whence could it have come except from the people? A droll way of putting

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anaphora, but in others the variation bade defiance to rule. Especially interested was I to find that in the Trapeziticus of Isokrates, one of the few dikanic speeches of that worthy, a speech of which he was doubtless ashamed in later years, the name Πασίων is used by that pink of Attic propriety thirty-two times, always without the article, once with οὑτοσί. At the other pole stands Plato, as every one knows, and it seemed not without significance that Isokrates, who affected tragic stateliness even in such details as the ν ἐφελκυστικόν, approaches the usage of the tragic poets, while Plato, the student of the mimes, draws near to Aristophanes, who uses the article with the proper noun more freely, as he uses the article more freely at any rate.[1] But even a slight examination

it. In Isaios the avoidance of the articular proper noun is noticed as coinciding with the avoidance of the hiatus, both being indications of more careful composition and more elevated style in those speeches in which the double avoidance is the rule. In the study of the usage of Demosthenes, Schmidt's master, Blass, to whom the dissertation is dedicated, had led the way (see A. J. P. XI 107), but the mobility of Demosthenes puzzles our investigator and leaves him often as helpless as he was in the presence of Plato's shifting moods, for Demosthenes does not recognize the obligation of low relief imposed by *oratio obliqua*, and uses the articular proper nouns as freely as he swears. It is this spice of the blackguard in Demosthenes, this lawlessness in the teeth of a distinct recognition of law that makes Demosthenes so delightful. Your Hypereides, your Lykurgos, your Aischines are much better behaved. Hypereides always omits the article with his opponent Δημοσθένης, always with Εὐξένιππος. Lykurgos prosecutes Leokrates without tacking the *flabellum* of an article to his name. Aischines calls Timarchos by name 37 times and lapses seldom if ever into the article, and Ktesiphon is treated in very much the same way. But Demosthenes refuses to be bound, and in the presence of the shiftings of that consummate Proteus our bewildered questioner concludes that the use of the article with the proper noun is a matter of interpretation. But he has himself brought us a little further than that.

[1] See Fuller, de articuli in antiquis Graecis comoediis usu, Leipzig diss., 1888, p. 34 foll. Fuller does not satisfy the conditions of the research, but some use can be made of his material. As for comparative statistics he only tells us that in the first thousand verses of

Aisch. Prom. V.	the article occurs	210	times.	
Sophokl. Oed. T.	"	"	303	"
Eur. Med.	"	"	159	"
Ar. Vespae,	"	"	562	"
Plat. Phaedo (Stallb.)	"	"	768	"

The small number in Eur. as compared with Soph. is not what might have been expected, but those who know the oscillations of Euripides will suspend judgment until more is known than this exhibit yields.

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serves to show that the pretty contrast between Plato and Isokrates is not simply a contrast of individualities, it is a contrast of provinces, for none of the orators uses the articular proper noun with anything like the freedom that characterizes Plato or even the historians, and we must recognize in these cases the obligations of official speech. The orators, in short, complied to a certain extent with the style of official inscriptions, which eschew the article with proper nouns, 'even if they are generally known or have been previously mentioned.'[1] The inscriptional use of the article with the names of deities takes us into a different region and suggests a time when the proper name carried with it more significance, and the familiar rule that the article is either omitted or repeated before the name of a deity and the attribute (*Ζεὺς σωτήρ, ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ σωτήρ*) is another instance of the power of formulae in matters of religious ceremony.

But the 'Article with Proper Nouns' is a chapter in the aesthetics of Greek syntax that I have neither time nor inclination to work out. The great facts lie on the surface, patent to every eye. The quest of more subtle differences among authors, departments, periods and dialects I am content to leave to others.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

[1] Meisterhans,[2] 183.

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Kleinere Schriften von Theodor Benfey. Ausgewählt und herausgegeben von ADALBERT BEZZENBERGER. Erster Band. Erste und zweite Abteilung. Mit dem Bildnisse Th. Benfey's. Berlin, H. Reuther, 1890. (xl, 342 u. 200 SS.)

Wenigen Sprachforschern ist eine so umfassende und andauernde schriftstellerische Wirksamkeit beschieden gewesen, wie Theodor Benfey. Mit dem Anfange der dreissiger Jahre beginnen seine Arbeiten auf dem Gebiete des Sanskrit und der vergleichenden Sprachforschung und bis nahe vor seinem Tode (26. Juni 1881) setzen sie sich, fast ein halbes Jahrhundert hindurch, unablässig fort. Seine erste selbständige Schrift war eine Untersuchung "Über die Monatsnamen einiger alten Völker," die er im J. 1836 mit dem Mathematiker M. Stern herausgab. In weiteren Kreisen machte er sich dann bekannt durch sein "Griechisches Wurzellexikon," das in zwei Bänden 1839 u. 1842 erschien. Zwischen diese beiden Bände fällt der Artikel "Indien" (1840), welcher einen besonderen Band der Ersch- u. Gruber'schen Encyklopädie bildet. Den vierziger Jahren gehören ferner an die Schriften: "Über das Verhältnis der ägyptischen Sprache zum semitischen Sprachstamm" (1844), "Die persischen Keilinschriften mit Übersetzung und Glossar" (1847) und die Ausgabe der "Hymnen des Sâma-Veda" (mit Einleitung, Glossar und Übersetzung, 1848). Im J. 1852 erschien die "Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache," der sich im folgenden Jahre die "Chrestomathie aus Sanskritwerken" und im J. 1855 die "Kurze Sanskrit-Grammatik zum Gebrauche für Anfänger" anschloss. Wenige Jahre später treffen wir B. auf einem neuen Gebiete, dem der vergleichenden Märchenforschung, in dem Werke "Pantschatantra: Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen" (2 Bde., 1859). In den sechziger Jahren folgen dann zunächst "A Practical Grammar of the Sanskrit Language for the Use of Early Students" (1863, 2. Aufl. 1866) und "A Sanskrit English Dictionary" (1866); sodann die "Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft und orientalischen Philologie in Deutschland" (1869), welche den 8. Band der von der Münchener Akademie herausgegebenen "Geschichte der Wissenschaften in Deutschland" bildet.

Vielseitig, gründlich und gedankenreich, wie diese Werke sind,[1] mögen sie hinreichend erscheinen, um als Ertrag der Arbeit eines Menschenlebens zu gelten. Aber die Tätigkeit B.'s ist mit ihnen bei weitem nicht erschöpft. B.

[1] Ich verzichte darauf, dieselben hier im Einzelnen zu charakterisieren und bei ihrer Bedeutung für die Entwickelung des Sanskritstudiums und der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft zu verweilen. Eben so wenig liegt es in meiner Absicht, näher auf Benfey's Leben und seine akademische Wirksamkeit einzugehen. Für beides verweise ich auf Bezzenberger's Nachruf im 8. Bde. der Beiträge zur Kunde der indogerm. Sprachen S. 234 ff. und auf den Lebensabriss in der Einleitung zum 1. Bde. der Kleineren Schriften.

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pflegte, nachdem er im J. 1864 zum Mitgliede der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen ernannt war, die Ergebnisse seiner Forschungen vorzugsweise in den Abhandlungen dieser Gesellschaft zu veröffentlichen.[1] Seine dort erschienenen Arbeiten behandeln mit Ausnahme der ersten—einer Untersuchung über die Aufgabe des Platonischen Kratylos—sämmtlich Fragen der vergleichenden oder der Veden-Grammatik. Die vollständige Grammatik der vedischen Sprache, welche B. plante und zu welcher seine Göttinger Abhandlungen nur Vorarbeiten bilden, ist leider nicht über das Stadium der Vorbereitung hinausgekommen.

Sodann laufen neben seinen grösseren Werken und Abhandlungen in ununterbrochener Reihe zahlreiche kleinere Aufsätze: in der von ihm herausgegebenen Zeitschrift "Orient und Occident" (3 Bde., 1860–66), in den Nachrichten von der Göttinger Gesellschaft d. Wissensch., der Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachforschung, der Allgem. Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur, den Beiträgen zur Kunde der indogerm. Sprachen und anderen älteren und neueren Zeitschriften. Nur einen kleinen Teil dieser Aufsätze, aus den Jahren 1876–80, hat B. in den beiden Sammlungen "Vedica und Verwandtes" (Strassb. 1877) und "Vedica und Linguistica" (ebd. 1880) wieder abdrucken lassen.[2]

Endlich hat B. vom Beginne seiner wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn ab bis zu seinem Ende eine äusserst fruchtbare Tätigkeit als Kritiker entwickelt. Bezzenberger schätzt in seinen Beiträgen Bd. 8, S. 242 die Zahl der Recensionen B.'s auf ungefähr 250. Die früheren derselben sind in Zeitschriften enthalten, welche inzwischen längst eingegangen sind: den Wiener Jahrbüchern der Literatur, den Berliner Jahrbüchern für wissenschaftliche Kritik, der Hallischen Allgemeinen Literatur-Zeitung, Benfey's Orient und Occident u. s. w.; andere stehen in Zeitschriften, die noch jetzt weiter erscheinen, wie der Academy, der Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländ. Gesellschaft und insbesondere den Göttinger Gelehrten Anzeigen.

[1] Vielleicht erweise ich diesem oder jenem Leser dieser Zeitschrift einen Gefallen, wenn ich hier die in den Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. enthaltenen Arbeiten B.'s nenne (wobei ich bemerke, dass dieselben einzeln käuflich sind). Ich zähle sie in der Reihenfolge auf, in welcher sie erschienen sind:

Über die Aufgabe des platonischen Dialogs Kratylos. 1866.
Über einige Pluralbildungen des indogerm. Verbum. 1867.
Über die Entstehung und Verwendung der im Sanskrit mit *r* anlautenden Personalendungen. 1870.
Ist in der indogerman. Grundsprache ein Suffix *ia* oder statt dessen *ya* anzusetzen? 1871.
Jubeo und seine Verwandte. 1871.
Über die Entstehung und die Formen des indogerman. Optativ (Potential). 1871.
Über die Entstehung des indogerman. Vocativs. 1872.
Über die indogerman. Endungen des Genetiv Sing. *tans, tas, ta*. 1874.
Einleitung in die Grammatik der vedischen Sprache. I. Der Saṁhitâ-Text. 1874.
Das indogerman. Thema des Zahlworts "Zwei" ist *du*. 1876.
Altpers. *mazdâh* = Zend. *mazdaṅh'* = Sanskr. *medhâs*. 1878.
Einige Derivate des indogerman. Verbums *anbh* = *nabh*. 1878.
Über einige Wörter mit dem Bindevocal *i* im Rigveda. 1879.
Behandlung des auslautenden *a* in *nâ* "wie" und *nâ* "nicht" im Rigveda. 1881.
Die Quantitätsverschiedenheiten in den Saṁhitâ- und Pada-Texten der Veden. 1.-6. Abhandl. 1874–1881.

[2] Beide enthalten zusammen 25 Artikel, die—mit einer Ausnahme—sämmtlich aus den Göttinger "Nachrichten" wiederholt sind.

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Namentlich in zwei Beziehungen sind die kleineren Aufsätze und die Recensionen B.'s anziehend und wertvoll. Zunächst vervollständigen sie das Bild der wissenschaftlichen Persönlichkeit ihres Verfassers. Gerade in ihnen tritt die erstaunliche Vielseitigkeit und die glänzende Combinationsgabe B.'s besonders hervor: seine Belesenheit auf allen Gebieten, welche mit dem indischen Altertume in Beziehung stehen; seine gründliche Kenntnis des Sanskrit, namentlich die bis auf das kleinste Detail sich erstreckende Beherschung des Pâṇini und der Sprache der Veden; seine rastlos vorwärtsdringende, oft recht kühne und allzu subjective, aber stets anregende und belehrende Art, die Fragen der vergleichenden Grammatik zu behandeln. Diesem mehr persönlichen Interesse steht ein sachliches zur Seite. B. hat in seinen Kritiken und kleineren Aufsätzen manche Gebiete berührt und Fragen behandelt, die in seinen grösseren Werken wenig oder garnicht zur Sprache kommen. Dabei kommt seinen Recensionen eine hervorragende Bedeutung zu. Sie gelten in der Regel weniger der anzuzeigenden Schrift als der selbständigen Förderung der Sache. B. benutzt die Besprechung eines Buches gerne als Gelegenheit, um seine eigenen Gedanken über den darin behandelten Gegenstand mitzuteilen. Diese Arbeitsweise brachte es mit sich, dass er oft einen wichtigen Gedanken—namentlich auch Bemerkungen allgemeiner [1] und methodischer Art—nur im Vorbeigehen und an abgelegener Stelle aussprach.[2]

Unter diesen Umständen sind wir dem Herausgeber der Kleineren Schriften B.'s, Prof. Adalbert Bezzenberger in Königsberg, zu lebhaftem Danke verpflichtet, dass er die Ausgabe, deren erster Band uns vorliegt, unternommen hat. Es handelt sich freilich nicht um eine vollständige Sammlung, sondern um eine in möglichst engen Grenzen gehaltene Auslese. Der Herausgeber spricht sich über den Plan des Werkes in der Vorrede folgendermassen aus: "Bei der Auswahl . . . leitete mich zunächst ausschliesslich die Absicht, dass das vorgenommene Sammelwerk ein volles Bild sowohl von Benfeys wissenschaftlicher Entwicklung, wie von seiner wissenschaftlichen Bedeutung geben solle. Allein die consequente Durchführung dieses Planes erwies sich bald als unmöglich: ist doch das Erscheinen selbst dieser, dem ursprünglichen Vorhaben gegenüber sehr beschränkten Sammlung nur durch hochgeneigte Unterstützungen seitens Sr. Excellenz des Königl. Preussischen Herrn Cultusministers und der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen ermöglicht. So zog ich denn die Grenzen enger und schied alles aus, was Benfey selbst schon hatte wieder abdrucken lassen. Aber diese Beschränkung genügte noch nicht, und ich legte deshalb auch alle Stücke bei Seite, welche dies Werk zu sehr verteuert haben würden oder zugleich hinreichend bekannt und zugänglich sein dürften, und unterzog endlich die nach allem dem verbleibenden einer

[1] Man berücksichtige hierbei auch, dass überhaupt B.'s Streben vorwiegend auf das Historische, d. h. auf Erkenntnis der Entwickelung des Individuellen, gerichtet war. Es liegt im Wesen der geschichtlichen Betrachtung, dass sie das Allgemeine immer nur so zu sagen stückweise—nicht systematisch—aufdeckt, es dem Individuellen einordnet und unterordnet.

[2] So hat B. zu verschiedenen Malen (zuerst, so viel ich weiss, in der Anzeige von Böhtlingks Versuch über den Accent, Allg. Lit. Ztg. 1845, S. 934 = Kl. Schr. I, S. 92) den Satz ausgesprochen, der Übertritt eines Wortes in eine andere grammatische Kategorie—z. B. adverbieller Gebrauch einer Casusform—habe oft eine Accentverschiebung im Gefolge. Aber er hebt dies immer nur gelegentlich hervor, wenn ihn die Betrachtung eines besonderen Falles auf den allgemeinen Grundsatz führt.

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abschliessenden Musterung, bei welcher ich alle strich, die nicht actuell oder geschichtlich interessant sind." Was bei allen diesen Einschränkungen und nach der letzten Sichtung übrig blieb, hat der Herausgeber in vier Abteilungen zerlegt: I. Sanskritphilologisches, II. Sprachwissenschaftliches, III. Zur Märchenforschung, IV. Verschiedenes. Der vorliegende Band enthält die beiden ersten Abteilungen.

Vorangeschickt ist ein kurzer, sehr dankenswerter Lebensabriss Benfeys. Er stammt von best unterrichteter und dem Verstorbenen nächst stehender Seite, nämlich von einer seiner Töchter. Wer, wie der Verfasser dieser Anzeige, den Vorzug gehabt hat zu Benfeys Zuhörern zu gehören und ihm persönlich näher zu treten, der wird sich in diesen Mitteilungen unmittelbar in die Umgebung des liebenswürdigen und bedeutenden Mannes zurückversetzt fühlen und neben vielem Neuen auch manchen Ton vernehmen, der ihm bekannt klingt. Auch für ferner Stehende wird es von Interesse sein, eine biographische Schilderung des Gelehrten zu erhalten, die aus seiner unmittelbaren Nähe stammt und sich vorwiegend auf seine eigenen Äusserungen und auf Briefe aus seinem Familien- und Freundeskreise stützt.

Ich wende mich hiernach zu einer kurzen Übersicht über den Inhalt des vorliegenden Bandes. Den Anfang macht eine im J. 1833 erschienene Recension von Poley's Ausgabe und Übersetzung des Devîmâhâtmyam (einer Episode des Mârkaṇḍeya Purâṇa): das Erste, was B. auf dem Gebiete des Sanskrit geschrieben hat.—Es folgt eine Recension von Lassen's Institutiones linguae Pracriticae, die mit einer für jene Zeit (1840) merkwürdigen Klarheit und Übersicht die Grundlinien der altindischen Sprachgeschichte zeichnet und die Hauptepochen chronologisch zu fixieren sucht.—Die folgende sehr ausführliche Besprechung von Troyer's Râjataraṁginî aus d. J. 1841 schliesst sich an die Darstellung der indischen Altertumskunde an, welche B. kurz vorher in Ersch u. Gruber's Encyklopädie (Art. "Indien") gegeben hatte. Sie ist nicht nur dem Umfange, sondern auch dem Inhalte nach eines der bedeutendsten Stücke dieser Abteilung und nimmt unter den Versuchen, in die höchst verwickelten und dunklen Fragen der indischen Chronologie Licht zu bringen, eine hervorragende Stelle ein.—Die im J. 1845 geschriebene Anzeige von Böhtlingks Versuch über den Accent im Sanskrit führt uns dann zu einem Gebiete hinüber, auf welchem B. fortab mit Vorliebe verweilt und auf welchem ihm eine Reihe wichtiger, jezt allgemein anerkannter Entdeckungen geglückt sind: dem des Accentes und seines Einflusses auf Laut- und Formenwandel. Man beachte, wie B. schon hier, gleich nach dem Erscheinen von Böhtlingks Schrift, den Wert des Accentes für die grammatische Erklärung des Sanskrit und der verwanten Sprachen mit sicherem Blicke erkennt und eine Fülle von Beobachtungen mitteilt, die für uns jetzt zum grammatischen Abc gehören, damals aber keineswegs selbstverständlich waren. Bleibenden Wert verleiht dieser Besprechung ausserdem der Umstand, dass B. in ihr eine Darstellung der Accentuation des Sâma-Veda gibt, die er in seiner Ausgabe dieses Veda nicht wiederholt.[1]—Ich verbinde damit gleich die Erwähnung der später folgenden Recension (aus d. J. 1848) von Aufrecht's Schrift De accentu

[1] In der Einleitung zum SV. (S. LVI f. u. LXIV) beschränkt sich B. auf Nachträge zu seiner früheren Darstellung. Man vergleiche ausserdem die Bemerkungen über die 7 Accente des SV. in der Anzeige des 4 Bdes. von Weber's Ind. Stud., Kl. Schr. 1 1, 163 ff.

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compositorum Sanscriticorum, in welcher es sich vorwiegend um das Verhältnis der Darstellung Aufrechts zu den Regeln des Pâṇini handelt.—Weiterhin begegnen wir den Beurteilungen von Weber's Yajurvedae specimen und von Langlois' und Wilson's Übersetzungen des Rigveda. Beide fallen etwa um dieselbe Zeit (die erstere 1847, die beiden anderen 1851), wie B.'s Ausgabe des Sâma-Veda und sind sowohl durch Bemerkungen im Einzelnen interessant, wie durch allgemeinere Erörterungen über den Charakter der vedischen Sprache und den Wert der indischen Tradition für ihre Erklärung.—Die beiden folgenden Anzeigen beziehen sich auf den 2. und 4. Band von Weber's Indischen Studien. B. lehnt bei der Besprechung des 2. Bdes. u. a. die Ansicht ab, dass die griechische Literatur auf die Entwickelung der indischen von Einfluss gewesen sei. Aus der Besprechung des 4. Bdes. seien die Auseinandersetzungen über die Stellung der Prâtiçâkhyen in der indischen Literatur, insbesondere ihr Verhältnis zu dem Systeme des Pâṇini (S. 150 ff.) hervorgehoben (man vgl. damit die Behandlung derselben Fragen in der weiter unten zu erwähnenden Anzeige von Regnier's Rigveda-Prâtiçâkhya); ferner die Gleichsetzung der Instrumental-Suffixe sansk. *-tra-*, griech. *-τρο-*, lat. *-tro-*, *-culo-* (S. 169).—Weiterhin hat der Herausgeber eine Anzahl von Recensionen aus den Jahren 1855–59 vereinigt, welche sich sämmtlich auf den Buddhismus beziehen, nämlich über Stan. Julien's Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Thsang, desselben Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, trad. par Hiouen-Thsang, Köppen's Religion des Buddha und des Russen Wassiljew Werk über den Buddhismus.—Mit der Besprechung von Regnier's Prâtiçâkhya du Rig-Véda (1859), die ich schon vorhin erwähnte, betreten wir dann wieder das Gebiet der vedischen Literatur. Ihm gehören auch die noch übrigen Recensionen der ersten Abteilung an: über Max Müller's History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (1860), Ludwig's Infinitiv im Veda (1871), und die erste Lieferung von Grassmann's Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda (1873). Diese Anzeigen liegen uns der Zeit nach nicht allzu fern und der Standpunkt, welchen B. in ihnen einnimmt, darf im wesentlichen auch noch als der der heutigen Vedenforschung gelten.—Ausserdem finden wir am Schlusse der ersten Abteilung drei kleinere Aufsätze B.'s aus den Göttinger Nachrichten: "Sanskritischer Ablativ auf urspr. *at* von Themen auf *u*". (1870);[1] "*dsmṛtadhrâ* Ṛgv. X 61, 4" (1873); "Ved. *ṛdḍdra*, *ṛdḍpé*, *ṛdúvṛdhâ*" (1875).

Die zweite, der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft gewidmete Abteilung beginnt mit einer Recension der ersten Auflage (2. Teil) von Pott's Etymologischen Forschungen aus dem J. 1837. Sie liegt mehr als ein halbes Jahrhundert hinter uns, und die Sprachwissenschaft hat inzwischen nicht gerastet. Aber wem diese Recension bisher nicht bekannt war,[2] der wird sich wundern, in ihr eine Reihe von Anschauungen zu finden, die oft als ganz moderne Errungenschaften gelten. B. tritt (S. 10) der Ansicht Pott's entgegen, dass die Grundsprache nur die drei Vocale *a*, *i*, *u* gekannt habe und meint, es sei entschieden

[1] Es handelt sich um die Erklärung des eigentümlichen Ablativs *vidyát* (an Stelle von *vidyútas*) in der Vâjasaneyi-Saṁh. XX 2. Derselbe ist, seit Benfey in seiner Kurzen Sanskr. Gr. S. 266 auf ihn hingewiesen hatte, vielfach und in verschiedener Weise behandelt. Die Meinungen gehen auch neuerdings noch auseinander, vgl. Lanman Noun-Infl. S. 468, J. Schmidt Pluralbild. d. Neutra S. 223, Bartholomae Indog. *ss* S. 77.

[2] Sie ist allerdings in neuerer Zeit einige Male angeführt worden, z. B. von Masing D. Verhältnis d. griech. Vocalabstufung zur sanskritischen S. 46 und von mir in Bezzenb. Beitr. 3, 177.

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fraglich, "ob nicht das Griechische, indem es *a, e, o, i, v* als kurze Vocale darbietet, den älteren Sprachstand treuer bewahre, als das in dieser Rücksicht ärmere Sanskrit." Er stellt (S. 11 ff.) die altind. Lautreihen *i, e, ya, ai* und *u, o, va, au* mit *ṛ, ar, ra, ār* in Parallele und ist geneigt, das *ṛ* auf eine Art ursprachlichen *r*-Vocal zurückzuführen. (S. 20: "Möglich ist, dass in der Grundsprache ein eigenes, von einem Vocal durchschossenes *r* waltete, ein schnellgesprochenes *errere*, welches sich am lautlichtreusten im zendischen *ere* erhielt, aber seine dem Sprachorganismus[1] angemessenste Ausbildung im Sanskrit erhielt.") Dieser *r*-Vocal scheint ihm (S. 22) "im Sprachgeist" (wir würden dafür sagen "ursprünglich") keinen vocalischen sondern consonantischen Wert gehabt zu haben, indem er mit Recht behauptet (S. 23) "dass die Wurzeln mit *i, u, ṛ* auf gleicher Stufe mit völlig vocallosen stehen." Er tadelt (S. 9 f.), dass Pott von den Lauten des Sanskrit ausgeht und meint, das lautliche Verhältnis der einzelnen Sprachen würde uns klarer entgegentreten, wenn sie sich gegenseitig regulierten, d. h. mit anderen Worten: wenn man die reconstruierten Laute der Ursprache zu Grunde legt. Er weist (S. 12) auf falsche Analogien in der griechischen und lateinischen Conjugation hin.[2] Man würde zu weit gehen, wenn man hieraus folgern wollte, B. habe in allen diesen Fragen schon damals unsren heutigen Standpunkt eingenommen. Es sind nur Keime und Ansätze zu der heutigen Auffassung. Auch möchte ich nicht behaupten, B. haben an allen den genannten Ansichten mit gleicher Consequenz festgehalten. Aber es geht aus dem Angeführten allerdings hervor, dass B.'s ganze Richtung nicht in schroffem Gegensatze zu den Bestrebungen der heutigen Sprachwissenschaft stand und dass seine Stellung zu den jetzt herschenden Anschauungen eine wesentlich andere sein musste als z. B. die von G. Curtius.—An die Recension der 1. Aufl. von Pott's Etymol. Forschungen hat der Herausgeber eine Besprechung eines Bandes (II. Teil, 1. Abteilung) der 2. Aufl. desselben Werkes aus dem J. 1862 gereiht. B. geht in ihr u. a. ein auf den Begriff der "Wurzel" (im Anschlusse an seinen Aufsatz in der Kuhn'schen Zeitschr. Bd. 9, S. 81 ff.), auf den angeblichen symbolischen oder dynamischen Wert einzelner Laute, auf die nasalierten Präsensklassen und auf das Verhältnis der vergleichenden zur "isolierenden" Etymologie.—Sehr wichtig, und auch einigermassen bekannt, ist dann wiederum die Anzeige von Holtzmanns Schrift "Über den Ablaut," mit der wir in das J. 1846 zurückversetzt werden. Holtzmann's Ansicht über den Ablaut oder—wie die indischen Grammatiker dafür sagen—den Guṇa gipfelt in dem Satze: "Guna, nicht nur in der Conjugation, sondern überall wo es vorkommt, ist durch *a* geweckter Umlaut. Die Vocale *i* und *u* der betonten, nicht doppelt geschlossenen Stammsilben werden von beginnendem *a* der folgenden Silbe in *ai* und *au*

[1] B. hat hier offenbar den vorhin von ihm erwähnten Parallelismus der *ṛ*-Reihe mit der *i*- und *u*-Reihe im Auge. Wir würden jetzt für "Sprachorganismus" eher den bestimmteren Ausdruck "Vocalsystem" oder "Ablaut" gebrauchen.

[2] Man gestatte mir bei dieser Gelegenheit zu bemerken, dass Benfey auf "falsche Analogien" stets grosses Gewicht gelegt hat und dass diejenigen, welche ihn und die gesammte Göttinger Schule als dem Erklärungsprincipe der Analogie abgeneigt hinstellen, den Göttingern sehr Unrecht tun. In derjenigen Periode der vergl. Sprachwissenschaft, welche vor Scherer's Buch "Zur Gesch. d. deutschen Spr." liegt, hat kaum ein andrer Sprachforscher so oft und so nachdrücklich auf die Bedeutung der falschen Analogie hingewiesen, wie gerade Benfey.

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umgelautet, wofür es herkömmlich ist *é* und *ó* zu schreiben."[1] B. erweist nun, dass Holtzmann's Annahme eines *a*-Umlautes im Indischen hinfällig ist. Als Ursache der Entstehung des Guṇa bleibt für ihn somit nur der Accent übrig. B. hat an dieser Ansicht über den Guṇa seitdem festgehalten (vgl. z. B. Vollst. Sskr. Gr. S. 19, Kurze Sskr. Gr. S. 9) und sie ist nach und nach ziemlich allgemein an Stelle der Bopp'schen Auffassung—nach welcher das Unterbleiben oder Eintreten der Gunierung von der Schwere oder Leichtigkeit der folgenden Endung abhängt—angenommen worden. Sie gilt auch noch heute, nur mit dem Unterschiede, dass wir jetzt nicht mehr den Guna mittelst des Accentes aus dem sogen. Grundvocal, sondern umgekehrt den letzteren aus dem Guṇa ableiten.—Die folgende Anzeige, aus dem J. 1847, gilt G. Curtius Schrift "Die Bildung der Tempora und Modi im Griechischen und Lateinischen." In ihr, sowie in der Erwiederung von G. Curtius im Vorworte zu seiner Schrift "Die Sprachvergleichung in ihrem Verhältnis zur classischen Philologie," 2. Aufl. (Berlin, 1848), S. vi–viii, kommt der Gegensatz zum Ausdrucke in welchem sich Benfey und Curtius in ihrer wissenschaftlichen Richtung schon damals zu einander gefühlt haben. Ich will bei demselben hier nicht weiter verweilen, sondern nur bemerken, dass dieser Gegensatz B. nicht gehindert hat, sich in seiner Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft S. 584 f. über Curtius Wirksamkeit in anerkennenden Worten und ohne jeden persönlichen Groll zu äussern.—Dem J. 1849 gehört die Recension von Schleichers grammatischer Erstlingsschrift "Zur vergleichenden Sprachgeschichte" an. B. wendet sich in ihr u. a. gegen Schleicher's Annahme einer Periode, "in welcher die Sprache überhaupt noch nicht fertig war." "So viel ich erkannt zu haben glaube," entgegnet B. (S. 84), "ist eine Sprache von der Zeit ihrer Entstehung bis zum Untergang ebensowohl fertig als nicht fertig. Fertig, insofern sie zum Ausdruck des sie sprechenden Volkes vollständig ausreicht; nicht fertig, insofern sie sich ohne Unterlass sich fort entwickelnd, immer umgestaltet."—Es folgt eine eingehende Besprechung von v. Hahn's Albanesischen Studien (geschr. 1855), die unser Interesse um so mehr in Anspruch nimmt, als B. in seinen übrigen Arbeiten das Albanesische selten berücksichtigt. B. verweilt in ihr u. a. bei der Frage nach der Abstammung der Albanesen und berücksichtigt ausser v. Hahn's Studien auch die älteren Darstellungen der albanesischen Grammatik.—Von dem speciellen Gebiete des Albanesischen führt uns die im J. 1862 veröffentlichte Anzeige von Max Müller's Lectures on the Science of Language wieder auf einen Standpunkt zurück, der einen weiteren Ausblick gewährt. Was B. in ihr über den Charakter der Sprachwissenschaft und ihr Verhältnis zu den Naturwissenschaften bemerkt, gehört zu dem Besten, was über diese viel erörterten Fragen geschrieben ist, und ist heute von nicht geringerem Interesse als zu der Zeit wo es zuerst veröffentlicht wurde.—Wir begegnen weiter Besprechungen von zwei Abhandlungen Miklosich's: "Die nominale Zusammensetzung im Serbischen" (1863) und "Die Verba impersonalia im Slavischen" (1865). Beide sind bezeichnend für B.'s Art zu recen-

[1] H. hat seine Ansicht in dieser Form bereits im J. 1841—vor dem Erscheinen von Böhtlingk's Pâṇini—in den Heidelberger Jahrbüchern ausgesprochen. Böhtlingk's Abhandlung über den Accent im Sanskrit (1843) scheint ihm bei der Abfassung der Schrift über den Ablaut (1844) noch nicht vorgelegen zu haben. Er bemerkt (S. 8) ausdrücklich: Für alles was ich über die Accente sage, habe ich keine andere Quelle als die Grammatik des Panini.

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sieren. Vom Slavischen ist in ihnen nur beiläufig die Rede. Dagegen gibt B. von seinem Standpunkte aus die Grundzüge einer teils historischen, teils allgemeinen Theorie der Zusammensetzung und der unpersönlichen Verba.— Die letzte Anzeige dieses Bandes bezieht sich auf Joh. Schmidts Erstlingsschrift "Die Wurzel AK im Indogermanischen" (1865). Von Bedeutung ist in ihr namentlich der Abschnitt, welcher sich auf Wurzeln mit ausl. langem Vocal bezieht. Wurzelformen wie *mnâ* neben *man*, *dhmâ* neben *dham*, *psâ* neben *bhas*, *prâ* neben *par*, *trâ* neben *tar*, griech. δμα, τλᾶ, lat. *gnâ* erklärt B. durch die Annahme, es sei in ihnen das wurzelhafte *a* eingebüsst und hinten ein *â* angetreten (S. 150). Bei Wurzeln, in welchen ausl. langer Vocal mit ausl. kurzen Vocal wechselt, wie ind. *dhâ* : *dhi*, griech. θη : θε ist nach seiner Meinung die Kürze durch Einwirkung des auf der folgenden Silbe stehenden Accentes aus der Länge hervorgegangen (S. 152 f.)

An die Recensionen schliessen sich, wie in der ersten, so auch in dieser Abteilung einige kleinere Aufsätze B.'s aus den Jahrgängen 1873 bis 1881 der Göttinger Nachrichten: eine Art Nachtrag zu den Arbeiten, welche B. selbst in die Vedica und Linguistica aufgenommen hat. Sie behandeln folgende Gegenstände: Indogerm. Particip Perfecti Passivi auf *tua* oder *tva* (1873); Die Suffixe *anti*, *âti* und *ianti*, *iâti* (1873); Ved. *mṭḍhá* oder *mṭḷhá* n. (1874); Sanskr. *sâ* (Verbalwurzel) = griech. ᾱ́, ᾱ̃ (1874); Ved. *vrad* = griech. *Fραδ*, *Fροδ* (1875); Zusatz zu dem Aufsatze "Über die eigentliche Accentuation von ες, seien," Vedica und Linguistica S. 114 (1881).

Ich möchte den vorliegenden Band nicht verlassen, ohne mit einem Worte der darin hervortretenten Umsicht und Sorgfalt des Herausgebers der Kleineren Schriften B.'s zu gedenken.—Ein zweiter Band soll die beiden übrigen Abteilungen ("Zur Märchenforschung" und "Verschiedenes") und ausserdem ein vollständiges Verzeichnis der Schriften B.'s enthalten.

BRYN MAWR, PA. HERMANN COLLITZ.

Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek. Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Übersetzung. In Verbindung mit Dr. L. ABEL, Dr. C. BEZOLD, Dr. P. JENSEN, Dr. F. E. PEISER, Dr. H. WINCKLER herausgegeben von EBERHARD SCHRADER. Band III, 2. Hälfte. Berlin, H. Reuther's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1890. iv, 147 pp.

A short time ago there appeared the second half of the third volume of this convenient edition of the most important Assyrian and Babylonian texts, containing the historical inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian empire.[1] It begins with the inscriptions of Nabopolassar, 625–604 B. C., and of Nebuchadnezzar II, 604–561 B. C., transliterated and translated by Hugo Winckler; C. Bezold gives a new rendering of the Neriglissar texts; F. Peiser publishes a revised translation of the inscriptions of Nabonidus and of the text from the clay cylinder of Antiochus Soter, the son of Seleucus (V Rawl. 66). The editor

[1] Volume I, containing the inscriptions of the Early Assyrian empire, has been reviewed in the London Academy, July 7, 1888, No. 844; Gött. Gel. Anz. ('89), No. 21, pp. 867-870; ZA. IV 87-93; Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift ('89), Nos. 25 and 26; Revue critique, April 22, 1889, p. 201 f.; Vol. II, containing texts of the Neo-Assyrian empire, in the Revue critique, June 23, 1890 (J. Halévy); ZA. V 297-306; Proc. Am. Or. Soc., Vol. XV, pp. xviii–xxii; Hebraica VI 153 ff. and VII, Nos. 1 and 2.

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himself translates the inscription on the barrel cylinder of Cyrus (V Rawl. 35) and the Nabonidus-Cyrus chronicle. At the end of the volume there is appended a fragment of an historical text of Nebuchadnezzar II, a South-Babylonian Greco-Aramean inscription containing the proper name Ἀδαδνα-δινάχης, and some additions to the Assyrian Eponym Canon, published in Vol. I, pp. 204 ff.

Like its predecessors, the third part of this work contains many discrepancies, in matters as to which some agreement among the several contributors should have been reached. There are many queries which could have been avoided by a careful study of other texts; and, again, there are no queries where the mutilated condition of the texts would require them.[1] To the historian and the theologian and others who are not able to verify the transliterations and the translations, it cannot but be confusing to see the same word spelled in three or four different ways, as e. g. on p. 4, l. 13, we have lu-u-sa-az(?)-bi-el, and on p. 6, l. 5, lu-u-ša-aṣ-bi-el, without the slightest indication for the layman that the two forms are identical. Again, on p. 14, l. 5, we read ip-ti-ku bi-ti-iq-šu, which should be either iptiqu pitiqšu (Assyrian), or ibtiqu bitiqšu (Babylonian). These are but two out of many instances. Again, ideograms and Akkadian words are not sufficiently indicated. They should be printed either in italics or in capital letters; thus (iṣu) ma-ku-a, on p. 14, l. 10, should be (iṣ) MA-KU-A. Bezold is almost the only contributor who uses capital letters in such cases. This inconsistency of treatment cannot but puzzle the student. These are some of the general objections against the otherwise very useful Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (indicated as KB.).

Pp. 2–9 contain transliteration and translation of three texts of Nabopolassar, the founder of the Neo-Babylonian empire. No. 1, col. I 2, Winckler reads [bêl ilâ]ni, and adds in a foot-note: 'erhalten ist ilu . . . m]eš, also wohl ilu[EN ilu m]eš zu ergänzen.' In the text, however, he leaves out ilu altogether. Read AN[-EN-EN-M]EŠ = ilu bêl bêlani, the God, Lord of Lords. 16, for -'-aš-ru-um read a-aš-ru-um, i. e. ʾa-aš-ru-um from אשׁר. The character pi is often used for a, especially when this is equal to ʾa; thus we have la-ʾa, ušaʾa, (u)aṣû, (ʾ)ašib, (ʾ)alidu, ZA.V 89; for šaḫṭu read šaḫtu.[2] 25, na-ra-am [šar-ru]-u-[ti-ia] is translated 'who loves my kingdom'; but this would be ra'imu šarrutiia. The reading šarrutiia is a mere conjecture and should be queried. Narâm is usually translated by 'favorite' and derived from râmu = Hebr. רחם; I connect it with Hebr. רום and translate it 'the exalted, glorified.' 29, ib-ba-ru-um is the Babylonian form for ip-pa-ru-um and means 'he broke.' 25–31 are by no means specimens of a clear and logical German; 30 f. lu-u-'-ir-ru ana tili u karmi 'Ich bestellte es zu Ruinenhügeln und Ackerland'! It is evidently the same as lu utîr ana tili u karmi 'I turned it into mounds and arable land.' The Babylonian scribe may have felt a connection between arû and târu. l. 41, the (iṣu) alli ṣum(!)bi may be compared to the (iṣu) ša šadadi ṣumbi of Asurbanipal.—Col. II 3, dikût mada are the 'subjects of the king,' as we should

[1] M. Jos. Halévy, in his review of the second volume, justly says: 'Mais tout à fait blâmable est l'habitude de corriger ou de compléter les passages mutilés sans un point d'interrogation, comme si la chose était absolument certaine.'

[2] Almost all the contributors write šaḫṭu, as if it were equal to Hebr. שָׁחַט, Arab. sáḥaṭa, 'to flay, to slaughter,' while it is šaḫtu for šaḫitu, partc. of šaḫatu, 'to sink down, to stoop down,' fig. 'to be humble.' (Del. Prol. 119.)

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say 'food for powder,' people who are just good enough to be slaughtered for the king; kaššu, l. 10 and Grot. II 12 (KB. III 34), means 'strong, powerful,' from kašašu, 'to be strong,' Lhotzky ad Asurn. I 10; 13, lušazbil is equal to lušaršid (KB. III, p. 8, col. II 10) 'I raised'; 19 f. we read 'according to the pleasure of the god my begetter,' ša ta-ar-sa-an-ni. Winckler does not translate it. We have in this volume many instances of za, ṣa for sa; and here we have one of sa for ṣa; read ša tarṣanni 'who directs me'; 27, (amelu) dim-gal-e, according to Winckler and others a word borrowed from the Akkadian. It is, however, a Semitic noun and has to be written timkalu = tinkalu from נכל, a form like tisqaru and others; 29 and KB. III 50, 19, kisurû stands for kiṣurû and means 'joints'; see also ZA. II 134, 4a; 34, [mu?]-uš-ta-ad-di-nu is the ptc. of the Ištafal of nadanu; ṣibûtu is discussed by Peiser in his Aktenstücke, p. 99. 38, read lu (not bi) uaddunim. 39, ina šibir (= Assyr. šipir) ašipûtu is 'by means of incantations.' 45, ukîn te-en-šu for te-me-en-šu of l. 57 is a very interesting form. It illustrates the later dropping of m as in šur'enu (= šurɳenu) for šurmenu. Another instance of this kind is ša-aš-šu (= šaɳaššu) for šamaššu (= šamšu) 'sun' (KB. III 8, 10, where we read miqi(!)ir (il) Šaššu, narâm (ilat) A-a 'the one honored by Šamaš and made lofty by A-a'). See also Prof. Haupt in ZA. II 270 ff. 48 f. ina ušši-šu lu umaṣ-ṣim(a) means 'I made it large enough at its foundation.' 50, the samtu bi-ir na-ɳa-ru-tim[1] can very well mean 'the sandu-stone, shining with brilliancy.' 55, tup-ši-ku = tupšikku is 'the badge of servitude,' worn by the king as the servant of the gods. 61, read lu-ba-ra te-di-ik šarrutiia lu aqnun(ma) 'the garment, the robe of my royalty I laid down'; then continue 'bricks and mortar I carried on my head, the badge of servitude I put on.'—Col. III 7, talimšu is 'his frater germanus,' 'his own brother' (Del. Chald. Gen. 272; Lehmann, Diss. p. 17, 'half brother'). Then follows še-ir-ra-am, the family,[2] ṣi-it libbiia, 'the offspring of my heart.' Instead of tu-ub-bu-su-um, which means nothing, read ṭuppusum,[3] da-du-u-a = dâdû'a, 'even that weak-minded child, my beloved I did not spare'; 19, bîtu maḫiri E-BAR-ra does not mean 'a temple after the model of the E-bar-ra,' but 'a house equal to it' (= gabri, BAS. I 223);[4] 30, 'I made resplendent,' from zâmu, זמה, 'to shine'; 36, read qi (not ki)-bitu 'command' from qebû 'to command.'

No. 2, col. I. I should like to hear the verdict of classical philologians upon the editor of an inscription, who leaves out a whole line, as Winckler has done. According to Winckler's and Strassmaier's edition in ZA. II the original has between ll. 6 and 7 ud-du-šu eš-ri-e-ti, 'to restore the temples'; urtašu kabitti are together line 7, not ll. 7 and 8, as Winckler has it in KB. III; 13, for narâm Šamaš u Malkatu we are referred to p. 8, col. I 11, where we find the same expression; but this does not help us. Schrader's reading Malkatu for A-a is not warranted, and I prefer to read (ilat) A-a.[5] Transliterated texts

[1] na-ɳa(character pi !)-ru-tu for namrutu as e. g. V Rawl. 46, 43ab ûmu na'ri, or II Rawl. 8, 2ab na-ɳa-a-a-ru, and 8ab nu-u-ru = nuɳɳuru = nummuru.

[2] Še-ir-ra-am is connected with šurrû, 'to raise, to grow.'

[3] ṭuppusu is the Talm. ṭippeš 'weak-minded,' liter. παχύς, pinguis, Senn. V 4; s for š as in sa-tu-im = šadim, ri-e-su = rêšu, etc.

[4] Beiträge zur Assyriologie und vergleichenden semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, herausgegeben von F. Delitzsch und Paul Haupt. See A. J. P. IX 420.

[5] PSBA. '86, 27 and '89, 86 ff.; Zimm. BB. 61; ZK. II 357; ZA. I 398; III 162 and 357; IV 75; BAS. I 286.

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should never be printed without the determinatives, which very likely were pronounced by the Assyrians and Babylonians. The reading as well as the translation of line 15 is by no means as certain as Winckler imagines.—Col. II 7, mê nuḫši dam-ku-tim 'Wasser des Überflusses (Wasserbecken) segensreiche' (Winckler); but the second sign of the last word is lu, not ku, and the first character is nin, also pronounced nig, thus read nik-lu-tim, 'artistic water-basins.'

No. 3, col. I 12. We may restore qarrad qar-ra[dê], 'the hero of heroes,' like bêl bêlani, il ilani, šar šarrani, etc. 13, ša Nir-ra = Nergal, so Winckler, without adding a query. On p. 2 he reads the same characters GIR-RA;[1] 14, the original reads ni-is-ku(= qu !)-su. This is clearly shown by a comparison of the signs ku and ma in l. 23; nisqusu stands for nisqut-šu, 'his splendor, magnificence,' from nasaqu.—Col. II 2, [za-'i-]ri-ia does not begin the line on the original, but closes it; we may read ll. 1 and 2 [lâ magiri a]na-ru [akmi za'i-]-ri-ia, Neb. E. I. H. II 24 f., ZA. II 146, but always with a mark of interrogation added; 11, we could also read ana ša at-tim, 'as for thee, Belit of Sippara.' Adopting Winckler's new reading ana ša-at-tim, I prefer to follow Halévy and translate 'now,'[2] in preference to Winckler's 'for ever'; 12, I do not believe that šurbûtu is the feminine form to šurbû, 'great, exalted.' It is rather the abstract noun, and beltim šurbûtim means 'lady of power'; 20, the original reads ana ṣi-a-tim, not ṣi-a-a-tim.

Pp. 10–71 contain the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II. Omitting a discussion of the translation of the great East India House inscription, I will add a few notes to the rendering of the smaller texts. Next in importance to the E. I. H. inscr. is the Grotefend cylinder, published in I Rawl. 65 and 66. Col. I 5, translate 'the ever lofty.' 12, ana šâṭam sirdešu = ana šâṭam abšanišu = to drag his yoke.[3] 14, nidbu is a by-form of nindabû, Hebr. נִרְבָּה, BAS. I 279 and KB. III 50, 24. Cf. also Jeremias, Izdubar, 47 below. 16, whether ša ûm išten means 'for each day' is rather doubtful. 17, ḫi-za may be connected with Hebr. חוה, 'to select,' Exod. 18, 21, and mean 'selection, choice'; zu-lu-ḫi-e is the Aram. זלח, the Arab. zalaha (Rev. étud. juiv. XIV 157), 'to sprinkle, to pour out a libation, to offer.' It is = salaḫu, Hebr. סָלַח; ḫiza zuluḫê damqutim would therefore be 'a selection of propitious offerings.' 18, ga-du-um ša ilani is 'the gift to the gods.'[4] 22, translate 'excellent wine' instead of 'clear wine'; 27 f. 'I spent abundantly ina pašsuri of Marduk and Zarpanit' (so Winckler); but the ideogram, used here, is not that for paššuru,[5] but that of parakku. On Ṣarpanitum see the remarks of M. Jos. Halévy in Rev. critique, June 23, 1890, p. 482; papaḫat šubat belûtišu is discussed by C. P. Tiele in ZA. II 183. 30, whether šallariš means 'magnificently' is doubtful; 31, Winckler writes bâbu-kuzbu-

[1] See ZK. I 244; ZA. I 56 f.; Sb. 2, 14; So. 1, b, 8; V Rawl. 46, 20cd. Jensen, Kosmol. 476 ff.

[2] See ZK. II 406 f.; ZA. I 94 rm. 1; I Rawl. 66 (No. 2) 7; 69, 36c; IV Rawl. 5, 16b. We have (1) šattu, 'year,' for šantu, and this for šanâtu = Hebr. שָׁנָה, ZK. I 180, and (2) šattu, 'hour, time,' for ša'a(y)tu = Hebr. שָׁעָה, Aram. שַׁעְתָּא, Arab. sâ'atun.

[3] See V Rawl. 63, 14a (KB. III 114); sirdu is a synonym of ṣimdu, ṣimidtu and riksu, from ṣamadu and rakasu, 'to bind, harness, yoke.' Compare also Jensen's Kosmologie, 28, rem. 2.

[4] I connect ga-du-um with Arab. ǧada', 'to give,' ǧaduâ, 'gift.' Also I Rawl. 69, 40c (KB. III 86) ga-du-mu, which, of course, is = gaduuu. Compare Pognon, Wadi-Brissa, 59.

[5] See col. II 34; V Rawl. 3, 90; S 269, etc.

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rapšu, 'the gate of abundant fertility,' for bâb ḫi-li-bu (šud?). The same word occurs in Neb. E. I. H. II 51 (KB. III 14), where we read bâb ḫi-li-bu, bâb ku-uz-bu u bâb Ezida, Ezagila. Winckler considers bâb kuzbu the Assyrian translation of bâb ḫi-li-bu (šud); but ḫi-li-bu is a good Semitic word and not an Akkadian. It occurs as the name of a god in the meaning of protector, and is a synonym of digirû;[1] the bâb ḫilibu and the bâb kuzbu of Neb. I. E. H. II 51 are two distinct gates. 36, šigaru, here and V Rawl. 61, 34d, may mean 'steps'; ad ka-na-ku remember IV Rawl. 30, 31 kunuku kanaku = ḫitti ša bâbi = kululu, 'the border or frame of the door,' Del. Proleg. 174, rm. 2; 38, kima ûm is not 'into the day,' but 'like daylight'; 40, translators of ina ḫidâti u rišâti would do well to remember 'Altmeister' J. Oppert's warning in the Mélanges Rénier, p. 229 f. 44, ina ZAK-GAB = ina sippi seems to be favored by a comparison with KB. III 40, 19 and K. 2061, 11; I prefer by far Jensen's reading mušruššu 'a violent, savage serpent' to the usual reading ṣir-ruššu; 49, Ball, in PSBA. X 215 f. suggests for ṣarâti the meaning of 'cabins,' probably the *οἰκήματα μοννόκωλα* of Herodotus I 179.—Col. II 1 ff. are discussed in ZA. II 189. 6, for the sake of laymen ba-la-ar Šamši aṣî should be translated more literally by 'at the side toward the rising sun.' The idât Babili are 'the flanks of Babylon,' and mili kaššam is 'a strong flood'; apparû, according to PSBA. X 390 means 'a ditch, a canal' = Hebr. חפר; 15 f. I read ana ša-da[2] nabîšti nišim Babilam lanim ina maḫaz mâti Šumer u Akkadim = 'in order to settle there the people of Babylon, to colonize (them) in the city of Sumer and Akkad,' i. e. the capital. 27, XVI pa-si-il-lum bitrutim are 'sixteen fat pieces.'[3] 29, ad isiḫ c. st. of išu remember that nasaḫu also means 'to transfer property,' 'to deliver.' išu could stand for nišu, 'the tribute, gift'; 30, bi-la-a could be a masculine form to biltu 'tribute'; 31, we can also read si-ra-rum, instead of si-ra-aš, and compare it with Arab. sirârun, 'best part,' from sarra 'to please' (as Ball does), on the other hand see Pognon, Wadi-Brissa, 18 and 117; cf. col. III 15 tibiq sirarum 'a pouring out, a libation of s.'; 33, to consider u-ul (ša-am-nim) an ideogram and read it dumuq, simply because the latter occurs in the parallel passage col. I 20 and ûl is not known to Dr. Winckler, is not very logical. u-ul can well be the c. st. to ûlu for u"ulu and this for uuulu, 'to be first, best'; cf. Hebr. אול, Arab. أوّل, and mean 'the best, choice oil.' 38, ušparṣiḫ 'I caused to appear in its full glory.'[4] 50, si (not ši!) ma-a-ti reštâti are 'the decorations of old,' billudû is a synonym of parṣu, V Rawl. 60, 3 f.; 62, 51b.—Col. III 9, read pa-aq-luti from פקל;

[1] ZA. II 183 and 400; III 193-7; PSBA. '89, 173; Del. Assyr. Gram. p. 68; on the other hand see M. J. Oppert in ZA. III 104 and IV 173; also II Rawl. 48, 28ab; V Rawl. 29, 19-20; 30, 66.

[2] ša-da is the verb from which sadû, 'mountain,' is derived; it means 'to pour out' and then 'to settle,' like nadû; la-nim = lânu means originally 'to spend the night,' then also 'to dwell, to colonize,' from lânu 'fence, yard'; cf. Eth. bêta 'to sojourn' from bêt 'house.'

[3] There is, in these inscriptions, a frequent interchange of z, ṣ and s, e. g. išid-za for išidsa, etc., and thus I take pasillum = paṣillum and connect it with Arab. faṣṣala, 'to cut into several pieces.' Pognon, Wadi-Brissa 115 f. reads ba-zi-lum = Arab. bázlun.

[4] ušparṣiḫ is a form like uš*ḫ*armiṭ (from חרמט) from a verb paṣaḫu = Arab. faṣaḥa 'to appear in full glory,' and faṣuḥa 'to be pure.' Ad Arab. ḥ for Assyr. ḫ compare ḫabalu and Arab. ḥâbala, etc. Insertion of an r we also meet with in forms like mušarbiṭu (שׂבט) II Rawl. 34, 31 gh; mušarbibu in Tigl. Pil. from šababu, according to Pognon, Bavian, p. 94, and Amiaud, Rev. d'assyriologie, II 12; Records of the Past, n. s. I 109, rm. 6.

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28, markas has also the meaning of 'castle,' like Hebr. בִּירָה from ברה 'to bind'; 30, translate 'where the presents are gathered.' 41, šuluḫ, c. st. of šulḫu, combine with šalhu, 'wall, enclosure.' 50, lušbâ littûti rather means 'may I have a numerous progeny'; cf. V Rawl. 31, 52cd, i-lit-tu = lit-tu-tu, etc.

V Rawl. 34 (KB. III 38 ff.) Col. I 7 means 'whom they called to their service';[1] col. III 47 uṣur šeriia = 'protect my family.' KB. III 46 ff., col. I 18, gu-gal-lum may also be read tig-gal-lum, cf. V Rawl. 16, 8cd ff.; mubakkir garbâtim = mupaqqir qarbâtim[2] 'he who calls in,' or 'claims the sacrificial gifts.' Col. II 41, Gu-la su-'-i-ti balatam; V Rawl. 41, 9ab we read šu-i(var. e)-tum = bi-el-tum, 'lady'; also see below l. 48 Gula belti rabîti. Col. III 18, ZA. II 134, 3b and PSBA. XI 216 read giš-ra-tu, comparing it with Aram. נְשָׁרָא 'beam of a house,' but גישרא means 'bridge'; 'beam' is כְּשׁוֹרָא; 25 f. rather means 'as I have put on the robe of Merodach,' i. e. 'the royal dress,' the king being the god's vice-regent and earthly representative, as well as chief pontiff. PSBA. XI 217.

Pp. 52 ff. = I Rawl. 51, No. 1. Mention should have been made of Ball's article in PSBA. XI 116 ff. According to Ball, col. II 13 reads ina ki-tir-ri abtâtiša = 'on the repairs of its fallen parts.'—Pp. 54 ff. = I Rawl. 52, No. 3. Col. II 11, read u-še-e-bi 'I embellished, I adorned.' Winckler reads u-ter-bi and derives it from rabû; but this is impossible, uterbi can only be the Ifta'al of erebu, 'to enter.' Turru occurs in the Achaemenian texts (Bezold, p. 45, No. XVII 9) ina ṭur-ri ul-lu-u, as pointed out by Professor Haupt two years ago. Bezold l. c. seems to combine it with Aram. טוּר 'mountain, height'; but tu-ur-ru is found also in II Rawl. 23, 44 as a synonym of e-di-lu 'door, gate.' Peiser, Babylonische Verträge des Berliner Museums (Berlin, 1890), p. 308, mentions tu-ru bâbi, 'the lock of a door,' and bâbu tu-ru, 'the door is locked.' 19, the mê bêrutim are 'the clear (deep) waters'; cf. e. g. II Rawl. 36, 11.—Pp. 58 ff. = I Rawl. 51, No. 2, col. I 13 ff. translate 'the temple of Šamaš in Larsa, which from days remote had fallen down in heaps,—its interior was filled up with rubbish, so that its walls could no longer be recognized.' 20 ff. 'The four winds he caused to come and he removed the sand, which was therein, so that the walls could be seen again.'—Col. II 1. 'He asked me urgently; its old foundation-document I looked up and read it; upon the old foundation I pressed fine clay, thus fixing its platform.' 19, kunnu kussî 'Fertigkeit des Thrones,' is a misprint for 'Festigkeit.'—Pp. 60 f. = I Rawl. 52, No. 4, 16 ff. render 'with subsidence of earth it was choked up and filled with rubbish; its bed I examined.' 22 ff. The name of the canal Â ibur šabû = 'not may an oppressor become victorious,' is explained by Delitzsch in his Wörterbuch, pp. 47–49; also see BAS. I 460. The ki-su-u on p. 68, l. 1 is a 'partition, wall'; cf. ZA. III 316, 80; V Rawl. 38, 59 gh ff. we have ka-su-u followed by purussû; according to ZA. II 298 it is = Hebr. כִּסֵּה. P. 70, No. d, l. 13 read lu(not i)-pu-uš.

Pp. 70–79. C. Bezold publishes two texts of Neriglissar. Cambridge cylin-

[1] rêšu, 'chattel, servant,' like Greek κτῆμα from rašû 'to possess,' PSBA. X 298 and XI 211; see also KB. III 46, 13; on itûti kûn libbi ilani see Tigl. Pil. VII 46 (KB. I 40); I Rawl. 35 (No. 1) 1, (No. 3) 3; 51 (No. 1) 2; 52 (No. 2) 2; Winckler, Sargontexte, p. 76, l. 442 f.

[2] qarbâtim is the plural to qarbitu, the c. st. of which we find in ṣubat qarbit 'a sacrificial garment' = ṣubat niqê, V Rawl. 28, 20cd; 61, 43e; qaribu 'a sacrificer,' post-biblical בעל הקרבן.

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der (I Rawl. 67) col. I 13 šagapuru is 'leader, guide.'[1] 17, read la ba-aṭ-la-ak. 20, the parṣu reštutu are 'the laws of old I looked up faithfully' (ašte'nia ka'ânam). 21, mušruš erê are 'serpents of bronze.' 26, šêzuzu is 'mighty, colossal.' 27, translate 'which harm (liter. strike)[2] the evildoer and the enemy with fear of death.'—Col. II 2, KB. III 6, below and ZA. II 144 read (mê) issû (נסע) i-ri-e-qu (ריק) ana sa-a-pu (= Hebr. סוף) 'the waters receded and diminished, so as to disappear entirely'; in view of this fact Neriglissar continues in line 10, mê nuḫšu la naparkûti ukîn ana mâti. 7, sukku is not 'the bed of the river,' but 'the bank, embankment,' properly 'the defence, shelter,' Hebr. סֹכֶךְ from סכך to protect, shelter, Del. Proleg. 195 f. For line 17 ff. see I Rawl. 52, No. 4 (KB. III 60). 20, ana kidanim,[3] here, means 'to be of use, of service' (to the palace); ana mu-ut-tam (sic!)[4] kišadu (nâr) Purâtu = 'in front of, fronting the bank of the Euphrates river.' 22, Bezold considers i!-qu-ub-ma a first person singular=I dug; this would indeed be a very singular form; translate 'the palace had fallen to ruins and its joints had become loosened.' 23 begins the apodosis, 'the wall which had tumbled down I raised (again) and (doing so) I reached the ground-water; over the surface of (this) water I raised high its foundation with asphaltum and bricks.'[5] 30, (iṣ) GAN-UL = ḫittu is 'fence, border'; cf. Del. Lesest. 14, No. 104. It must have been a work of decorative art, for it is also often called asmu and usumu.[6] Bezold should have noticed that zululu stands for ṣululu; 31, šupû means 'the shining, brilliant,' from ופע (cf. Hebr. הוֹפִיעַ); as such Marduk is called nûr ilani, 'the light of the gods'; 37, read ištu išid šamê adi elat šamê (i. e. AN-PA) e-ma šamšu aṣû 'when the sun rises,' and compare Neb. E. I. H. X 13–14 (KB. III 28 f.).

Pp. 80–121. Peiser's contribution to this volume consists in a revised transliteration and translation of selected inscriptions of Nabonidus, viz.: I Rawl. 69 and a parallel text; I Rawl. 68, No. 1, to which are appended Nos. 6 and 7 of the same plate; the Abu-Habba cylinder (V Rawl. 64) with extracts from Br. M. 81, 7–1, 9 and V Rawl. 65, col. I 16–II 15. The cylinder inscription of V Rawl. 63, written in very difficult archaic characters, is here published for the first time and I will confine myself to a discussion of Peiser's treatment of this text.

Col. I 3, i-dan is the c. st. of idânu from ידע = Arab. وعد; cf. addi and uaddi 'he placed, he agreed.' Del. Wörterbuch, 325 reads e-ṭir(?); KB. III 46, 15 has i-da-an zi-na-a-tim; adû 'agreement, promise'; 4, ana nâri u tili is by no means certain; I would read ana a-mat ili u ištar; 7, ginâ usappû means

[1] ASKT. 11 and 217, No. 87; Sb. 268 and rm. 5; II Rawl. 31, 62e; 57, 14cd; ZK. I 309, rm. 1; II 417 f.

[2] zu'unu = labaṣu = maḫaṣu Sc. 292. Bezold's note to izannu = izánu = iza'nu, that Winckler translates 'sind stark' (R. עזז) refers to šêzuzuti, not translated by Bezold.

[3] I Rawl. 61, 32b and Fleming ad loc.; 63, 48b, etc.; ZA. I 44; Eth. qadána.

[4] II Rawl. 36, 65ef we have mu-ut-tu = qudmu = maḫru, 'front.'

[5] The original reads, 22 ff. iqûpma uptaṭṭiri ṣindušu igaru sa qupputu atke-ma šupul mê akšud; mihirat mê ina kupri u agurri išidsa usaršid. Kupru, 'asphaltum,' properly means any material to cover something, from כפר, 'to cover.'

[6] See Pognon, Wadi-Brissa, p. 42; V Rawl. 44, 11c; Del. Lesest. 135, 15 and 16; the ḫittu sa bâbi is called kululu (כלל) 'a wreath'; see also Fleming, p. 40.

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'I offered sacrifices';[1] 10, u-sal-lu-u ilani rabûti 'who prays to the great gods.' Peiser says: 'Read ṣal for sal (šal)'; but there is no necessity for such change; salû, usalli is the Babylonian verb, from which the Hebrew תְּפִלָּה, 'prayer,' is borrowed; 22, read igisê šuquruti at-ta-nab-bal-šu-nu-ši from נבל (Del. Wörterbuch, 201), not from apalu; 36, translate: 'None of the former kings had built a temple for Šamaš, which had been so splendid' (liter. 'had been made so shining,' from banû, 'to shine'); 39, the reading ši-lu-ku-MEŠ is not so certain as Peiser believes. Teloni in ZA. III 297 considers it the ideogram for ašuḫu = Aram. אֲשׁוּחִין; 43 f. Peiser reads agû ḫuraṣu simat ilûtišu ša-ap-ru ra-šu-uš-šu, tiqnu tuqqunu and refers to V Rawl. 25, 3gh, because, here, šaparu, 'to send,' is followed by taqanu. Does he perhaps mean to say that these two passages refer the one to the other? Fortunately he queried his translation of šaparu rašuššu: 'he has put upon his head.' Read parakku ḫuraṣu simat ilûtišu ša ab-ru rašûšu, tiqnu tuqqunu, and translate, 'the golden sanctuary, an ornament for his godhead, which shone as to its top (i. e. whose top shone), whose ornamentation was splendid, and whose border (Hebr. זֵר) was radiant';[2] 45, šu-un-šu-du is very doubtful; a comparison with the character -un- in ll. 14, 21, 36 and 44a, etc., clearly shows that the character, read -un- by Peiser, cannot have that value; it is more like that for -ur-; la ibaššu tenâšu[3] 'it had not its tenû' (Peiser). Tenû is a synonym of eršu, 'bed,' 'place,' 'shelter'; 46, la [iz-kur] is by no means certain; it may have been la [imur] or any other word.

Col. II 2. Translate, 'the temples of Šamaš and Rammân, the lords of visions, I visited and, concerning the making of a sanctuary, which had no border, Š. and R. gave me their lofty command as an answer.' 5, Peiser's ap-su-ma is not certain; the second sign is more like bit, pit, than like su (cf. ll. 19 and 27a with 14a, etc.); apsu ulli ušalliš[4] would mean 'the former sea I tripled in size.' 5b, 'And a picture was made by my command.' 6, the reading and the meaning of aš-ni-ma is not beyond doubt; it could be the 1 pers. sing. of the Qal of šanû, which would mean: 'I tried a second time and visited,' i. e. 'I visited the oracular places of Šamaš and Ramman a second time.' 9, an-na ki-nu is open to the same objections as ašnima. 20 refers, of course, to the omen, quoted in ll. 10–19; dumqu têrti annîti ûmi maḫrâ cannot mean 'this gracious order of former days,' but only 'the best part[5] of this order of former days I beheld.' This best part is given in ll. 10–19; 22, read 'the gracious picture which, in order to make this sanctuary just like the

[1] According to Peiser usappû is the Ištafal of אמר; but this would be ussapû for uštapû; usappû is the Piel of sapû, 'to pray, to intercede' (ZK. I 113); u-sap-pu-u V Rawl. 4, 9; suppû 'prayer,' V. Rawl. 63, 12, a synonym of temequ; for suppu instead of subbu, see A. J. P. VIII 290.

[2] ab-ru, tuqqunu, etc., are permansives (Del. Wörterbuch, 58); for tiqnu and taqanu compare Aram. תִּקֵּן 'to decorate'; תִּיקוּנָא 'ornament, decoration.'

[3] Tenû is to be compared to Hebr. תַּחֲנוּת and derived from enû, 'to rest,' Hebr. חנה, II Rawl. 23, 57cd ff.; Zim. BB. 44, rem. 3; from the same verb are derived manû and maništu, Hebr. כִּחְיָנָה; enîtu, Hebr. חֲנוּת; V Rawl. 10, 51 says bît ridûti te-ni-e ekalli.

[4] Cf. šulliš in II Rawl. 39, 10 ef. The apsû or 'deep' was the basin for purification attached to a Babylonian temple, corresponding to the 'sea' of Solomon

[5] See the use of dumuq in Tig. Pil. II 32. It could also mean 'the excellence of this command . . . I perceived.'

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former, was made by my command,' i. e. 'the command, given to me.' And now follow ll. 23–33, being an extract from an omen-tablet, supposed to contain this command of the gods to the king. Lines 36 ff. say that 'this sanctuary (parakku) was garnished or trimmed[1] with the stones, mentioned, and was finished with precious jewels' (aban nisiqtim). 38, the original clearly reads ina ši-pir, for which also compare V Rawl. 61, col. IV 15. For AN GUŠ-GIN-TUR-DA see V Rawl. 61, col. IV 16 and ZA. II 90; according to II Rawl. 58, 65 it is god Ea. The following name, according to V Rawl. 61, 17, would be NIN-KUR-RA. See, however, Jensen's Kosmol. 352, rem. 1.

Pp. 136–140 contain the text from the clay cylinder of Antiochus Soter, transliterated and translated by Dr. Peiser. Col. I 11, M. Jules Oppert, in the Mélanges Rénier, reads ina ki-sal te-nit-ti and says: 'il semble signifier le timbre avec lequel on imprimait les inscriptions (tenitti) lues sur les briques; cet usage contient en germe l'idée de la typographie'; cf. also V Rawl. 64, 6b. 20, Erûa being a goddess, the determinative should be read ilat; 27, ušuzzu is discussed by J. Oppert in ZA. III 122. Ad col. II 15 I should say that already J. Oppert translated 'statuens revolutionem coeli et terrae' (Mélanges Rénier, p. 223).

Much more could be said concerning this publication, which appears to be destined to become a standard Assyriological text-book, but censor spatii imminet.

[*November*, 1890.] ——— W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

Sophocles: The Plays and Fragments, with critical notes, commentary, and translation in English prose, by R. C. JEBB. Oedipus Tyrannus, 1883; 2 ed., 1887. Oedipus Coloneus, 1885. Antigone, 1888.

The great merit of Jebb's editions of the Oedipus Tyrannus, the Oedipus Coloneus, and the Antigone has been universally recognized, and all Hellenists await with interest the appearance of other plays edited by him. The very excellence of his works, however, increases the importance of any defects they may possess. This is especially true of the critical apparatus, for the preparation of which he has enjoyed unusual advantages. In this article the critical apparatus of the Antigone alone is examined, and the remarks are confined to the report of the readings of L, and are based on the assumption that the autotype facsimile of L is correct, for which assumption we have the authority of Jebb himself, who aided in editing the facsimile.

It is proper at the outset to say a few words about the object and scope of Jebb's report of the MSS. The introductions to the different plays are to some extent independent of each other; but in the introduction to the Antigone the reader is referred to that of the other two plays for an account of the MSS. Although one would not suppose this reference was meant to include the explanation of the object and scope of the critical apparatus, still it is right to assume that the author may have expected the reader to study the different plays in connection with each other. In the introduction to the Antigone, p. li, we read: "In this play, as in the Oedipus Coloneus and in the second edition of the Oedipus Tyrannus, the editor has used the autotype

[1] šušubu stands for su'šubu from ašabu and means literally 'besetzt' or 'inhabited'; it is a form like šusumu from asamu, šuluku from alaku, etc.

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facsimile of L (published by the London Hellenic Society in 1885); and, with its aid, has endeavored to render the report of that manuscript as complete and exact as possible. In some instances, where discrepancies existed between previous collations, the facsimile has served to resolve the doubt; in in a few other cases it has availed to correct errors which had obtained general currency." Here we see the report is intended to be "as complete and exact as possible." In connection with this, however, we should, in justice to the author, read Oedipus Tyrannus, introd. p. lvii, §5, part of which is here reproduced: "The general rule which I have followed is to report only those readings of MSS which have a direct critical interest, that is, which affect a question of reading or orthography; except in the instances, not numerous in this play, where a manuscript error, as such, appeared specially significant." To illustrate his method he had referred to O. T. 15, where L reads *προσήμεθα*, and 17, where it reads *στένοντες*, and had said: "These facts have a palaeographical interest, as indicating the kind of mistakes that may be expected in MSS of this age and class. But they are of no critical interest, since neither *προσίμεθα* nor *στένοντες* is a possible variant; they in no way affect the certainty that we must read *προσήμεθα* and *σθένοντες*." Now, if the report of the Antigone is intended to be complete without regard to this method, very many omissions have been made; whereas, if this method has been observed, it has not been consistently carried out. Numerous instances can be cited where errors of L are reported that can have no practical interest. The following may serve as illustrations: 217 *νεκροῦτ'* for *νεκροῦ γ'* (where, by the way, Γ appears for L.) 251 *ἀρὼξ* with its first syl. long. 278 the omission of XO. 402 *ἐθαπτεν* (where the *ν* causes a spondee in the fourth place). 406 *κἀπίλημπτος*. 408 *δεῖν'* for *δείν'*. 476 "*ἐσιδοις* L, with *ει* over *ε* from the first hand." 482 f. the *corrected* inversion of the order of these verses.

It may be that the author thought best in his report of the Antigone to give such peculiarities as furnished a clue to the solution of difficulties elsewhere, though they are of no critical interest at the places where they occur. Thus, *νεκροῦτ'* for *νεκροῦ γ'* (217) illustrates the probability of a *γ* (Γ) being mistaken for a *τ*. The error occurs also in 213, *πουτ'* (no acct.) for *πού γ'* and, *vice versa*, in 1340 *σέ γ'* for *σέ τ'*, and furnishes palaeographical support (not appealed to, however, by Jebb) for Erfurdt's *τά γ'* (659) and Heath's *γελῶ γ'* (551), where L's acct. *γελῶτ'* adds to the plausibility. But, in the first place, there are many instances in which one or more examples have been cited and others left unnoticed; and, in the second place, a rule should work both ways. For instance, in 599 f. L has *νῦν γὰρ ἐσχάτας ὑ π ε ρ | ῥίζας τέτατο φάος*, where some emend so as to read *ὅπερ* instead of *ὑπερ*, and it is a matter of interest to know whether the acct. of L (*ὕπερ*) is of any moment. Hence it would have been worth while to note the perfectly analogous case (105 f.) *δικαίων ὑ π ε ρ | ῥεέθρων*. Again, in 462 L has *αὐτ'*, other MSS the commonly received *αὖτ'* (i. e. *αὐτό*). Here Jebb assumes that L's *αὐτ'* is *αὖτε* with elision. Now, he reports *δεῖν'* 408, but disregards *σκλῆρ'* 473 and *φᾶμ'* 1320. Elided *φημί* 720 and *αἰσχρά* 1046 are written in such a way as to throw no light on the question. But an examination of the other plays shows that the copyist regularly wrote the circumflex in such instances, while another hand (I do not think it was S in every instance) has generally attempted to correct the error. Thus, in O. T.

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132 *αὖτ'* itself was written for *αὖτ'* = *αὐτά*. Comp. also *κοιν'* 261, *ταὐθ'* 284, *παλαῖ'* 290, *δεῖν'* 513, *ὀκνῆρ'* 834, in all of which the circumflex has the acute written upon it, except that *ὀκνῆρ'* has a heavy grave—possibly a mere obliteration. (This last is probably the condition of elided *φημί* in Ant. 720.) There is no reason, therefore, to assume that *αὖτε* rather than *αὐτό* was intended in the passage mentioned above.

In like manner the critical notes on 578 and 579 are, to say the least, obscure to any one who does not know that L usually accents *δδε* as an ordinary single word, hence *τῆνδε*, *τᾶσδε*, etc. On sheet 54*a* of L, cf. 378, 385, 395, 398, 401 (but 805 *τήνδ'*). On 771 Jebb says: "*τήνδε* (from *τῆνδε*) L, with *γ* above *δ* either from the first hand (so Duebner) or from an early corrector." In view of what I have just shown, it is morally certain that the acute was added by the same hand that wrote the *γ*, that is, some one changed *τῆνδε* to *τήν γε*.

There are other instances where a partial report is misleading. For example, on 373 we find "*μή τέ μοι* (not *μήτε μοι*) L," and on 917 "*οὐ τέ του* L (*του* from *τοῦ*)." But L, so far as I have observed, regularly treats *οὔτε* and *μήτε* as *οὐ τε* and *μή τε*. Comp. *οὐ τέ του* 249, *οὐ τέ του* 257, *μή τέ τωι* 266, etc. Similarly, on 442 *καταρνῆι* is reported, and on 691 *τέρψηι*, while in fact L in every instance I have observed uses *-ηι* for the 2d sing. of *-ομαι*, except in the case of *βούλομαι* (757) and *δψομαι* (764 *προσόψει*). (I do not remember to have met with the 2d sing. of *οἶομαι*.) There is no apparent reason for the selection of the few instances cited by Jebb.

The treatment of *σῴζω* is confusing. In 189 Jebb has *σῴζουσα* and does not mention L's *σώζουσα*, in 676 *σώζει* without mention of L's *σωίζει*, in 713 *ἐκσώζεται with* mention of L's *ἐκσωίζεται*, and in 1114 *σῴζοντα* with L. A similar inconsistency in the treatment of *θνῄσκω* (comp. O. T. 118 note and Ant. 547, 761) and of *φῄς* (Ant. 248, 403, 442 and 706, 1289) does not belong here; for when L is not followed its reading is given. Under the rule laid down in the introduction to O. T. it is difficult to decide where to draw the line. But either some of the peculiarities reported ought to have been omitted, or else *some*, at least, of the following given: 12 *ἐξότου*. 54 *ἀρτάναισιν*. 55 *δύω*. 80 *προὐχοιο* (failure to elide at quasi-caesura). 89 *μάλιστ' ἀδεῖν*. 93 *ἐχθρανῆι* with marg. *γρ. ἐχθαρῆι* (or *ἐχθαρεῖ*?). 125 *πάταγος· ἄρεος* (showing that *Ἄρεος* was not construed with *πάταγος*). 220 *οὕτως*. 268 *ἐρεννῶσι*. 276 *ἐκοῦσιν δ'* (the *δ'* inserted by first hand or by S). 336 *περιβρυχίοισι*. 418 *τυφῶς*. 428 *τοῖσιν*. 441 *εἰς*. 653 *ὡ σεί τε* (i. e. *ὡς εἴ τε* or *ὡς εἴτε*). 694 *ἂν ἀξιωτάτη*. 697 *ὠμιστῶν*. 847 *οἰοισιν*. 918 *παιδίου*. 976 *ἀκμαῖσι*. 1089 *γλῶτταν*. 1107 *ἄλλοισι* (the *σι* inserted above). 1114 *ἢ* (or *ἢ*?). 1164 *εὐγενῆ*. 1236 *μέσον*. 1338 *ἐστιν*. 1352 *ἀποτίσαντες* (where Jebb reads *ἀποτείσαντες* without remark). I have here omitted some whole classes, such, for instance, as the erroneous use or omission of *ι adscriptum*. Thus Jebb reports *ὁρῶι* (743) and *ζῆι* (1169), but disregards *πετρώισδει* (958) and *δρᾶι* (1107). It will be observed that some of the above readings *may* be correct, as *τοῖσιν* (428) and *οὕτως* (220).

Finally, we come to the instances in which L is incorrectly reported. Some of these errors are no doubt typographical, as *χρεῖ' ηι* for L's *χρεῖ' ηἰ* in 884. Even "(*sic*)" is not always a safe guarantee, for we find "213 *παντί πουτ* (*sic*) *ἐνεστί σοι*," where *πουτ'* is intended. Whether "1301 *ἠδ'* (*sic*) *ὀξύθηκτος*," etc., is a misprint is doubtful. It is not *ἠδ'*, but either *ἠδ'* (i. e. *ἡ δ'*) or *ἠδ* (without

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apostrophe), more probably the former. Other slight slips are 614 *πάμ | πολις* for *πάμ | πόλις*. 673 *πόλισθ'* (with *τ* above by S) for *πολισθ'*, etc. 968 *σαλμυδησσός* for *σαλμυδισσός*. "1189 *δμωαῖσι*] In L, S has written *-ες-* over *αι* (i. e. *δμώεσσι*)," where in fact L has *δμωαῖσσι* with *-εσ-* written above *αῖ*. 1288 *αἰ αἰ* for *αἰ ἄι* (i. e. *αἰαῖ*). On 4 ff.: "*οὐκ ὀπωπ'*] *εἰσόπωπ'* B. Todt. The first hand in L wrote *οὐχὶ* (thinking of v. 3), but the letters *χὶ* were afterwards erased. For *οὐ*, Blaydes conject. *ὀν*." To get at the facts these three sentences must read in inverse order. The inverted order of 482 and 483 is not corrected by means of *β`* and *α`*, but *β'* and *α'*—a matter of interest as bearing upon the method of writing numerals.

A little more serious is "207 *ἐκ γ' ἐμοῦ* L, with *γρ. ἐξ ἐμοῦ* written on the margin by S." In fact L has *ἐκ γ' ἐμοῦ* without variant in 207, and *ἐκ γ' ἐμοῦ* again in 210 with marg. *γρ. ἐξ ἐμοῦ*, where Jebb has adopted the marginal reading. This error was made by Elmsley, and is found also in Blaydes's edition and M. Schmidt's Antigone (1880). Those acquainted with the inconvenience growing out of the absence of verse numbers from the margins of MSS will see that this perpetuation, or revival, of Elmsley's error does not in the least impugn the original nature of these scholars' observation. The double error arises from the simple substitution of 207 for 210.

On 834: "*θεογγεννής* (not *θεογενής*, as Campb. gives it)." In fact it is *θεογεννής*. On 864 we find "*κοιμήματ' αὐτογενῆ | τ'* L: *κοιμήματά τ' αὐτογένητ'* r." Now, L has not *αὐτογενῆ*, but *αὐτογένη*; hence the reading is *αὐτογένητ'*; for when there is elision at the end of a line, L always transfers the final consonant to the beginning of the next line. Comp. 817 *ἔχου|σ'* and 867, which latter Jebb himself reports as being "divided at *ἃ|δ' ἐγώ*." (In L, of course, it is *ἀ|δ' ἐγώ*.) So even at the end of trimeters in all the instances of the *εἶδος Σοφόκλειον*. Comp. O. T. 332 f. *τί ταῦ|τ' ἄλλως ἐλέγχεις*, and O. C. 1164 f. *μολόν|τ' αἰτεῖν*, the latter of which is reported by Jebb, the former not.

One case remains for which Jebb has the support of other scholars. In the introduction, p. liv, he mentions among his emendations "966 *πελάγει* for L's *πελάγεων* (*sic*)." On this passage the critical note is "966 f. *παρα δε* (*sic*) *κυανέων πελάγεων* (note the accent) *πετρῶν|διδύμας ἁλὸς* L." Again, in the commentary: "L's accent, *πελάγεων*, points to the truth—as similar small hints in that MS have been found to do elsewhere," etc. Here is not the place to discuss the plausibility of the conjecture *πελάγει*, but it lacks the support thus claimed and emphasized by Jebb. The uncontracted gen. pl. of neut. nouns in *-ος* is, in not a few instances, reported by critics as proparoxytone, suggesting a disposition to follow the analogy of *πόλεων* and the like. Thus Jebb reports *λέχεων*, Ant. 630. In Aj. 702 *πελάγεων* itself is reported. If these readings are correct, the accent *πελάγεων* would be of scarcely any moment; *but in fact the accent is πελαγέων*. The accent on *ε* is often placed to the left or the right of the vertical position, and in this case the displacement is less than the average. In fact there is hardly any displacement, nor would any one ever have thought of referring the accent to the antepenult but for the accidental circumstance that *αγ* is written as a monogram so that the *α* is brought into the line of prolongation of the accent which happens to lean more than usual, and the *λῆμμα* of the Schol. has the word written with tachygraphic *ων* over *ε*, and the acute over *α*. But this is a matter that cannot be

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made intelligible without illustrations. Any one having access to the facsimile can satisfy himself of the correctness of my statement by examining πελαγέων and then reading a few lines. See, for example, κυανέων just before πελαγέων, ἠρέθιζε just above it, and ἐπέγνω five lines above. I am not sure that λέχεων (here, too, εχ is a monogram) in 630 or even πελάγεων in Aj. 702 were so intended, though the accent is considerably more displaced than in our example. Comp. also Tr. 514 λεχέων, Phil. 827 ἀλγέων, 1151 βελέων. On one page of L (62*a*) the accent is placed much further to the left than in our example on the following words: χοραγὲ 1147 (Ant.), γένεθλον 1149, αἰνέσαιμ' 1157, καταρρέπει 1158, βασιλέων 1172. The following also are instructive: ἐπέπνει 136, σέ and λέγει 724, γεραιὲ 1045, λέγεις 1054, μέρος 1062, not to mention the hundreds of cases in which the accent is displaced more than in πελαγέων. The importance to be attached to the λῆμμα of the Schol. is another matter and does not concern us here.

I am not ignorant that a sneer begins to be heard about "Palaeography from facsimiles," and I have myself expressed the opinion that the proper attitude for Americans toward textual emendation is, in the words of Madvig, *abstinere et aliorum proterviam arcere;* still I have not thought it either presumptuous or inconsistent to call attention to these small defects of a great work. I do not direct any criticisms at the author; his very familiarity with the MSS tends to prevent him from perceiving what impression his report will make on those who have never seen the MSS. I have approached from the other side. After attempting to constitute a text of the Antigone from critical notes, especially those of Jebb, I obtained access to the facsimile of L, when I discovered that I was laboring under serious misapprehensions. The object, then, of this paper is to prevent others, who have not access to the facsimile, from being similarly misled, and to furnish facts which may be useful to the author in the revision or further prosecution of his work.

MILTON W. HUMPHREYS.

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REPORTS.

ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für Englische Philologie. Unter Leitung von R. P. WÜLKER, herausgegeben von EWALD FLÜGEL und GUSTAV SCHIRMER. Band XII. Halle, 1889.

Editor Schirmer opens this volume with a note on James Sheridan Knowles' "William Tell" (pp. 1–12). A comparison of the play with the historical romance "Guillaume Tell" of Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian, convinces Schirmer that he has found the dramatist's chief source in the French romance.

Editor Flügel follows (pp. 13–20) with a contribution to the versions of the Pyramus and Thisbe legend. He reprints a prose version from Pepwell's "Boke of the Cyte of Ladyes" (1521), and a still earlier poetic one from MS 354 of Balliol College, Oxford,—a collection of legends, songs, etc., made chiefly by John Hyde at the close of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century. The reader may in this connection be reminded of a recent dissertation: "Ursprung und Verbreitung der Pyramus- und Thisbe-Sage, von Georg Hart," Passau, 1889. In a "Nachtrag" (p. 631), it is stated that ll. 1–171 and 177–191 of the Balliol MS were taken from Gower's "Confessio Amantis."

J. Kail, in an article "Über die Parallelstellen in der angelsächsischen Poesie" (pp. 21–40), extends Sarrazin's lists of correspondences, and by widening the domain of observation in fearlessness of logical conclusions, arrives at inferences that are temperate and trustworthy by the side of the hasty declarations of the author of "Beowulf-Studien." These additional lists show that not only is the entire poetic product of Anglo-Saxon writers based upon the same thesaurus of expression, but that this is likewise true of the entire poetic product of the West Germanic world. Some cautious speculation is expended on the question of the origin, growth and historic distribution of this poetic vocabulary.

Max Friedrich Mann offers an exhaustive study of the authorities consulted by Scott in the writing of "Quentin Durward" and in the author's subsequent notes to the same. A surprising confirmation of the novelist's wide research in history and antiquarian lore is here made manifest. Mann promises to give at some future time an aesthetic valuation of Scott's method, in this instance, of shaping history into historic romance.

E. Koeppel, in continuation of his study of "Die Englischen Tasso-Uebersetzungen des 16. Jahrhunderts" (vid. vol. X, p. 494 of this Journal), considers the "Godfrey of Bulloigne" of Edward Fairefax (1600). Fairefax owes almost nothing to Richard Carew, but in language and figuration is a close follower of Spenser. He strives after a just reproduction of his original ("La Gerusalemme Liberata"), controlling with some success the difficulties of the ottava rima, but is betrayed by his imperfect knowledge of Italian. His mistransla-

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tions are numerous and sometimes even grotesque; fancy and blind conjecture often serve merely to make conspicuous his feeble grasp of the foreign idiom. Moreover, it is common with him to exaggerate expressions of the original to extreme hyperbole, and in filling out his lines he is given to the coining of epithets—often very fitting ones; at other times he expands figures and allusions, or heightens the coloring of an incident. But Fairefax has not always availed himself of these more or less permissible and artistic devices in the construction of his numbers; in the course of his translation he gradually acquired the jarring mannerism of a mechanical multiplication of synonyms, particularly in triads, in which he outrivals Sir Robert Hazlewood himself. An illustration may be given:

> "Their captaine, clad in purple, and in gould,
> That seemes so fierce, so hardy, stout and strong . . .
> What can he do, (though wise, though sage, though bould),
> In that confusion, trouble, thrust and throng?"

The greatest variation from the original is due to the translator's exuberance in figuration; reflecting the classicity of the renaissance and the overflowing spontaneity of Elizabethan romanticism, and being withal a true Englishman and full of popular lore, he maintains throughout the first half of his work (his ardor wanes after that point) a freedom and amplitude which is characteristic, and for the most part pleasing enough. Prominent among the minor peculiarities of the translator's style here pointed out, is an excessive use of the auxiliary verb *to do*, a fashion not foreign to Spenser himself:

> "They sighing left the lands, his silver sheepe
> Where Hesperus doth lead, doth feed, doth keepe."

Fairefax's translation of Tasso is a masterly reflection of the poetic style of his day and occupies an honored place in the archives of the Muses. Koeppel, in his closing paragraphs, traces the interesting history of this translation through the following centuries. In view of recent discussions it is worthy of note that Waller "owned" to Dryden "that he derived the harmony of his numbers" from Fairefax.

G. Sarrazin, in "Die Entstehung der Hamlet-Tragödie" (pp. 143–157), opens with new zeal the old question of the authorship of the Hamlet which preceded the first folio. Reasons are given in favor of the view that the early play was not written by Shakespeare, and the discussion is then restricted to a comparison of Hamlet with the plays of Thomas Kyd. The writer concludes "dass Shakespeare's Hamlet die bearbeitung eines verlorenen stückes von Kyd ist"; he has apparently not become aware of the hypothesis of W. H. Widgery, published ten years ago (vid. Anglia IV, Anz., p. 27 f.; and Englische Studien IV, 341 f.).

"Ueber die Entstehung des Angelsächsischen Gedichtes 'Daniel,'" by Oscar Hofer (pp. 158–204), offers a careful consideration of an intricate problem. Hofer's conclusions are in a number of respects new and will meet with favor. The "Daniel" is to be divided as follows: Dan. A = ll. 1–279 (Dan. A^1) and ll. 410–765 (Dan. A^2); Dan. B = ll. 280–409 (with the subdivision ll. 280–362, the Prayer of Azarias; ll. 363–409, the "Canticum trium puerorum"). At least two authors, A and B, are therefore to be distinguished; it is possible

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that the two parts of B are the work of two different hands (B^1 and B^2). An additional writer is the author of the "Azarias" of the Exeter Book The poet A found Dan. B—a poem complete in itself—joined it to his own composition (Dan. A^1), and then closed the poem by the addition of Dan. A^2. The "Azarias" embraces within its limits Dan. ll. 280–465; thus exceeding the limits of Dan. B, it must have been composed after Dan. B had been incorporated in Dan. A. The "Azarias" is, however, no less than Dan. B, a complete artistic treatment of the same theme, and it was composed by one who held in his memory Dan. B. It is, moreover, probable that the Azarias poet knew the "Daniel" in a copy not identical with that which was afterwards transcribed into MS Junius XI; it is at least certain that MS Junius XI was not his source. Dan. B is distinguished from Dan. A in being a paraphrase of the apocryphal portion of the third chapter of Daniel (vv. 24–90), but not as found in the Vulgate, but rather as it must have existed in one of the earlier Latin versions of the Septuagint. This passage gives the entire theme—the Prayer and the Canticum—both of B and of the Azarias poet. But the more immediate source of the Canticum was the Breviarium Romanum. As already indicated there is some ground for assuming a different author (B^2) for the Canticum, for its structure is unique: Hofer believes it to be strophic, and accordingly prints the text in that form. The composition of the poems is referred to the Anglian literary period at the middle of the eighth century. These Northern poets were students of the Bible and of the Ritual, and were therefore of ecclesiastical rank. The Canticum reveals the superior artistic qualifications of its author. There appears to be some relation between A and the "Genesis": the older poem had apparently a strong influence on A. Hofer adds a chapter of "Beiträge zur Textkritik des Daniel" to which slight modifications are afterwards (p. 605) made by Lawrence.

Editor Flügel gives two instalments of "Liedersammlungen des XVI Jahrhunderts, besonders aus der Zeit Heinrich's VIII" (pp. 225–272 and 585–597). The text is reproduced of the songs contained in Add. MS 31922 (Brit. Mus.), a collection which is perhaps to be dated in the second decade of the sixteenth century; and of those of Royal MS, Appendix 58 (Brit. Mus.), belonging to the preceding decade. After these follow a reprint of Douce Fragments 94b, Douce Fragments 94, and the text of the songs in the unique copy of the little quarto "Bassus." Henry VIII is prominent among the authors of these songs. The texts are carefully edited, with critical notes and emendations, though Flügel's ultimate purpose in their publication does not yet appear; he however promises a consideration "über sprache, metrik und inhalt der aus der zeit Heinrich's VIII. überlieferten liederhandschriften."

The next article also relates to the time of Henry VIII: "Orthographie und Aussprache der ersten neuenglischen Bibelübersetzung von William Tyndale" (pp. 273–310), by Wilhelm Sopp. Fry's reproduction in facsimile of "The first New Testament printed in the English language (1525 or 1526), translated from the Greek by William Tyndale" (Bristol, 1862), is taken as the basis for this study. The vowels and the consonants are all separately treated in comparison with their values in Middle English.

F. K. Haase writes a dissertation on "Die altenglischen Bearbeitungen von Grosseteste's 'Chasteau D'Amour' verglichen mit der Quelle" (pp. 311–374).

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The writer's purpose is to compare the two Middle English versions—E^1 (edited by Weymouth), and E^2 (edited by Cook for the Camden Society)—with the original for the determination of three points: Wherein do the English poets agree with their original? What omissions, and what additions do they make? This comparison yields results which in an interesting manner characterize the two poets. E^1 reveals the closer adherence to the original text, and a translator possessing true poetic qualities: skill in form, love of nature, truthfulness of observation, attention to details, tenderness of feeling, and a creative imagination. Very different is the author of E^2—the Monk of Sallay. He is less of a poet and more of a puritan. With a moral purpose in mind, he treats his original with the greatest freedom. He is a Langland, striving to serve the reform of manners; versed in Scripture, to which he adheres closely, and a discerner of the human heart. His adaptation of the original to this special key is accomplished with considerable skill, though with serious loss in poetic form and character.

In a communication entitled "Die 'Fata Apostolorum' und der Dichter Kynewulf" (pp. 375–387), Sarrazin first defends his view that the Anglo-Saxon poem "Fata Apostolorum" stands in close stylistic relation to the "Elene," and is therefore to be placed a short time before it in the order of composition. But this stylistic relation is closest between the "Fata Apostolorum" and the "Andreas" (p. 383); and Sarrazin's second argument is that the "Andreas" is not only the work of Cynewulf, but that the "Fata Apostolorum," which, as he maintains, was written immediately next to it, constitutes its real and fitting close. The order of composition was therefore: "Andreas," "Fata Apostolorum" (merely an epilogue to the "Andreas"), "Elene." At the close Sarrazin touches with ridicule inferences against his theory of the Cynewulfian monopoly in authorship. Wülker, who is opposed throughout this article, in a brief reply (p. 464) refuses to agree with Sarrazin's reasoning.

In a notice of Wendt's edition of Dickens' "Christmas Carol," J. Koch (Englische Studien IX, p. 344), comments on the meaning of the expression: "It might be a claw, for the flesh there is on it." C. Stoffel afterwards communicates to Koch a note on this construction of *for* (Englische Studien X, p. 188 f.), which leads H. Hupe, in the present volume of Anglia (pp. 388–395), to offer an essay on the preposition *for;* his judgment of Stoffel's explanation of the above construction being unfavorable. Stoffel, finally, makes an elaborate defense in the following volume of Anglia (XIII, pp. 107–115). Perhaps the end is not yet; at all events it is thought best to reserve all comment for the report of Anglia XIII.

Thomas Miller offers an interesting note on "The position of Grendel's arm in Heorot" (pp. 396–400). The passages of the Béowulf involved in the discussion are ll. 834 f. and 983 f. The evidence adduced is in favor of the view that "Grendel's arm was placed not *within* but *outside* Heorot." Miller proposes to read *under géapne horn* (l. 837) in harmony with the compound *horngéap*, and translates: "He set the arm . . . down under the wide gable." The meaning 'gable or façade' for *horn* is carefully illustrated. It is therefore assumed that the monster's arm and hand were placed as a trophy against

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the outside of one of the gables of the hall which formed that end of Heorot supplied with the entrance-door, and which faced the spectator as he advanced by the flight of steps leading to the entrance. This interpretation demands a consideration of the meaning of *on stapole* (l. 927). It is argued that the phrase means 'on the steps' and that "Hrothgar delivers his speech from the steps leading up to the hall, or [from] the landing at the top of the flight" (cf. ten Brink, "Béowulf. Untersuchungen," p. 63). The position and appearance of the trophy thus placed in view is described by Miller in the following words: "The shoulder is laid down by the door, the arm crosses the gablewall perpendicularly, and the hand with the fingers rises above the gable point. The hand is dead; the fingers fall forward and show the nails in front." In accordance herewith Miller reads *foran āghwylcne* (l. 985), regarding *āghwylcne* as in apposition to *fingras*: "They saw the fingers each to the front." Miller should not have overlooked Sievers' emendation of this passage (Beiträge IX 139); it gives a more plausible reading and does not contradict the desired interpretation. In like manner Miller might have maintained his argument without appealing to the improbable conjecture of *géapne horn* (l. 837); that *hrôf* is here the true reading is strongly attested by *stéapne hrôf* (l. 927) and *ofer héahne hrôf* (l. 984), if not also by *under hrôfe* (l. 1303), which Miller would change to *under héofe*, 'amid the wailing.' In the treatment of Oswald's remains, as recorded by Bede (Eccl. Hist. III, ch. 12), Miller finds a striking parallel to the setting up as trophy and the subsequent removal (by Grendel's mother) of the arm and hand of Grendel.

In a previous report in this Journal (Vol. IX, p. 502) I had occasion to notice the translation, by Karl Lentzner, of an article published in the Athenaeum by John W. Hales. The propriety of reproducing articles is a matter of editorial choice, but it is the business both of editors and of translators to guard against misrepresentation in the manner of such reproduction. In the case referred to the reader was not made aware of Hales' rightful proprietorship. This instance is here recalled under the necessity of commenting on Lentzner's repetition of the same process in the preparation of his article entitled "Die Cotswold-Spiele und ihre dichterische Verherrlichung" (pp. 401–436). In a foot-note we are informed by Lentzner that Gosse's "Seventeenth Century Studies," and Grosart's edition of the "Annalia Dubrensia" ("Occasional Issues of Unique and Very Rare Books," Vol. V) "meinem aufsatze zu grunde gelegt sind,"—an acknowledgment that is altogether misleading, for, exclusive of the notes, Lentzner is not the author of even a line of the article published over his signature. The form of an original article is here given to a translation into German of Gosse's chapter on "Captain Dover's Cotswold Games"; to this Lentzner has supplied bibliographical foot-notes. Lentzner's readers will therefore be surprised when they are told that "ich," throughout this article corresponds to "I" of an original, and that it refers to Mr. Gosse. More surprising, if possible, will be found that mystical shifting of relations which enables Lentzner, in the midst of a sentence (p. 417, line 3), to refer to Mr. Gosse as "ein moderner Kritiker." As an appendix to this article Lentzner joins "Proben aus Dover's Annalen"; for this he is indebted to Grosart's print, carefully compared (as is stated at page 413, note 3) with the other printed editions. The foot-notes are all taken *verbatim* from Grosart, though the source

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of only a few of them is indicated. Further comment is certainly not required to caution Lentzner against further continuation in such flagrant violation of the rights of authorship.

Karl Luick adds another instalment to his studies in Middle English metre: "Zur Metrik der mittelenglischen reimendalliterierenden Dichtung" (pp. 437–453). The first division of the article treats the scansion of the short lines which, in groups, so commonly constitute the close ("Abgesang") of Middle English strophes. The view maintained is that these short lines are, as Schipper has set forth, native epic half-lines; but Schipper has given no explanation of the obvious rhythmic individuality of the last line in these groups: Luick's argument is therefore intended to show that there is here a persistence of the structural difference between the first and second half-lines of the old epic verse. The four lines (preceded by a "bob") which close the strophe used in the "Susanna" (Schipper, I 219 f.), for example, are epic half-lines, but with this new distinction urged by Luick, that while the first three represent the tradition of epic first half-lines, the fourth, in its curtailment of rhythmic liberties, is the survival of the epic second half-line. This scansion applies to such poems as "The Romance of Sir Degrevant," where the short lines alone make up the strophe. In the fifteenth century these lines have succumbed to the regularity of movement in accentual verse, and therefore assume four and three accents respectively. In the second division, "Der einfluss des endreims auf die rhythmik des verses," the revival of Type C is shown to have been especially helpful in combining alliteration and rime. The last division, "Zu 'The Awntyrs of Arthure,'" contains strictures on Lübke's treatment of the endings *-e*, *-es*, *-ed* in metre.

Editor Flügel (pp. 454–459) publishes and annotates a letter dated Concord, 30 April, 1843, which Emerson addressed to Charles Stearns Wheeler, the Cambridge tutor who assisted Emerson in editing the works of Carlyle. Wheeler received this letter while visiting in Europe, seeking restoration from the disease to which he was destined to yield up his life at Leipzig on the 13th of June, 1843. At Leipzig he had become intimate with Dr. Johann Gottfried Flügel (the grandfather of editor Flügel), then the American consul, and gave to him, in token of this relation, the above manuscript letter. The letter is particularly interesting because of the persons named in it: William Ellery Channing, Elizabeth Hoar, Hawthorne, Thoreau, Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Horace Mann and others, are the subjects of bits of personal news; the "Dial" and "Brook Farm" are also prominent topics of interest. Flügel is thus induced to add a few notes, chiefly biographical. The following suggestions may be added: A careful characterization of Wheeler is contained in a letter from Thoreau to his sister Helen (Ticknor & Fields, "Letters," July 21, 1843). In Higginson's Life of Margaret Fuller ("American Men of Letters" series), p. 138, some remarkable things are said of Robert Bartlett. "Mr. Bradford" may have been Samuel Bradford, whom Cabot, in his Life of Emerson, mentions as having attended Emerson's graduation in 1821. "Wright" is Charles Wright, who in 1842 came from England with Alcott and Lane (vid. Appleton's Encyclopedia). A memoir of G. P. Bradford appeared in the N. Y. "Tribune" for the 1st of March, 1890. He was a class-mate of G. Ripley (Harvard, 1825), and in his earlier days a "delighted resident" at Brook Farm.

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Sattler continues his "Englische Kollektaneen" by citations of the use of *journey, voyage, travel(s)* (pp. 460–463).

H. Logeman, in continuation of his "Anglo-Saxonica Minora," publishes (pp. 497–518) "a series of [Anglo-Saxon] prayers and confessions" from two MSS of the Brit. Mus., Royal 2 B. V. and Tiberius A. 3. For "Berichtigungen" vid. Anglia XIII, p. 244.

F. Holthausen contributes two notes in which the influence of Petronius on Ben Jonson and on Middleton is made manifest. In "Die Quelle von Ben Jonson's Volpone" (pp. 519–525) the view is defended "dass der englische dichter die idee und mehrere episoden seines dramas dem satirischen schelmenroman des alten Römers verdankt." And in the second note, on Middleton's "No Wit, no Help like a Woman's" (pp. 526–527), attention is called to a significant correspondence between Weatherwise's arrangement of his guests at table according to the twelve signs of the zodiac, and a passage in "The Supper of Trimalchio."

H. Logeman contributes "Stray Gleanings" in Anglo-Saxon (pp. 528–531). He first considers the gloss "Caluarium, caluuerclim" found in Sweet's Oldest English Texts, p. 49; Wright-Wülker 12, 14 [and now in Hessels 30, 257]. It is proposed to read caluuer*clinc*, *-clinc* being viewed as a doublet of *hlinc*, 'a hill, rising ground.' He next considers *stoicorum* glossed by *stærleornera* (Haupt's Zeitschrift XI 503b), and connecting *stoicorum* with στοιχεῖον, he confidently concludes to regard *stærleornera* as a blunder for *stæfleornera*. Holthausen (p. 606) objects to this interpretation of *stoicorum*, and maintains that it is a scribal error for *storicorum* = *historicorum*, and that therefore *stærleornera* is to be retained. Several slight emendations of an Anglo-Saxon text published by Kluge in Englische Studien VIII 474 are next offered, and finally Logeman defends *gærd* as a gloss of *herbam* (Wright-Wülker, p. 100, l. 44); *gærd* = *græd* = Mercian *gred*.

"Die präsentischen Tempora bei Chaucer" (pp. 532–577), by A. Graef, is a detailed and somewhat psychologic study, which is valuable for English grammar in general. One of Graef's results is that in Chaucer's usage the present tense is no longer a true future (p. 574); any special reference to the future is not therefore found in *ben* (A.-S. *bēom*).

W. Heuser, in reply to Fischer's criticism (Anglia XI, p. 175 f.), admits that there is insufficient ground for dividing the St. Edith between two authors, but he adds a number of restrictions to Fischer's paragraphs on phonology.

John Lawrence (pp. 598–605) offers "a few remarks on Prof. Stoddard's article on the Codex [Junius XI] . . .; a few additions to the collation of Exodus and Daniel by Prof. Sievers in Haupt XV 459; . . . a list of instances in which Grein's edition of these poems varies from the MS without attention being called to the fact in the foot-notes; . . . a list of similar variations in the latest independent edition of the Exodus, viz. that by Prof. F. Kluge (Angelsächs. Lesebuch, pp. 85–96); and . . . a few comments on the textual suggestions by O. Hofer."

Prof. Wülker publishes two fragments of the metrical romance "Partanope

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of Blois" (pp. 607–620). His remarks with reference both to these fragments themselves and to the Middle English version in general, and his expression of the hope to stimulate some one to the preparation of a new edition of the work, would all have been modified by an examination of Felix Weingärtner's dissertation: "Die mittelenglischen Fassungen der Partonopeussage und ihre Verhältnis zum altfranzösischen Originale," Breslau, 1888. The reader may be referred to Englische Studien XIV, p. 435 f. for Kölbing's note on Wülker's article.

Book Notices and Reviews will be found at pp. 205–224, 465–496, and 621–631; with the opening of the next volume this department has been transferred to a separate publication: "Mitteilungen aus dem gesammten Gebiete der englischen Sprache und Litteratur. Monatsschrift für den englischen Unterricht. Beiblatt zur 'Anglia.'" The first number of the "Beiblatt" appeared in April, 1890.

JAMES W. BRIGHT.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von OTTO BEHAGHEL. Wien, 1889–90.

E. S. Walter begins the thirty-fourth volume with an article, "Über den Ursprung des höfischen Minnesangs und sein Verhältniss zur Volksdichtung," in which he controverts the opinion of K. Burdach (Zeitschrift f. deut. Alterthum, XXVII), of R. M. Meyer (Zs. XXIX) and A. Berger (Ztsch. f. d. Phil. XIX), that prior to the rise of the courtly amatory lyric poetry, in the middle of the twelfth century, there existed in Germany a well developed popular love-poetry, out of which the former grew and to which it became indebted for most of its essential qualities. Cf. Brachmann, "Zu den Minnesängern" (A. J. P., Vol. VIII 3, p. 373). R. M. Meyer goes so far as to look upon the courtly love-poetry as a mere "Abklatsch" of an earlier popular love-lyric, clothed in a language conformable to the spirit of the twelfth century, and to prove this he compares a large number of verses of Wolfram, Neithart and Walther v. d. Vogelweide with others ascribed to earlier popular love-songs. While W. does not deny the existence of a popular love-poetry in Germany anterior to the great outburst of courtly minstrelsy in the twelfth century, he objects to a view that would make the lyric of the minstrel but the polished product of an earlier and ruder age. After a close analysis of Meyer's comparisons, W. concludes that the parallelisms in sentiment and vocabulary found between certain verses of the supposed earlier popular love-songs and the courtly lyric, are but expressions, crystallized at an early period, of an emotion not confined to any particular time, handed on from one generation to another, passing from hand to hand, yet leaving their surface untarnished. There is not a solitary "Liebeslied" with any resemblance to a product of minstrelsy, that at the same time bears the stamp of a popular origin. The courtly minstrelsy is not the acme of a popular love-poetry reached through a polishing and refining process at the hands of the knightly minstrel, not simply wreaths of flowers gathered from the garden of an earlier popular lyric, but a product of a new movement, of a more comely way of conceiving life among the knightly order, of new experiences and new forms of art.

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J. Hornoff brings to a close his paper on the minstrel Albrecht v. Johansdorf (cf. Am. J. of Phil., Vol. X 3, p. 363). Judging from Albrecht's "Gedankenwelt," furnished by his poems, he stands upon a higher plane of morality in thought and feeling than most of his contemporaries. In comparison with Reinmar he is a realist. Romance influence is readily traceable in his lines, which, however, may not have come direct, but through the productions of his contemporaries, who were swayed by it. Hornoff attempts a chronological account of the minstrel's poems.

A. Heusler contributes an article, "Zur Lautform des Alemanischen," in which he treats of the development and sound of the different kinds of *e* as the umlaut of *a* in the Alemanic dialects, and H. v. Wlislocky follows with a discussion on the saga "Die drei Mareien." In the interesting work "Alemanisches Kinderlied u. Kinderspiel aus d. Schweiz," E. L. Rochholz has traced the course of development of the story "Die drei Mareien." The saga of these spinning maidens, clearly identical with the weird sisters Urd, Verdande and Skuld, recurs again and again, not merely in Teutonic fairy-tales and legends, but is repeated in the songs of Hungary and Transylvania. Wlislocky translates some of these and furnishes additional matter concerning the saga and its counterparts in other countries.

Max E. Blau continues his article on the "Alexiuslegende" from the last vol. of the "Germania" (cf. Amer. J. of Phil., Vol. X 3, p. 361). The present paper examines the Alexius MSS A, V and R, in possession of the Vienna Imp. Library, the Church Library of Annaberg (Erzgebirge), and the Univ. Library of Königsberg respectively. We sum up B.'s results in the following: 1. V and A offer complete texts; R, owing to the carelessness of the writer, is much shortened, although exhibiting a remarkably clear and fine penmanship that may point to the end of the fourteenth century. 2. All three MSS show a pronounced Middle-German character. 3. V and R form one group, A is the representative of a second, and all are versions of a lost older corrupted text. 4. By a comparison of these groups we may obtain a text that can be used for critical purposes. B. prints the text R (Königsberg) with emendations, and the readings of A and V at the foot.

"Zur Tristansage," by E. Kölbing, opens with a sharp reply to the attack which O. Glöde (cf. Am. J. of Phil., Vol. X 3, p. 358) made upon Kölbing's views (cf. Zur Überlieferung d. Tristansage, Heilbron) as to the relation of the M. H. G. Tristan to the older French version. K. assures us that he would gladly have owned himself wrong if Glöde's article, which, by the way, he calls "ein literarisches Curiosum," had succeeded in convincing him of his errors. After a few more tilts with Glöde, and a brief summary of his former arguments, which certainly place Gottfried v. Strassburg in a less ideal light, he dismisses the subject "um den Leser dieses Blattes nicht mit Wiederholungen von Bekantem zu langweilen," and calls attention to some striking points of correspondence, heretofore scarcely noticed, between the combat of Tristan and Morolt in Gottfried's poem, and that of Guy and Colbronde in Bishop Percy's folio MS edit. by Hales and Furnivall, vol. II, p. 509. K. prints the strophes in question, and adds some suggestions with regard to this episode in the French Guy romances.

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K. Bohnenberger's paper, "Schwäbisch ę als Vertreter von *a*," should be read in connection with the articles of Franck (Zeitschr. f. d. A. 25, p. 218), Luick (Beiträge 11, p. 492), Kauffmann (Der Vocalism. d. Schwäb. in d. Mundart v. Horb, Marb. Habil. Schr. 1887), Heusler (Zur Lautform d. Alem., vol. 34, p. 112, Germania), and Bohnenberger's first paper on the subject (Corresp. Bl. f. d. Gel. u. Realsch. Würtembergs, 1887, p. 502). The present article further exemplifies this phonetic change in the plural of strong nouns, in adjectives in *ig*, *lich*, *er*, *ern*, in diminutives and nomina agentis in *er*, in weak verbs, names of places, etc. Several collateral subjects and the probable reason of the weakening of the vowel in the different words are ably discussed.

Franz Kratochwil, "Über den gegenwärtigen Stand der Suchenwirt- Handschriften." This article will certainly be welcomed by those who are interested in the study of the "Wappendichter" Peter Suchenwirt. To collect and study the works of this poet seems to have been for many years the delight of F. Kratochwil, and the information which he thus accumulated he now publishes. With the aid of several friends, whom he names and to whom he expresses his indebtedness, he is now enabled to describe in detail the various known MSS which contain in part or nearly the whole of Suchenwirt's writings. In addition to a history and description of the MSS, the article contains valuable suggestions as to the grouping of the poems for a critical edition, and two important supplements (hitherto unknown) to the text. The poems of Suchenwirt are preserved, as far as it is known, in twenty-one MSS, of which the paper MS, known as A, now in the Imperial Library at Vienna, and formerly part of the library of Count Prosper Sinzendorf, is the most important. It contains forty-five of the fifty-two poems ascribed to the poet, and probably dates from the beginning of the fifteenth century. The dialect is Austrian-Bavarian. Before this valuable MS came into possession of the Imp. Library it had a curious history. Placed (1827) by the heir of Sinzendorf, Count Thurn, with the rest of his library in a room specially rented in Vienna for that purpose, it was stolen by the secretary of a friend of the Count, to whom the key had been entrusted during the temporary absence of Count Thurn on military duty. The theft was not discovered at the time. The thief, dismissed on account of other irregularities, moved to a suburb of the city, where, afraid to offer his booty for sale so soon, he concealed it, enclosed in a thin pasteboard box, in various places, at last in the cellar of his dwelling. In 1834, during a violent storm, a fearful conflagration almost destroyed the suburb, even cellars were burned out, and during all that awful night the precious MS was lying under its thin cover in a damp cellar of the burning district—and was saved. Twelve years later (nearly twenty after the theft) the thief at last took courage to offer it for sale through a broker, in the person of his son, to the Vienna antiquary, Johann Schratt, who, for a commission, undertook to dispose of it for one hundred ducats. In the "Wiener-Zeitung" of the 12th of March, 1846, the MS was offered for sale, and almost immediately purchased by the Imp. Library. Not till then, through this advertisement in the Vienna paper, did the owner, Field-Marshal Count Thurn, then living in Pest, discover his loss. Before he could take any steps to stop the sale it was completed. The only satisfaction that he obtained was the punishment of the thief and the loss of commission by the antiquary. The Imp. Library

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held the reciprocal bond passed between Schratt and the broker, and likewise a copy of the advertisement in the newspaper. These facts seem to have protected the library and confirmed the sale. When, in the course of time, the chief actors in this transaction had passed away, the matter was apparently forgotten, and with it the whereabouts of the MS. It seemed to be lost a second time. Quite unexpectedly, however, this matter was cleared up before a meeting of the Philos. Hist. Class of the Ac. of Sciences, in June, 1877. When the late Dr. K. Tomaschek alluded to the great value which hereafter must be attached to the Suchenwirt MS B (Cistercian Convent, Schlierbach), since the Sinzendorf-Thurn MS had disappeared, Dr. E. Ritter v. Birk, Director of the Imp. Library, stated that the MS A had been ever since 1846 on the shelves of the Vienna Library.

O. Brenner, and the editor, O. Behaghel, discuss the different *iu* in M. H. G., i. e. the old diphthong and the umlaut of *ü*, which by no means passed into one sound, as hitherto accepted; and G. Ehrismann continues his description of a "Handschrift des Pfaffen Amis" from the last vol. of the Germania (Am. Journ. of Phil., Vol. X 3, p. 359).

"Bemerkungen zum deutschen Wörterbuche," vol. VII (Pflasterung to Platz). The writer, Dr. A. Gombert, furnishes a number of valuable additions to the tenth number (Vol. VII), letter P, edit. Lexer, of Grimm's dictionary. G. bestows the highest praise on the lexicographic labors of Lexer, but thinks that the references to the popular meaning of certain words in North-Germany might be increased. He also suggests that the work of Daniel Sanders and his co-laborers upon the field of lexicography be not so completely ignored in the DWb. as has been done heretofore. "Es erscheint sogar als Pflicht, das in seinen Wörterbüchern enthaltene Brauchbare auch für das Grimm'sche Wörterbuch zu verwerthen." The following words (with derivatives and compounds) find additional illustration in the article: Pflaume, Pfleg(e), Pflicht, pflücken, Pflug, Pforte, Pfosten, Pfote, Pfriem, Propf, Pfrund, Pfuhl, Pfuidichan, pfünder, Pfuscher, Phänomenologie, Pfütze, Phantasie, Pharisäer, Philanthrop, Philister, Philosoph, Phiole, Phlegma, Phosphor, Phrase, Physik, Physiognomik, Piano, Pichel, Pickel, Picker, Piepbock, Piephan, Pieraas, Pietät, Piez*, Pik*, pikant, Piket, Pilger, Pille, Pilot, Pilz, pimpeln, pink, pink!, Pinkel, Pinscher, Pinsel, Pionier, Pipi*, Pips, Pirat, Pirr, Pistazie, Pistolet, Pitsch, Pitschel, pitzeln, Plackerei, Plageteufel, Plaid*, Plagge, Plakat, Plan, Planet, planieren, plänkeln, Planket*, Plapperdipapp, pläntern, Pläsir, platonisch, plätschern, Platte, Plätte, Platz. The words: Piez (papilla)—found, however, under Bietz DWb., Pik (peak), Pipi (bird-call, Goethe, Gedichte I 169, Hempel), Plaid (Geibel, Gedichte), Planket (Sanders Wb.) are omitted entirely by Lexer.

"Norddeutsche und Süddeutsche Heldensage und die älteste Gestalt der Nibelungensage." In this paper Dr. Golther continues (cf. Am. J. of Phil., Vol. X 3, p. 364) the still unexhausted subject of the relation of the North-German heroic legends to those of South-Germany on the one hand, and to the Norwegian þiðrekssaga and Danish Folkeviser on the other; finally, the relation of the Norse and German legends generally to the probably common source, the Old Frankish sagas. After disentangling the North-German legends

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from the Norwegian stories, into which a number of Scandinavian features have found their way, the former show a close affinity to the South-German. The Nibelungensaga wandered in "Spielmannslieder" from South-Germany to the North (Westphalia and Hannover) and was embodied in the Low-German legends about 1100. The ground had been well prepared for its reception by other popular heroic ballads then in vogue in the lowlands. The Old Frankish saga which entered South-Germany in the eighth and ninth centuries, received in the tenth and eleventh many additions and alterations. The stirring events that took place on the eastern frontier, the harrying of the "Ostmark" by the Hungarians, the wars of the Ottos, of Henry II against the Slavonic races and Danes, left their impressions on the saga. The Siegfried of the Frankish legend was modified, earlier and ruder notions were done away with, in other words, the M. H. G. poems received new elements and were in certain portions so changed by the compilers as to suit the feelings and conditions of their time. From these later features these works must be cleared to become at all representatives of the saga that entered North-Germany in the eleventh century. The Old Frankish stories, that after many a curious fate in their migrations south and north, were destined to meet again in the thirteenth century in the Þiðrekssaga, may be obtained best and safest from a comparison of the *Norse versions* with those of *South-Germany* after carefully removing in both all additions in myth and saga which they received on their long journey. Golther's article is of considerable length and interest.

Franz Joster, "Zur Freckenhorster Heberolle," treats of a deed purporting to be executed by Bishop Erpho of Münster, and dated 1090, by which the date of the Old Saxon "Heberolle" (Heyne, Kl. altnied. deut. Denkm. p. 65) might have been conclusively settled. The authenticity of the deed had been doubted before by J. Grimm, and Joster now gives reasons to prove that it must be a forgery of the first half of the twelfth century, but that it might, after all, be useful in giving us a hint as to the correct interpretation of the passage beginning "In anniversario" and closing "therð iungeronð twê malt" (Heyne, p. 79, 514–16). The lines contain the words *neppenon*, *inganga*, *iungerond*, which J. translates respectively by "Weinpocale, Besuch (i. e. Bewirtung), Jungfern." The passage now reads: Am Gedächtnisztage der heil. Thiadhild für die *Weinpocale* (der Herrn) und für Almosen und für den *Besuch* der Jungfern zwei Malter (cf. Heyne, Glossary).

L. Fränkel prints a valuable bibliography, in chronological order, of the Uhland literature, including such desirable information as references to the reviews written of the different works of Uhland at the time of their publication, number of pages, etc. This is the first real approach to an exhaustive and methodical attempt to collect all the widely scattered writings of this most popular poet, superb scholar and patriot. The thanks of all students in modern philology and German literature are due to Mr. Fränkel for the patient and arduous labor he has bestowed upon this excellent catalogue.

O. Brenner prints one of the oldest German private letters in existence, accompanied by some orthographical notes. It dates probably from between 1303–6, and lies among the records of the Munich "Angerkloster" in the Munich Royal Archives.

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O. Behaghel has a short note relating to his paper in the present number, on the M. H. G. *iu* and *ü*, and F. Losch furnishes a contribution "Zur Runenlehre," in which he discusses the existence and use of certain runes or "mystische Zeichen" among the Germanic races prior to the introduction of the Latin alphabet and the subsequent development of the Runic alphabet in the beginning of the third century.

Th. v. Grienberger, "Die Vorfahren des Jordanes," finds the solution of the question as to the true name of the father of Jordanes neither with Mommsen (Mon. Germ. Hist. Vorrede, VI, and index, p. 146) nor Mühlenhoff. The former has *Alanoviiamuth(is)*, and Mühlenhoff separates *Alanovii—Amuthis* (two genitives), the first referring to the name *Candac(is)*, which stands in the text before the name Alanoviiamuth(is). Grienberger writes *alano—viiamuthis;* Uiiamuth, Goth. Veihamôths, was the father's name. *Alano* should read *Alan. d.*, i. e. Alanorum ducis, belonging to Candac(is) (in apposition). In a second short paper G. shows that "Êriliva" was the authentic name of the mother of Theoderic the Ostrogoth.

W. Golther follows with an interesting paper on the "Sprachbewegung in Norwegen," in which he criticizes the attempt of Ivan Aasen, Hoyem and other Norwegians to supplant the Danish idiom in Norway by a new language, based upon the living Norway dialects. J. Storm in his valuable little work "Det nynorske Landsmaal," Kopenhagen, 1888, fairly characterizes this new speech when he says that it is an idiom "qui a le malheur de ne pas exister."

R. Springer supplies additional grammatical notes and emendations "Zu Gerhard v. Minden" (cf. Jahrb. d. Vereins f. nied. deut. Sprachf. IV), and K. Reissenberger prints some fragments and their description from the "Weltchronik Rudolfs von Ems." These fragments are found in the Land-Archives of Graz, and date probably from the thirteenth century.

Three minor contributions, "Zu Wolfram," by the editor, Otto Behaghel; a new translation of the word *jappesstift* = schlangenstachel, by G. Ehrismann (in Lexer, MHG. Wb. = fussangel), and favorable criticisms of Sweet's History of English Sounds, and Elias Steinmeyer's Epitheta d. mhd. Poesie, close the thirty-fourth volume.

C. F. RADDATZ.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOLOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. 1889.

Fascicle 7.

57. Das characterbild der Elektra bei Aischylos. J. K. Fleischmann, Hof. The attitude of Elektra's soul, hate and horror of Klytaimnestra and Aigisthos, is brought out by events which precede the action of the Choephoroe; her will is necessarily turned in the direction of a struggle for righteous retribution, and the misdeeds of the mother increase this hatred, causing the daughter to be an ever active witness of the mother's guilt. But the oblation at the father's grave first gives her opportunity to take part in the course of events, and to assume a distinct attitude towards the impending struggle. The poet has placed the development of her character, under the stress of an unalterable

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fate, in close relation to the motive of the drama, and has here displayed great powers in psychological analysis. The proof of this latter assertion constitutes the burden of the present article.

58. Die vorstellungen von gottheit und schicksal bei den Attischen rednern. H. Meuss, Liegnitz. This is a "beitrag zur griechischen volksreligion," as is also No. 88, by the same author, in the 12th fascicle; it is a very valuable and exhaustive discussion of the subject, covering thirty pages. The questions treated are: (*a*) the conception of the deity, (*b*) the power of the deity, (*c*) the penal justice of the gods, (*d*) the conception of sin, (*e*) the significance of human courts of justice, (*f*) the nature of divine punishment, (*g*) the deity as the sender of evil, (*h*) as the saviour of the innocent, (*i*) piety the source of blessedness, (*j*) the import of the oracle, (*k*) the different deities mentioned by the orators, (*l*) the δαίμων and the δαιμόνιον, (*m*) μοῖρα, (*n*) τύχη.

59. Zu Platons Gorgias. H. von Kleist, Leer (Ostfriesland).

60. Zu Quintilianus. M. Kiderlin, Morsbach. Critical notes on books V and VI.

61. A review, by H. Peter, of Lucian Müller's edition of Noni Marcelli compendiosa doctrina. Pars I et II; Lipsiae. Müller is severely criticized for the many liberties he has taken with the text, and especially because he has in many instances corrected the mistakes of Nonius. A correct edition will give the text as the author wrote it, although he may have made misquotations and given incorrect explanations and references.

62. Zu Vergilius, Aen. IX 329 ff., by E. Brandes, Schwetz an der Weichsel. Read l. 330 "armigerum regis premit aurigamque sub ipsis"; cf. l. 327.

Fascicles 8 and 9.

63. Fasti Delphici. I. Die priesterschaften. H. Pomtow, Berlin. Studies in Greek chronology, taking up the discussion of the erection of the Delphic tables of chronology especially. These are the tablets of the priests, the lists of archons, etc. Some space is also devoted to a discussion of the most prominent ancient genealogies.

64. Zur überlieferung der griechischen grammatik in byzantischer zeit. L. Voltz, Gieszen. A discussion of the value of the treatise of Drakon-Diassorinos for this purpose.

65. Zu Julius Capitolinus. H. Stending, Wurzen. An emendation of O. Hirschfeld's emendation in vita Albini 13, 10. He proposes to read nobis after senatus. See O. Hirschfeld in Hermes XXIV, p. 106.

66. Zu den Priapea. H. Stending, Wurzen. In 63, 17 f. before inventis read novis.

67. Zum lateinischen irrealis praeteriti. P. Stamm, Rössel in Ostpreuszen. On -urum esse, and -urum fuisse when the conclusion of a condition contrary to fact is placed in the indirect discourse.

68. Studien zur geschichte Diocletians und Constantins (continuation of the article in the Jbchr., 1888, 713-726). O. Seeck, Greifswald. Idacius und

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die Chronik von Constantinopel. This is an attempt to prove that there had been carried to Byzantium a 'stadtrömische chronik,' which was continued there for 100 years from about 368 A. D., and that Idacius made use of it. The information in the chronicon Paschale is trustworthy only so far as it rests upon this chronik.

69. Ueber den rückzug des Caecina in jahre 15 A. D. F. Knoke, Zerbst. The *pontes longi* of Tac. Ann. 1 63 must have been situated west of the Ems.

70. Timaios und Ciceros Tusculanen. H. Kothe, Breslau. K. takes the position that Timaios is not the source from which Cicero drew Tusc. V, §§57–63 and 97–105. The chronology of Timaios is, however, the source which the Marmor Parium follows, since both end with the same date (264); especially for the beginning of the tyrannis of Dionysios the Elder (408).

71. A critical note on Eiresione, by A. Ludwich, Königsberg.

72. A review, by O. Crusius, of Robinson Ellis's edition of the Fables of Avianus. The first part of the article is a defence of Ellis against criticisms made in the Berliner Wochenschrift, 1888, No. 47. The second part contains a brief review. One great merit of the work is that the commentary illustrates by the use of contemporaneous literature, thus avoiding the mistake of Cannegieter, who took his material from writers of the Augustan age. The fables of Babrios, the principal source of this collection, have been diligently examined. The index verborum is reliable and is almost complete. *Et* and *que* are omitted, *atque* is given. In the prolegomena Avianus is shown to be the true spelling; perhaps Ellis is too much inclined to assume that the prosody of Avianus was prosody. The diction and style of Avianus are concisely and aptly characterized. More prominence, however, should have been given to the contrast between the predominating Vergilian style and the trivial nature of the contents. With reference to MSS, Ellis makes use of Fröhmen's collations, also those of Baehrens. He also collates MSS of Oxford and the British Museum, never of the Bodleian. Although Ellis has been more conservative in his treatment of the text than his immediate predecessors, yet in places he has conjectured too freely. The third part of the article is devoted chiefly to passages which Crusius interprets differently from Ellis.

73. A critical note zur griechischen anthologie, by M. Rubensohn, Potsdam. On Palat. X 121; a correction of Engel's de quibusdam anthologiae graecae epigrammatis comm., Elberfeld, 1875.

Fascicle 10.

74. Wie verstanden die alten das Homerische *ἠεροφοῖτις*. A. Ludwich, Königsberg. The epithet *ἠεροφοῖτις* occurs but twice in Homer, and the e as a descriptive of the Furies: I 571; T 87. The word is commonly derived from *ἀήρ* air or darkness, and *φοιτάω*; at the same time some propose to derive it from *ἔρα* earth, or *ἔαρ*, *εἴαρ* (*ἴαρ*) blood. For this latter word there is, however, no pre-Alexandrian evidence; the explanation of *ἠεροφοῖτις* as equivalent to *εἰαροπῶτις*, blood-drinking, rests solely upon Schol. Townl. T 87.

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75. Die neueste berichterung der Hesiodischen textesüberlieferung. R. Peppmüller, Stralsund. This is a critical estimate of the value of the newly found Paris fragments of Hesiod, and attaches itself to the report upon these fragments made by Karl Sittl in the Sitzungsbericht der k. bayr. Akademie, 1889, III, pp. 351–362. These contain of the Theogony vv. 72–145, 450–504, and of the Shield 75–298, with a second page containing again vv. 87–138. The object of this paper is to discuss at length those readings of this Paris codex which are peculiar to it, so far as they are new and have any critical value.

76. Beiträge zu Polybios. Th. Büttner-Wobst, Dresden. This is a continuation of his article on the same subject in the Jahrbücher, 1884, pp. 111–122 (see Am. J. Phil. VII 397, 17). This contribution but slightly modifies the results reached by Hultsch (Phil. XIV 288 ff.), whose work in turn rests upon Benseler somewhat. Seven principles are discovered to underlie the diction of Polybius: (1) the concurrence of *καί* and proper nouns beginning with a vowel is a limited usage, (2) *καί* occurs before *εἴκοσι* and *εἰκοστός*, once before *ἕξ*, and once before *ἑξῆς*, (3) *καί* does not occur before diphthongs, except in the case of *αὐτός* and compounds beginning *αὐτο-*, (4) hiatus occurs between *καί* and *ὑπό*, *ἐν*, *ἐκ*, *ἐπί*, *ἀπό* and their compounds, also between *καί* and *ὡς*, *ἕως*, *ὡσαύτως*, *ἔτι*, *ἕτερος*, and a privative, and in the phrase *ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι*, (5) crasis occurs between *καί* and *ἐάν* (*ἄν*), *ἐκεῖνος*, *ἐκεῖ*, *ἐκεῖθεν*, *ἐκεῖσε*, *ἔπειτα*, the sing. of the 1 pers. pron., *ἐντεῦθεν*, *ἐνταῦθα*, *ἄν* and *ἀγαθός*, (6) every other concurrence of *καί* with a vowel is avoided, (7) Polybius intentionally deviates from the preceding rules when he follows the words of other writers, uses fixed phrases, or quotes documents.

(23). Zu Manilius. Th. Breiter, Hannover; K. Rossberg, Hildesheim. The article by Breiter is a continuation of his studies on Manilius; in the 12th fascicle he brings these studies to a close. The article by Rossberg gives the most important variations of codex G(emblacensis), as collated by P. Thomas in his lucubrationes Manilianae.

(62). Zu Vergilius, Aen. VII 37 sqq., by H. Ball, Berlin. Advena refers to Aeneas; exercitus is the partic. adj., translated der geprüfte (geplagte) fremdling (ankömmling).

(48). Zu Sallustius Cat. 60, 2, by H. Stending. For *cum infestis signis* read *cuncti*, etc.

Fascicle II.

77. Aristoteles Ethicorum Nicomacheorum libri tertii capita XIII, XIV, XV enarrata. R. Noetel, Posen. These three chapters are on the subject *σωφροσύνη*, Aristotle's treatment of which falls under three heads, according to Noetel: (*a*) p. 1117b, 23 sq., in which the virtue under discussion is defined; (*b*) as far as p. 1118b, 8, in which the application (*περὶ ποῖα*) of the virtue is treated; (*c*) in two subdivisions: 1118b, 8–1119a, 20, de medietate temperantiae; 1119a, 21–33 (qui spontanei), 1119a, 33–b 18 (et qui iustae ratiocinationis in temperantia sit locus).

78. Zu Polybios [II 37, 10]. F. Hultsch, Dresden-Striesen. The reading *τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος* is proposed for the present reading *τοῦτο τὸ μέρος*.

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79. Das geburtsjahr des Zenon von Kition. F. Susemihl, Greifswald. In his Analecta Alexandrina chronologica (Greifswald, 1888), Susemihl declares, with Rohde and Gomperz, his belief to be that 336–5 is the time of Zeno's birth, and 264–3 the date of his death, siding with them against Unger. In the present article he holds to the same dates, the cause of this re-assertion of his opinion being the appearance of K. Brinker's Das Geburtsjahr des stoikers Zenons aus Citium und dessen Briefswechsel mit Antigonos Gonatas (Schwerin, 1888).

80. Ueber eine schrift des Aristarcheers Ammonios. F. Susemihl, Greifswald. This is in line with O. Schneider's De veterum in Aristoph. schol. fontibus (Stralsund, 1838), and Blau's De Aristarchi discipulis (Jena, 1883). Susemihl ascribes to Ammonios the *ἀναγραφή* mentioned in the scholia of Aristophanes' Wasps, l. 1239.

81. Coniecturae Xenophonteae. K. Heude, Copenhagen. Critical notes on the Memorabilia.

82. A continuation of Stadtmüller's Zur Anthologia Palatina; Jahrbücher, 1888, pp. 353–361 (see Am. J. Phil., X 251).

83. Ein griechisches epigramm. M. Rubensohn, Potsdam. This is a very good interpretation of No. 810 in Kaibel's Epigrammata Graeca, third line, by the aid of two inscriptions: C. I. L. VI 17170[8], and Orelli, 2445.

84. On a line in Philodemus de poematis, which makes mention of Crinis, reputed to be a stoic philosopher. The article is by H. Usener, Bonn.

(12). De Q. Ennii annalibus II. A. Reichardt, Dresden. This discusses: (*a*) the syllabic quantities, (*b*) the versification of the Annals. How in these two points do they differ from the poetry of a late age? Final -ōr is found 7 times before a vowel, and final -ŏr but once (Vah. 436 = M. 455). In the Aeneid -ōr before a vowel is found 5 times, and in Aen. I ŏr is found 16 times. Final -ōr before a vowel is therefore a distinguishing characteristic of the Annals, or age of Ennius. The quantities āt, ēt, īt are not characteristics of the Annals, for they can be paralleled elsewhere, except -ēt in esset (V. 86 = M. 81), and īt in infit (V. 368 = M. 417). Infit is, however, in a rhetorical pause. There is nothing especially new in R.'s treatment of the quantities of final syllables of the first declension, nor his discussion of intermediate syllables. Ennius has 5 verses made up of spondees: 34, 125, 174, 603, 604 (in M. 66, Naevius B. P. 27, 169, 467, dubia 5). A similar verse is Catullus 116, 3; the anapaest avium (V. 97 = M. 91) is to be read by synizesis. The proceleusmaticus, capitibus (M. 267) should perhaps be read as anapaest, capitis. The tmesis, cere comminuit brum (V. 586 = M. 552) belongs to the satires. The verse *Massili* portabant iuvenes ad litora *tanas* is not mentioned (V. 605 = M. 5 also adscripta). R. treats fully of alliteration, giving 205 cases of this between two to seven words; he has one case of adnomination (V. 412 = M. 439). The article is by no means exhaustive. The remarkable cases of apocope, endo suam do = domum (V. 563 = M. 553), and in V. 561 = M. 554, and in V. 451 = M. 555, are omitted. The concurrence of the grammatical accent and the ictus is frequent (V. 476 = M. 466; cf. Hom. Il. XI 679). R. goes too far in his search for alliteration, by ignoring the prefixed syllable, e. g.

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in*tem*pestata *ten*eret (V. 21 = M. 21), or in V. 572 = M. 572, or V. 259 = M. 259. R. does not allude to the frequent homoeoteleuton; it is true that it is found in other poets, but in the Annals it is noteworthy how often the semi-quinarian caesura and the verse end not only in the same letter, but often in the same syllable. Examples of both in Müller's ed. are vv. 12, 26, 214, 225, 352, 362, 404, 409, 498, 512, 604, and especially v. 561: novibus ex*plebant* sese terrasque re*plebant*.

85. Zur etymologie der lateinischen participium praesentis activi. J. Weisweiler. The theory of Curtius is untenable, that an old participial ending *-unt* or *-ont* can come from a form *volun(t)-s*, from which come also the words *volunt-arius* and *volun(t)-tā(t)-s*. *Voluntas* cannot be derived from *volun(t)s*; nor can *potestas* and *egestas* come from *poten(t)s* and *egen(t)s*; as Kühner maintains, Lat. Gram. I 655. Participles (adjectives) ending in *-us* form substantives by means of *-ia*; so we have *volentia*, *bene-volentia*, *ind-igentia*, *potentia*. This was to avoid a stem ending in *t(i)* being followed by a suffix beginning with *t*. *Voluntas* for *volontas* goes back to the substantive *volo*, *volonis*, derived from the verbal stem *vol-*.

86. Zu den textquellen des Silius Italicus, by L. Bauer. H. Blass, in a dissertation, classified 25 MSS of Silius Italicus into 3 groups. G. Wartenburg (Jhbbr., 1887, p. 431) treated of another one belonging to the Museum of the Propaganda in Rome. Bauer in this article deals with an additional one belonging to the Corvina Library of Buda-Pest; he places it in Blass's second group.

87. Zu Tacitus Annalen. A. E. Schoene, Blasewitz. The following emendations are proposed: I 8, ex quis < exsequiales > maxime; IV 72, terga urorum delegit. This *urorum* is a corrupted marginal note for v. corium (i. e. valet corium), as explanatory of the use of the word terga in the text for tergora; XI 26, ut senecta principis to be read ut se secta principis; and XII 27 to be read alario < movit > monitos.

Fascicle 12.

88. Die vorstellungen vom dasein nach dem tode bei den attischen rednern; ein beitrag zur geschichte der griechischen volksreligion. H. Meuss, Liegnitz. Two conclusions are reached: (*a*) that the dead are conceived of as still existing, conscious, but generally inoperative; (*b*) for the ὀρθῶς λογιζόμενος death has no terrors, and posthumous praise can afford a certain pleasure to the dead. See No. 58 above.

89. Ad Lucretium II 288 sqq. C. Haberlein. Munro's emendation of the defective verse 291 by the insertion of *hoc* is followed: *et devicta quasi <hoc> cogatur ferre patique*. Munro makes *hoc* accus. after *ferre patique*; Haberlein puts it into the abl. (= *hac necessitate*): *mens ipsa . . . hac necessitate quasi devicta*.

90. A review, by Hermann Hitzig, of Valckenaer's critische studien zu Pausanias. This is an interesting description of the condition of Valckenaer's MS containing his critical work on Pausanias. This MS since 1861 has been in the possession of the Leiden Library, and is catalogued as Q 389. As is

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known, most of V.'s work on Pausanias was given out in his notae ad Herodotum, and the diatribe in Euripidis perditorum dramatum reliquias.

91. Ὥρα = stunde bei Pytheas?, by M. C. P. Schmidt, Berlin. This is answered in the negative.

(5). Der Thesaurus der Egestaier auf dem Eryx und der bericht des Thukydides. K. Hude, Kopenhagen. On VI, §46 in Thucydides. Meineke (Hermes, III 372) had proposed the emendation *ἐπάργυρα*. Roscher (Jahrbücher, 1889, pp. 20 ff.; Am. Journal Phil. XI 113) proposed the emendation *ὑπάργυρα*. Hude, in the present article, argues for the traditional reading *ἀργυρᾶ*, demurs against the argument that silver vessels covered with gold were at all common at Egesta, and declares it to be impossible in his opinion to argue the prevalence of silver vessels in Egesta from the Venus cult so prevalent there, especially in the face of such epithets applied to Venus as *χρυσῆ*, *πολύχρυσος*, *χρυσῷ κοσμηθεῖσα*, *χρυσοστέφανος*.

92. *De coincidentiae apud Ciceronem vi atque usu scripsit* H. Lattmann, Gottingae, 1888, reviewed by M. Wetzel. This book is a valuable contribution to the study of the historical syntax of the Latin language. It displays unusual diligence, acuteness and breadth of view. The division, however, of the temporal relation between clauses into (1) congruenz, (2) antecedenz, (3) incongruente gleichzeitigkeit, is objectionable. This relation belongs to one of two principal classes: A, (1) relative zeitgebung. This will include (2) and (3) of Lattmann's division, if we use the word beziehungen in its proper sense. Class B will indicate a congruenz (coincidenz) where there is an agreement absolute or relative. In bene fecisti quod mansisti there is properly not relative time, but agreement in absolute time. In dixi bene eum fecisse quod mansisset, the word mansisset stands in relative time to dixi; agreement of time (uebereinstimmung des tempus) is made impossible on account of the infinitive.

(48). Zu Sallustius (Cat. 60, 2). Critical note by H. Steuding, Wurzen.

(36). Zu Caesars Bellum Gallicum V 34, 2, by O. May; for numero read saepe numero.

93. Zu Plautus Aulularia und Terentius Andria. A. Fleckeisen, Dresden. Aul. 537 sqq. to be read:

Nimiúm lubenter édi sermoném tuum.
¶Ain <véro>? audivisti? ¶Úsque a principio ómnia.
¶Tamen <bércl>e meo quidem ánimo facias réctius
Si nítidior sis fíliai núptius.

Vv. 545–6: Immóst et <tibi> di fáciant aliquanto út siet
plus plúsque <et> istuc sóspitent quod núnc habes.

Terence probably had these last two verses before him when he wrote the five verses 783–787 of the Andria. These verses Fleckeisen, in his edition of Terence, soon to appear, will edit as follows:

783 sqq. Quis hic lóquitur? <e u g e> O Chrémes per tempus ádvenis
auscúlta. ¶Audivi iam ómnia. ¶A i n tu? haec ómnia?
¶Audívi, inquam, a princípio. ¶Audistin, óbsecro?

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em scélera: hanc iam in cruciátum oportet ábripi.
hic est ílle, n e te crédas Davom lúdere.

94. Zu Apollonius Sophistes (p. 81, 18 Bk.). A note by A. Ludwich, Königsberg.

Verzeichniss der im jahrgang 1889 beurteilten schriften.

Sachregister.

Berichtigungen im jahrgang 1889.

W. E. WATERS. W. O. SPROULL.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Mr. JOHN B. BURY's elaborate edition of the *Nemean Odes of Pindar* (London and New York, Macmillan & Co.) might well challenge an elaborate criticism, but, so far as my examination has gone, the book seems to me chiefly remarkable for the studious chase after recurrent words and the studious ignoring of the fact that the editor's analyses of the Pindaric odes have been largely anticipated—principle and all. See Luigi Cerrato, La tecnica composizione delle odi pindariche, Genova, 1888,—bon résumé des théories antérieures et conclusions judicieuses—says Croiset (Histoire de la littérature grecque, II 413, note). To be sure, Mr. Bury may not have seen Cerrato's book, but he must have had access to Cerrato's sources, and these the Italian scholar has freely and handsomely acknowledged. But for aught that appears in Mr. Bury's pretentious introduction, the principle of *enjambement*, of 'overlapping,' is a discovery of his own. Not a word of Croiset, whom it would be a shame for an editor of Pindar not to have read; not a word of those who, coming after Croiset, have extended and fortified Croiset's positions. But in bringing against Mr. Bury this charge of an undue neglect of his predecessors I hesitate, for Mr. Bury is undoubtedly a man of great originality. This he showed as early as 1881, when he accomplished the marvellous feat of 'contaminating' *εἰπόμην* with *εἶπον* (see Mahaffy and Bury's Hippolytus, v. 291); and there are indications in his very pretty Theocritean rendering of Rossetti's 'Sister Helen' (Dublin Translations, ed. by Tyrrell, 1882), that he was restrained from similar liberties by the mosaic character of his work. The ordinary schoolmaster will stand amazed and ask with Herakles in the Frogs *τίς ὁ νοῦς; τί κόθορνος καὶ ῥόπαλον ξυνηλθέτην;* but I hasten to assure him that in certain ranges of scholarship bad grammar and dainty rhetoric often go hand in hand.

'Dainty rhetoric' reminds me of a Saturday Reviewer, whose identity is clearly revealed by his comment on Ol. 6, 15. See Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Michaelmas 1885. Himself an admirable writer, and so far a competent judge, he objected to my Pindar on the ground that it was 'not a Pindaric book,' and to the style on the ground that it was a 'bad style.' Ever since the date of this criticism, now nearly six years old, I have examined with some curiosity the books which this distinguished scholar has put forth, in the hope of finding out how one must modify one's style in order to be a sympathetic commentator of Horace, of Aischylos, of Euripides, but I have not been able to differentiate the graceful fluency of one work from the fluent grace of another, and I have failed to see that my monitor was Horatian here, Aeschylean there, Euripidean elsewhere. But I do see that Mr. Bury has taken the lesson to heart, and anything more Pindaric—after Mr. Bury's standard of the Pindaric—than his introductions to the several odes it is hard

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to imagine. To be sure, the Pindaric style is what may be called in the slang of the day a *fin de siècle* Pindaric style. It belongs to that school of English prose in which one expects to find 'lush' and 'parbreak' and similar frippery. *Digitos habet.* It has toying fingers, not transfixing talons, and gives no notion of Pindar's masculinity. Perhaps it would be well for those who, in my judgment, have yet to learn their Pindar, to consider the bold words of Wilamowitz, who has studied Pindar to some purpose: 'Der stolze Aegide schrickt nicht vor dem hässlichen zurück (Herakles II 183).' But if Mr. Bury's Pindar is a *fin de siècle* Pindar, no such charge can be brought against the edition of KLEANTHES, a Greek scholar of Hermupolis, whose commentary, published in 1886–7, reached me only a few months ago. It is true that I made no superhuman efforts to procure it, as I had suspended my Pindaric studies, and as the reports I had seen did not lead me to expect a new revelation. The preface waives all claim to erudition, and well it might. The latest commentator cited is Dissen, and the metres follow the scholia. The strength of the book is supposed to lie in the development of the unity of the Pindaric odes, and under the treatment of Kleanthes all the digressions are to be brought into harmony with the main idea—*πάντα δὲ*, he says, *ἃ τέως παρεκβολαὶ ἐνομίζοντο, ἐπειρασάμην, ὡς δυνάμεως εἶχον πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδεῶν μου ἔκθεσιν, νὰ ἀποδείξω τῇ ἀρχικῇ ὑποθέσει ἑκάστου τῶν ἐπινίκων στενώτατα συνηνωμένα.* That has been the aim of all the great commentators of Pindar, from Schmid down, and Kleanthes is not solitary in his aims nor in his failures. In making a summary of an ode the commentator is almost forced to bring about some kind of connection, which may deceive the writer but will not deceive the reader.

IN a fascinating and suggestive study (*Die Apologie der Heilkunst*, Vienna, 1890), GOMPERZ has claimed for Protagoras the authorship of a remarkable discourse (*περὶ τέχνης*) contained in the Hippocratean corpus. Of course on this theory the discourse is the discourse of a layman, and the plea for the healing art just such a plea as a sophist would make for any other art, but it is not without interest that in a fragment of the *Κόλακες* of Eupolis (147 K), Protagoras appears as a medical adviser. To be sure, the advice does not seem to us strictly professional, but really it is almost as professional as the advice of Eryximachos in Plato's Symposium (185 D):

πίνειν γὰρ αὐτὴν Πρωταγόρας ἐκέλευ', ἵνα
πρὸ τοῦ κυνὸς τὸν πνεύμον' ἐκκλυστον φορῇ.

Needless to say, *τοῦ κυνός* means Sirius, a fact that has escaped the latest historian of Greek comedy, Denis, who translates (I, p. 195): 'Protagoras recommande Callias à boire afin d'avoir le poumon plus humide que celui d'un chien.'

But whether Protagoras is the author of *περὶ τέχνης* or not, he is not the author of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, as several of my correspondents have been kind enough to point out. For 'Protagoras,' therefore, XI 390, l. 18, read 'Pythagoras,' and for another example of this very common error of the types see X 502.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

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Blass (Fr.) Pronunciation of Ancient Greek; from the third German ed., by W. J. Purton. New York, *Macmillan & Co.*, 1891. 6 + 146 pp. 8vo, cl. $1.60.

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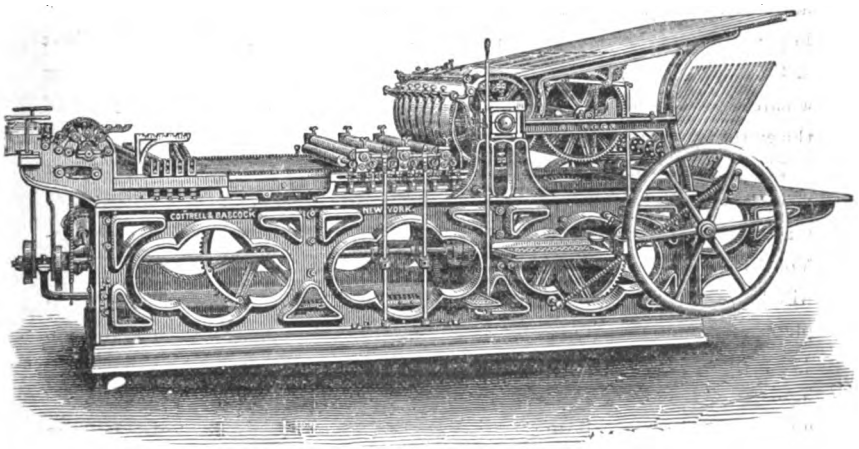
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